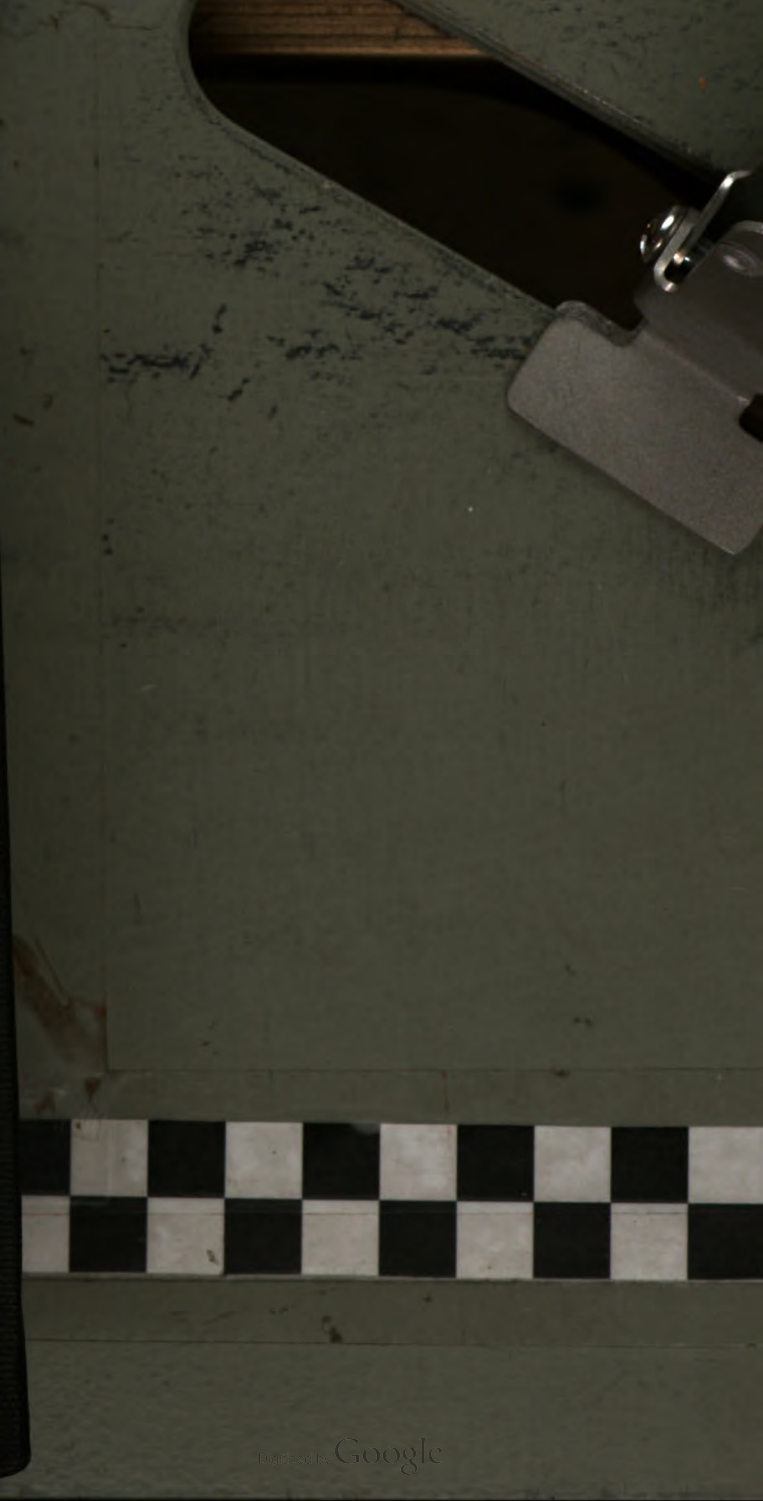

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

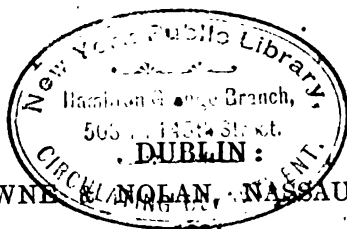
THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME XV.—1894.

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.



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1894.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

JANUARY, 1894

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ST. PATRICK

IT is well known that the birthplace of our national saint has been the subject of much controversy; but up to the present we hardly thought that his burial-place was open to reasonable doubt. This, however, is an age not only of inquiry, but of scepticism; and hence we are not so much surprised that the ancient traditional claim of Downpatrick to possess the remains of St. Patrick, has been rather lightly set aside, and it is sought to bestow on Armagh¹ the double honour of his tomb and of his "kingdom." It is worth while, therefore, in the first place, to examine the evidence in favour of the Ulidian claim; and then to weigh the newly-found arguments in favour of Armagh. The subject is surrounded by many difficulties, and even so capable and impartial a critic as the late lamented Bishop Reeves admitted that the evidence in favour of Downpatrick was "not altogether unexceptionable." We shall, therefore, briefly examine the evidence and the exceptions, such as they are; and, at the same time, we shall touch on the wider question, whether the relics of Bridget and Columcille also repose in the sacred soil of Downpatrick.

In our opinion the oldest, though perhaps not the clearest, reference to St. Patrick's burial at Down, is contained in Fiacc's Hymn, which is older even than Muirchu's memoir

¹ See the Rev. T. Olden's paper, read before the Royal Irish Academy, 27th February, 1893.

contained in the *Book of Armagh*. The arguments hinted at by Todd and Stokes, against the authenticity of this hymn, will be found to disappear on close examination. Fiacc says:—

“ In Armagh there is a kingdom, it long ago deserted Emain
 “ A *great church* in Dun-leth-glaisse; that Tara is a waste, is
 not pleasant to me.”¹

The Lives of St. Patrick generally declare that the angel told him his “kingdom,” or spiritual sovereignty, was to remain in Armagh, but that his body was to rest in Downpatrick; that is, of course, Dun-leth-glaisse, or, as it has been written in later times, Dun-da-leth-glaisse; that is, the Fort of the Two-Half-Chains—alluding, it is said, to the broken fetters of the two sons of Dichu, who were kept in bondage by King Laeghaire, but whose bonds were broken miraculously by St. Patrick, and carried by them to their father’s stronghold at Down. The only meaning of the reference to the *great church* of Down in this couplet, in connection with our apostle, must arise from the fact that he was buried there. Its church cannot be conceived as *great* for any other reason in connection with St. Patrick. His spiritual sovereignty continued in Armagh, but his body remained at Down.

Still more explicit is Muirchu’s statement in the *Book of Armagh*, dating at least from the end of the eighth century. This author, writing in that very book which was always esteemed as the most cherished treasure of the Church of Armagh, declares expressly that, when Patrick felt the hour of his death approaching, he was anxious to return to Armagh so that he might die there, “because he loved it before all other lands.”² But the angel Victor sent another angel to the saint to tell him to return to Saul, where he was then staying; that his petitions to the Lord were granted; and that at Saul—his earliest foundation—he was

¹ “ In Ard Macha fil rigi iscian doreracht Emain, isell mor Dun-lethglaisse, nimdil ciddithrub T’emair.” See Stokes’ text, and translation as above.

² “ Quam prae omnibus terris dilexit.”

destined to die. As the end approached, Tassach of Rathcolp gave him the "sacrifice," and there the saint gave up his holy soul to God. But the same angel told them to harness, after the obsequies, two wild steers to a waggon, and let them go whither they would with the saint's body. This was done, and "they came, by divine guidance, to Dun-lethglaisse, where Patrick was buried.¹ Then we are told of the contest with the men of Oriel for his remains. It is impossible to have more explicit testimony than this of the burial in Down.

Then in the *Tripartite* we have the same testimony in a somewhat different form. "Go back," says Victor, "to the place from which thou hast come, namely, to Saul (the barn church); for it is there thou shalt die, and not in Armagh." "Let," he added, "two unbroken young oxen, of the cattle of Conall, be brought out of Findabair, that is from Clochar, and let thy body be put into a little car behind them, and be thou put a man's cubit into the grave, that thy remains and thy relics be not taken out of it." Thus was it done after his death. The oxen brought him as far as the stead, "wherein to-day standeth Dun-leth-glasi, and he was buried in that place with honour and veneration."²

Now here is practically the same statement given by our two most ancient and perfectly independent authorities—one written in Latin, and the other in Gaelic; and the substance of that statement is: first, that St. Patrick, feeling his end approaching, wished to return to Armagh, the city of his love, that he might die there; secondly, that, instead, he was commanded to return to Saul, which shows that he was already on the road for Armagh; thirdly, that he died at Saul; and, fourthly, that he was buried not there, but some two miles distant at Dun-da-leth-glaisse, or Downpatrick.

It is worth noting also that a command was given to bury him deep in the ground—five cubits according to one account, or a man's cubit according to this *Tripartite*

¹ "Et exierunt Deinrutu regente, ad Dun-leth-glaisse, ubi sepultus est Patricius."

² See Rolls' *Tripartite*, vol. i., p. 254.

account; which seems to mean the height or depth that a man standing up could reach with his arm, that is, between seven and eight feet in either case. And the reason is given: "that thy remains may not be taken out of the grave," either by the men of Oriel or by any other marauders: a very wise and necessary precaution, as subsequent events clearly proved.

The later Lives of St. Patrick, by Probus and Josceline—the former writing in a German monastery in the ninth century, and the latter in an English monastery of the twelfth—repeat the same statements, which at least go to prove that the tradition in favour of Downpatrick was universal and unquestioned in the time of those writers. Moreover, there is collateral evidence of a very early date. Usher quotes from an early *Life of St. Brigid* a paragraph which states that St. Patrick was buried in Dunleth-glaise, and that his body will remain there until the day of judgment.¹ And in the *Testamentum Patricii*, a work also of very ancient date, we have in Irish and Latin the couplet:—

"Dun i mbia m-eseirgi a Raith Celtair Mic Duach,"

"Dunum, ubi erit mea resurrectio in colle Celtaris filii Duach,"

in which the saint proclaims that it is in Down his resurrection will be.

The "hill" of Celtar, to which this verse refers, is the great rath a little to the north of the modern cathedral of Downpatrick, which still rises to a height of about sixty feet above the plain with a circumference of more than seven hundred yards, surrounded by a treble line of circumvallations. A right royal fort it was in size and strength, and fitly took its name from Celtar of the Battles, who was either its builder or its most renowned defender. This hero was one of the knights of the Red Branch, who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. His fort was called Dun-Celtair, and sometimes Rath Celtair, and also

¹ "Sepultus estin Arce *Ladglaisse*, vel *Leathglaysse*, et ibi usque a diem judicii corpus ejus permanabit." (Works, vol. vi, p. 457, as quoted by Reeves.)

Aras Celtair, or the habitation of Celtair. This "habitation," or *civitas*, as it is called in Latin, is described in the *Life of St. Brigid*, by Animosus, as situated in *regione Ultorum prope mare*, which explains the statement of Tirechan, who describes the church of St. Patrick's grave as *juxta mare proxima*, close by the sea, because at that time a small arm of the sea from Strangford Lough flowed almost quite up to the ancient Dun and the church beneath it. There are other considerations also which leave no reasonable doubt that St. Patrick was buried at Downpatrick.

The men of Orior and the Hy Niall around them, though very anxious to possess the body of St. Patrick, and quite ready to engage in a bloody conflict to order to secure it, never claimed to have succeeded in their purpose. On the contrary, the *Book of Armagh*, belonging to their own great church, whose prerogatives it would naturally exalt, expressly testifies that the saint was buried, not at Armagh, as he wished, but at Downpatrick; and that too by the direction of an angel. If there was any doubt about the matter, if they had even a shadow of claim in their favour, is it likely that the scribes who wrote the *Book of Armagh*, and certainly make the most of its privileges and rights, would not also claim this great honour instead of yielding the glory to Downpatrick? They certainly never failed to exalt the prerogatives of their own church, as they had a right to do; but, on the other hand, they never claimed to possess the body of their great apostle, which is of itself a conclusive argument that history and tradition always pointed to Down as the place of his burial. And the fact that the authors of the *Book of Armagh* so distinctly admit it, is a strong proof of their honesty as historians; for we may well believe them in other things, when they are so truthful in what tells against the renown of their own royal city. In Armagh was his "kingdom," as Fiacc says, but in Down was the "great church" that contained his remains.

Now this brings us to examine the objections or arguments on the other side, if we can call them such. First of all, there is Tirechan's statement in the *Book of Armagh*, where he says Patrick was in four things like to Moses;

and the fourth is, that "where his bones are no one knows."¹ Therefore it certainly follows that they were not in Tirechan's time known to be in Armagh; in fact, Armagh, as we have seen, never claimed to possess them. Tirechan, however, explains what he means clearly enough in the following paragraph, which has not been faithfully rendered by Rev. Mr. Olden, in his paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, and which is meant to be explanatory of the statement that "no one knows where his bones are":—

"Two hostile bands [he says] contended during twelve days for the body of the blessed Patrick, and they saw no night intervene during these twelve days, but daylight always; and on the twelfth day they came to actual conflict; but the two hosts, seeing the body on its bier with each party, gave up the conflict. Columcille, inspired by the Holy Ghost, pointed out the sepulchre of Patrick, and proves where it is; namely, in Saul of Patrick; that is, in the *church nigh to the sea*, where the gathering of the relics is—that is, of the bones of Columcille from Britain, and the gathering of all the saints of Erin in the day of judgment."

As this is an important passage, we append the Latin text below, as given by Dr. Stokes in his edition of the *Tripartite*.² This passage gives rise to several very interesting questions. Its author at the outset declares that Bishop Tirechan wrote these things (in the *Book of Armagh*) from the oral information (*ex ore*) or from the Book (*vel libro*) of Bishop Ultan, whose *alumnus* or disciple he was. Bishop Ultan, of Ardraccan, died in A.D. 655 or 676, according to Usher; and, therefore, Tirechan, who was certainly his disciple, and in all probability his successor, must have written the annotations afterwards copied into the *Book of Armagh* before or shortly after the death of the saint; that is, at the latest, towards the close of the seventh century. As they are

¹ "Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit."

² "Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit. Duo hostes duodecim diebus corpus Sancti Patricii contenderunt, et noctem inter se duodecim diebus non viderunt sed diem semper; et in duodecima die ad praelium venierunt, et corpus in grabato duo hostes viderunt apud se, et non pugnauerunt. Columcille, Spiritu Sancto instigante, sepulturam Patricii ostendit, (et) ubi est confirmat, id est, in Sabul Patricii, id est in ecclesia juxta mare proxima, ubi est conductio martirum, id est ossuum Colum Cille de Britannia, et conductio omnium sanctorum Hiberniæ in die judicii." (Vol. ii., p. 332.)

now found in the *Book of Armagh*, they appear to be in the handwriting of Ferdomnach, who wrote, it is generally said, in 807. What puzzles Reeves and Todd is how in that case there could be reference to the "conductio" of the bones of Columcille from Britain, which they assume to have taken place during the ninth century; and, therefore, they think this transcript in the *Book of Armagh* is not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century. But Dr. Stokes says that all the *Book of Armagh* seems to be the work of the same scribe, i.e., Ferdomnach; and, therefore, Reeves' supposition can hardly be admitted. Were the bones of Columcille brought to Ireland before the death of Tirechan? We have no other evidence of the fact but the statement here; and, what is more strange still, Adamnan makes no reference to it, although in all probability his *Life of Columba* was written about that period; for he was only a novice in 650, and did not become abbot until 679; yet his relics, we are told, were carried to Ireland in 726; that is, about twenty-two years after his death; and why might not the relics of Columba have been carried to Ireland before 655; that is, nearly sixty years after his death? We shall return to the question again.

The meaning of Tirechan, however, is clear enough, although the Latin is rather rude. No one knew the *exact* place where Patrick's bones were deposited until Columcille pointed out the spot; and that spot is, in Saul, *that is*, in the church near to the sea, where the relics of Columcille were brought, and where all the saints of Ireland will be gathered, doubtless as assessors to Patrick, who is to judge the Irish on the day of judgment. "In Saul" here clearly means in the neighbourhood of Saul, for it is explained to mean the church very near the sea, whither the relics of Columcille were brought from Britain. Downpatrick is only two miles from Saul; the church very near the sea is, as we have already shown, the church of Downpatrick. Saul had no church quite close to the sea, and it was to that church of Downpatrick the relics of Columcille and Bridget were afterwards brought to the very spot which Columcille himself had pointed out as the grave of Patrick.

Taking this account of Tirechan in connection with the other early accounts given in the *Tripartite*, and in the *Book of Armagh*, we can fairly judge what took place after the death of Patrick. He died at Saul, as all admit, and news of his illness first, and afterwards of his death, was quickly carried over all the north, and bishops, priests, and people came in crowds from all quarters to be present at the obsequies of their beloved father in God, to whom they owed their salvation. The obsequies were prolonged for twelve days, to give them all time to arrive, and the lights in the little church around his body and without the church, where "the elders of Ireland were watching him with hymns, and psalms, and canticles," were so many and so bright, that "there was no night in Mag Inis;" or, as it is elsewhere said, there was *almost* no darkness, but rather a bright angelic radiance, which is certainly not unlikely.

But meantime the men of Orior from Slieve Gullion to the Bann, and the fierce Hy Niall of Lough Neagh, had resolved, when the obsequies were over, to carry home, at any cost, the body of their beloved Patrick to his own cathedral of Armagh; and, on the other hand, the proud Ulidians were as sternly resolved to prevent them. With themselves he founded his first church in Erin, that very Barn, where his remains now lay; with them he came to die by direction of God's angel; and with them he would be buried in spite of all the warriors of Orior. The two parties were watching each other all the time that the priests were praying; but as soon as the body was moved, the strongest party would try to carry it off. The men of Orior and O'Neilland were gathered on the northern shore of the estuary running up to Downpatrick from Strangford Lough, now called the Quoile river; the Ulidians stood watching them on its southern shore between Saul and Down. When all was ready, the body was placed by divine direction, it is said, on a wain drawn by two unbroken steers, and it was to be buried at the spot where the steers would stop of their own accord. And now a battle was imminent, but the Ulidians wisely took the opportunity of setting out, when there was a high tide in the estuary, and Providence divinely interposed

and raised still higher the swelling waves, so that the men of Armagh could not cross the ford at the Quoile bridge, as it is now called, or Drumbo, as it seems to have been called at that time.¹ So the Ulidians utilized the favourable time; probably they had the grave already made nigh to their own royal fort, and before the tide receded they had the saint's body buried seven feet deep with a huge flag over it, and the earth and the green sward over all, so as to leave no visible trace of the exact spot, for they feared that the men of Orior might come and remove it either by stealth or by the strong hand.

Still, however, the men of Armagh were resolved to cross the ford, and fight for the sacred treasure, which the Ulidians were guarding; when suddenly, to their great joy, there appeared amongst the men of Orior that very identical waggon drawn by two steers and bearing the saint's body, which they had seen coming from Saul to Drumbo. It was the saint himself, as they thought, gave his body to Armagh, so they set out with great joy to return home; but, alas! when they came near to Armagh, to the river called Cabcenne, the steers and waggon and body suddenly disappeared from their eyes, and were seen no more. Then the men of Orior and the Hy Niall knew that it was God's will that the saint's body should not be in his own city on Macha's height, so they made no further attempt to recover it. Whether the appearance of the second waggon was a real miracle, or a pious ruse to prevent bloodshed, or a later invention to gratify the disappointed vanity of the Hy Niall, it is now impossible to ascertain. The story, however, is quite consistent and natural, and clearly shows why for greater security the saint was buried at Down near the royal fortress rather than at Saul, and why in a few years no man knew the exact spot where his bones were laid, until Columcille revealed it sixty years later, in A.D. 552. In that year we are informed by the scribe of the *Ulster Annals*—a

¹ Father O'Laverty has, in our opinion, left no doubt as to the exact site of Drumbo—the *Collis Bovis* of the *Book of Armagh*.

high authority—who quotes from the *Book of Cuanu*, that:—

“The relics (*minna*) of Patrick were placed in a shrine at the end of threescore years after Patrick's death by Columcille. Three splendid *minna* were found in his tomb; to wit, his Goblet, and the Angel's Gospel, and the Bell of the Testament. Columcille, at the bidding of the angel, gave the Goblet to Down, the Bell of the Testament to Armagh, and kept the Angel's Gospel for himself; and the reason it is called the Angel's Gospel is, because it was from the angel's hand that Columcille received it.”

The first scribe of the *Book of Cuanu* was probably as ancient as Tirechan himself.

This entry is very interesting, because it not only explains and confirms Tirechan's statement regarding the burial of the saint, but also goes to prove that the date of his death was 493, since his relics were enshrined threescore years after his death. The word *coach*, which has been translated “goblet,” means a cup, and usually a wooden cup. The cup found by Columcille in the grave of St. Patrick was probably a chalice, and perhaps a wooden chalice, although the word *cailech*, obviously a loan word from the Latin, is that which is used for “chalice” in the Irish *Tripartite*. Chalices, both of glass and wood, were certainly used, although, of course not exclusively in the early ages of the Church.¹ St. Boniface² is reported to have said that in old times they had wooden chalices but golden priests; now, however, there were golden chalices but wooden priests. It was the custom too in the earlier ages of the Church, and to some extent the custom is still preserved, to bury with the deceased the insignia of his office. It would be more pagan than Christian-like to bury an ordinary drinking goblet with the saint, and the clergy who stood round his bier would never permit it. But to bury a chalice with him—perhaps the very one he first used in the Barn-church at Saul—would be appropriate, if not usual. The three splendid *minna* found by Columcille in Patrick's grave would thus be the appropriate insignia of his high office—the chalice

¹ See Ducange's *Glossary*, sub voce.

² By Walafudus Strabo, in his *Vita Bonafacii*, c. 24.

would typify the sacrificing priest, the Gospel the preacher, and the bell was always taken in the early Irish Church to signify the jurisdiction of the saint, which extended at least as far as its sound could be heard.¹

There seems to have been no church in Down when Patrick was buried there; but the church was afterwards built around his grave, although the exact spot where his body lay seems to have been doubtful. For we are told that the workmen, when digging the foundations of the church, suddenly beheld flames issuing from the grave, and thereupon withdrew fearing the burning fire.² The grave was, doubtless, then closed in again, and no one dared to disturb it until Columcille was inspired to enshrine the holy relics.

Another reference to the alleged burial of the saint at Saul occurs in Colgan's *Fourth Life*, where:—

“It is related [says Rev. Mr. Olden] that a boy playing in the churchyard there lost his hoop in a chink in St. Patrick's grave, and having put down his hand to recover his plaything was unable to withdraw it. Upon this Bishop Loarn of Bright, a place near at hand, was sent for, and on his arrival addressed the saint in the following words:—‘Why, O Elder, dost thou hold the child's hand?’”

This entire passage is founded on a mis-translation of an incident, which is correctly recorded in the *Tripartite*:—

“Then Patrick went from Saul southwards, that he might preach to Ross, son of Trichem (the brother of Dichu of Saul). He it is that dwelt in Derlus, to the south of Downpatrick—there stands a small town there to-day, namely, Bright—ubi est episcopus Loairn, qui ausus est increpare Patricium tenentem manum pueri ludentis ecclesiam juxta suam.”

The incident occurred during the lifetime of St. Patrick, for Loarn was of his *familia*, and probably died before him; and, as Dr. Stokes observes, the phrase *tenentem manum* in the Latin seems to be a translation of the Irish *gabail lama*, which is constantly used in the *Tripartite* to signify expelling or driving away—showing one off the premises. Loarn was Bishop of Bright, three miles south-east of Down, and the

¹ See *Life of St. Brendan*, c. xiv.

² See Muirchu, in the *Book of Armagh*, p. 298, Stokes' edition.

south of Saul. We are told that St. Patrick often resided at Saul during the intervals of his missionary labours; the boy doubtless disturbed him, and the saint drove him away, perhaps with too much severity; and, therefore, his disciple "rebuked" him for his harshness to the child. This story is intelligible, and even probable, for Patrick, if we can believe the *Tripartite*, was not always meek and patient. But the incident, as recorded in Colgan's *Fourth Life*, is evidently due to the imagination of a scribe who did not understand the record from which he was copying. The author of the *Tripartite* was apparently so much afraid of scandalizing anybody by the story, that he narrates the incident in Latin, and not in the vernacular. When Loarn was in Bright and Patrick in Saul there was, as we have said, neither church nor bishop in Downpatrick. That church became famous because it was Patrick's burial-place; and hence the first prelate of Down of whom we know anything is "Fergus, Bishop of Drumlethglas," who died in 583; that is, thirty years after Columcille had revealed St. Patrick's grave.

In Colgan's Latin *Tripartite*, as quoted by Bishop Reeves,¹ there is a passage which might be easily misunderstood. The angel Victor is described as saying to Patrick: "Revertere ad monasterium Sabhallense, unde veneras, ibi et non Ardmachæ migrabis ad Deum, *tuumque sepelietur corpus.*" But the last clause is not in the Irish *Tripartite*, as we have it; and if it were it could only mean in the neighbourhood of Saul; for on the same page it distinctly states that the oxen carried his body from Saul to Dun-lethglaisse, and that he was buried there with honour and veneration.

There is also a strange entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1293. "It was revealed to Nicholas MacMaelisa (Coarb of Patrick), that the relics of Patrick, Columcille, and Bridget were at Sabhall; they were taken up by him, and great virtues and miracles were wrought by them, and after having been honourably covered were deposited in a shrine." The Dublin copy of the *Ulster Annals* have a

¹ *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 224.

similar entry. These entries seem to ignore the celebrated invention and translation of the same relics, which took place in the Cathedral of Down, in 1185, in presence of the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Down and John de Courcy. Could the shrine have been lost or stolen in the meantime? Or was it, as some writers suggest, an Irish Invention of the relics got up from Armagh, as a set-off against the Anglo-Norman Invention by John de Courcy in Down? Or, what is much more probable, was the Saul, of which there is question, the church of that name which undoubtedly existed at Armagh, and which contained relics of the three saints originally brought from Down, but forgotten or hidden there during the wars of the Danes, and the subsequent disturbances in the primatial city?

There are several other arguments put forward by Rev. Mr. Olden in favour of the saint's burial at Armagh. One of them, but not his main argument, is based on the assumed identity of our national apostle with Sen Patrick, who is said to have died at Armagh. This is not a question into which we can now enter; but, inasmuch as no attempt is made to prove this identity, and the epithet itself implies distinction from the great St. Patrick, we may dismiss this argument without further discussion.

Then we are treated to another line of reasoning in favour of Armagh. Both Muirchu and Tirechan, it is said, agree in stating that "at the time of his (Patrick's) death, Armagh claimed to possess his remains." We could not find the least foundation for this extraordinary statement. On the contrary, both writers state that at or after the obsequies the men of Orior tried, but tried in vain, to secure the precious treasure. And hence Bishop Reeves, who was so well acquainted with the contents of the *Book of Armagh*, says that the claim of Down was in the early ages conceded by Armagh; that the *Book of Armagh* would scarcely introduce a fiction in favour of Down or Saul; and that the church of Armagh would never have acquiesced in a mock translation at Down in the twelfth century, if the general belief had not given sentence in favour of Down. Besides neither Muirchu nor Tirechan anywhere state that "Armagh

claimed to possess his remains at the time of his death." Muirchu distinctly states that he was buried in Down; and then adds that, through the mercy of God and the merits of Patrick, the sea swelled up between the opposing hosts of Orior and Ulad, so that bloodshed was prevented. "Seduced," he adds, "by a lucky deception, they fancied they had secured the waggon and oxen that bore the saint's blessed body, but when they came to the River Cabcenne the body disappeared."¹ We have already explained Tirechan's statement at length, in which he declares that the burial-place of Patrick was shown by Columcille to be near Saul, in the church close to the sea, whither the relics of Columcille were also brought from Britain.

But it is urged that frequent reference is made to the shrine of Patrick, which was in the custody of his successors at Armagh during the ninth century. Yes; but it is beyond all reasonable doubt that the shrine in question contained not any part of the saint's body, but the celebrated "Bell of the Will," which, as we have already seen, was given to Armagh by Columcille. That bell was the symbol of the primatial jurisdiction; and it was deemed so sacred and so precious, that it had a hereditary custodian assigned for its preservation. A new shrine was made to contain it, about the close of the eleventh century, and the inscription thereon records that it was made for Domnall M'Loughlin, King of Erin, *i.e.*, at his expense, and for Domnall M'Auley, the Comarb of Patrick, and for Cathalan O'Mailchallan, the custodian of the bell.² We know also from other sources³ that these ancient bells were deemed very sacred, and that the violation of an oath, if taken on the bell, was deemed a most terrible crime, which was sure to bring the vengeance of the outraged saint on the head of the perjurer. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the shrine

¹ "Sed felici seducti sunt fallacia, putantes se duos boves et planstrum invenire et corpus sanctum rapere aestimabant, et cum corpore . . . ad fluvium Cbacenne pervenierunt, et corpus tunc illis non comparuit." (P. 299.)

² See Reeves' *Antiquities*, p. 371.

³ See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 114.

of Patrick which Artri, Abbot of Armagh, carried into Connaught in 818, and which Forannen the Primate brought to Munster in 841, when driven by the Danes from his primatial city, was the enshrined Bell of the Will, the possession of which was the symbol and the pledge of the jurisdiction which he derived from St. Patrick.

As to the *obiter dictum* of St. Bernard, where he speaks of the primatial see of Patrick, "in which he presided when alive, and rests now that he is dead," it is obvious that it is a loose rhetorical expression designed rather to round the sentence than to make any definite assertion regarding the place of St. Patrick's burial, of which he probably knew nothing. And the same may be said of the statement of another foreign writer, William of Newbridge, who informs us that the primacy was bestowed on Armagh in honour of St. Patrick, and the other indigenous saints whose remains rest there. Such a statement from a foreign source is too vague to weigh for a moment against the explicit testimony of our native annalists.

Lastly, Mr. Olden finds a reference to the tomb of St. Patrick as existing at Armagh, in the *Book of Armagh*, although he admits that it has hitherto escaped notice—even the great learning and critical acumen both of Todd and Reeves were unable to detect it. In that portion of the *Book of Armagh* called the "Angel's Book," the following passage occurs:—

"The foundation of the prayer on every Sunday at Armagh on going to and returning from the Sarcophagus of the relics is 'Domine clamavi ad Te' to the end; Ut quid 'Deus repulisti' to the end; and 'Beati immaculati' to the end of the blessing, and with the twelve Gradual Psalms it finishes."¹

It is surprising what a superstructure it is sought to build up on this passage of bad Latin in the original.

The words "sargifagum martyrum," are glossed in the margin by the Irish *du ferti matur*—that is, to the "Grave

¹ "Fundamentum orationis in unaquaque dia Dominicain Alto Machal ad Sargifagum Martyrum adeundum ab eoque revertendum id est, 'Domine clamavi ad Te' usque in finem; 'Ut quid Deus repulisti' in finem, et 'Beati Immaculati' usque in finem benedictionis, et duodecim psalmi graduum. Finit."

of the Relics." Now it is argued, this "Grave of the Relics" must have been a place of pilgrimage, for the prayers of the "Station" are here prescribed. The place which bore the name of the *Ferta* at Armagh was so called from this grave, and it was the place where St. Patrick established his first church at Armagh. He lived there a long time before he removed to the greater church on the hill; and when he died he must have been buried there, for there seems no other adequate reason for calling it the Grave of the Relics, and for making it a place of pilgrimage, than the fact that it possessed *his* relics.

It is surprising that the people who argue in this fashion did not first read the *Tripartite*, where they would find a very clear and simple explanation of the name and of the pilgrimage. *Ferta* means a grave, but as a proper name it means here the cemetery; in fact, both church and churchyard, as the following passage with reference to this very *Ferta* clearly shows:—"In this wise then Patrick measured the *Ferta*, namely, sevenscore feet in the enclosure, and seven and twenty feet in the Great-House, seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the oratory."¹

The writer then proceeds to tell us that an angel told Patrick "this day the relics of the Apostles are divided in Rome for the four quarters of the Globe;" and thereupon he carried Patrick through the air, and afterwards with the help of a ship of Bordeaux, brought the saint to Rome, whence Patrick carried away as much as he wanted of the relics.

"Afterwards these relics were taken to Armagh by the counsel of God, and the counsel of the men of Ireland. Three hundred and threescore and five relics, together with the relics of Paul, and Peter, and Laurence, and Stephen, and many others. And a sheet was there with Christ's Blood, and with the hair of Mary the Virgin. And Patrick left the whole of that collection in Armagh according to the will of God, and of the Angel, and of the men of Ireland."

Furthermore a letter was brought to him from the Abbot of Rome, directing that there should be "watching of the

¹ Vol. i., p. 237.

relics with lamps and lights in the night always, and mass and psalm singing by day, and prayer in the night, and that they should be exposed every year for the multitudes (to venerate them"). These relics were, of course, kept in the only church then to be had at Armagh; that is, the church afterwards called the *Ferta*, and which on that account came to be called *Ferta Martyr*, or the *Fertae Martyrum*, as Muirchu has it, or the *Sarcophagus Martyrum*, as the Book of the Angel has it. Thus the simple narrative of the *Tripartite* overthrows all the ingenious speculations put before the Royal Irish Academy as to the origin of the name. St. Patrick had numbers of churches and altars to consecrate, for which purpose he needed relics; he either sent for them or brought them from Rome; they were kept in his church at Armagh in a *Ferta*, or sarcophagus, or sepulchre made for the purpose, hence called *Ferta Martyrum*, which name afterwards passed to the church itself as it became a place of public pilgrimage for the faithful to venerate the relics.

In our next paper we shall discuss the alleged preservation of the remains of St. Columkille and St. Bridget, together with those of St. Patrick in the Cathedral of Down.

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.

INFINITE LOVE

"Solus amor est quo convertimur ad Deum, transformamur in Deum, adhaeremus Deo, unimur Deo, ut simus unus spiritus cum eo et beatificemur, hic in gratia, et ibi in gloria, ab eo et per eum."—ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De adherendo Deo*.

WHAT the sun is in the material order, that love is in the social and moral order. As the sun burnishes the tips of the mountains, lights up the valleys, and converts seas and rivers into liquid gold, making a Paradise where but a moment ago, all was cheerless and dark; so love casts a charm over the commonest life, and infuses warmth and colour, and beauty and pathos, into the most ordinary and humdrum existence. The newly-born infant lives,

developes, and grows strong as it basks in the sunshine of its mother's love; and even grown-up men and women turn as naturally and as eagerly towards the friend that loves them, as the sunflower is said to turn towards the sun.

Of all topics that can engross the mind, the only one, of which men never seem to tire or grow weary, is love. It forms the very warp and woof of romance and of story. It is the soul and vivifying principle of poetry and fiction. It is the unfailing inspirer of art, and painting, and music, and song. It creates the valour of the soldier, the daring of the explorer, the plodding perseverance of the scholar, and the unflinching courage of the martyr. Under its influence the weak become strong; the despondent hopeful, and the niggardly generous. It changes, transforms, and ameliorates whatever it touches; and infuses a nobler and higher impulse wherever its influence penetrates.

It is so congenial to man, so completely in accordance with his natural temperament, that he cannot wholly dispense with it, unless indeed by God's grace he rise altogether above nature. If, in sooth, there be in this world one poor sufferer more sure than another of exciting compassion and awakening sympathy, it is the lonely and desolate heart, who has no one to befriend it, no one to address it a kind word. What notion indeed do we instinctively form of heaven itself, but a place of pure unclouded love? And what is the worst picture we can draw, of hell, but a place where love is stifled and extinguished, and cursed hate and jealousy hold sway and rule supreme.

This would prove a sad and dreary world but for the bright, warm sunshine shed by loving hearts. For love illuminates our darkness: it causes the desert itself to blossom as a garden; weaves threads of golden splendour into the dull texture of a cheerless life, and creates a veritable paradise even on the confines of hell. It is sweet to be loved even by the dumb unconscious beast. The shepherd tending his flock on the lonely mountain side finds solace in the friendly whelping of his dog; and the Arab in his tent feels

the arid desert less lonesome, and the night less drear, when the familiar neighing of his tethered steed breaks upon his ear.

But higher, by an immeasurable distance, is the joy that kindles at the delicious intercourse of man with man. The doting parent positively beams with happiness, when his children press around his knees, the love-light gleaming on every feature, and lips all eloquent with endearing words. Yet, greatest of all mere earthly delights, is the delight of the bridegroom as he leads his bride triumphantly to the altar to swear eternal friendship to her in presence of God and man.

Yes! Even human love is full of beauty and of gladness. And why? Simply and solely (as it seems to me), because it is a shadow; a poor, unworthy and feeble shadow, indeed, but yet, a real shadow of one of the most tremendous and sublime realities, viz., God's overpowering love of us.

If the love that is born of creatures can be so welcome, so cheering, so gladdening, and so soul-inspiring, what are we to say, what indeed *can* we say, of the love of Him who is not a creature at all, however perfect and however exquisite, but the Infinite and the Uncreated? What is all earthly affection compared with the fierce consuming fire of divine love burning in the Sacred Heart of the world's Redeemer? In this earth we hardly dare expect to gain the affection of anyone much above us in rank or station. A poor rough peasant scarcely looks for love from a mighty king or emperor. The utmost he dares hope for is compassion, consideration, condescension, and sympathy. Yet God, though infinitely removed above us by nature and essence, deigns to love us in the fullest and truest sense of the term, and in a far more generous measure than any creature ever did or ever can. In plain truth, all love, such as we find among men, is but a dim and uncertain reflection of the insatiable love of the Creator for His creatures. The impassioned sense of tenderness of a fond mother for her only child; or of the fiery bridegroom for his youthful bride, scarce merits the name of love; nay, it is (even when purest

and deepest and most intense) but the veriest mockery of love, and no love at all, when compared with the love that God bestows even on the least soul in a state of grace.

After all, it is clear that man can love only according to the capacity of his nature ; and how cramped and strained that is ! God's nature, on the other hand, is infinite and unlimited, and He loves with His whole being. Nor did His love begin in time, nor with the first dawn of our own existence. His love for you and me is like Himself, in this at least—that it is *eternal*. Throughout the unnumbered past æons and cycles He not only knew us and contemplated us in His own mind, but He loved us also. In fact, but for this love, we never could have been. It was His love, and His love only, and not the thought of any interest or advantage that He could expect to derive from our existence, that determined Him to call us from the hollow womb of nothingness into a state of actual being. Behold, “I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore have I drawn thee, taking pity on thee” (Jeremias xxxi. 3).

To anyone who at all realizes the majesty and unapproachable glory of God, on the one hand, and the ineffable tenderness and depth of His love, on the other, there is something positively intoxicating in the thought. Who would ever fear or doubt, or hesitate or despair, if he were really and indeed intimately conscious to himself that the loving arms of Omnipotence are wound about him all the day long, and that nothing in heaven or on earth can possibly approach to injure or molest him without permission from that Divine Lover : (1) whose love is infinite, and (2) whose power is commensurate with His love ? To be *fully sensible* of all this is to be calm and happy, and to share in some measure in the felicity of the saints. *Sed, quis est hic, et laudabimus eum !*

There are two wondrous qualities in the love God bears towards men which can never be sufficiently realized, and which we should therefore frequently call to mind and ponder over : firstly, its intensity ; and secondly, its essentially personal character.

I.

Like a true warm-hearted lover, He is never weary of expressing His love; and, as it were, whispering into our ears fresh assurances of his enduring attachment. At one time in the most explicit terms; and at others by figures and symbols, He seeks to enforce the same sweet truth upon us, and to persuade us more and more fully of the depths of that charity, which the Apostle tells us "surpasseth all understanding" (Ep. iii. 19). "Fear not," He exclaims, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; *thou art Mine!*" (Is. xliii. 1). "I have loved thee with an *everlasting love*" (Is. xxxi. 3). And in what measure, and with what strength? He answers the query Himself:—"As the Father loved Me, so I have loved you."

And, as though mere expressions of His unending love should not sufficiently reveal its depth and extent, He has recourse to images and figures. He represents Himself on one occasion as the devoted father of an ungrateful and prodigal son. The son has heartlessly abandoned his father, and squandered his time and his fortune, living riotously among strangers in a foreign land. Yet his dissolute life and disgraceful conduct cannot extinguish his father's love. On the contrary, he yearns to welcome him back, and to enfold him in his arms. Each day he ascends the brow of the hill, and scans the distant plain to see if he can see any traces of the well-beloved child retracing his steps. At last, after many a fruitless effort, his eyes detect a changed and care-worn figure. In spite of rags and tatters and dissolute look and disconsolate condition the father, with unerring instinct recognises his wayward boy. Yet, no thought of anger or reproach enters his heart. No words of rebuke or chiding rise to his lips. His face is not even ruffled by a scowl or a frown. All his just and righteous indignation is overpowered and drowned in the strength and vehemence of his love, which wells up from his heart and stifles every other feeling. At once he hastens to receive him. In his joy and gladness the father forgets all his son's baseness and ingratitude, and all the grief and sorrow and bitterness he has caused, and hurries

along to embrace him, and to clasp him with infinite tenderness to his bosom. He clothes him with the finest linen, he puts sandals on his naked feet, decks him out in the best he has, and places the ring upon his finger, and the staff in his hand. The fatted calf is killed, the banquet is prepared, the choicest wine flows freely ; the whole household is made to share in the general rejoicing, and all feast in happiness and delight, because he that was lost is found ; he that was dead has come again to life ; and the poor erring son has returned once more to his father's home. What a beautiful and consoling picture of God's attitude towards sinful men !

At another time God represents Himself as a shepherd watching over his sheep, gently leading the flock to rich pastures, carefully defending them from prowling wolves and fierce beasts of prey, and going many a weary mile after those that have wandered astray. Or again, He is the Good Samaritan, who, finding a poor traveller, lying wounded and disabled on the roadside, and robbed and stripped of all his goods and possessions, descends from his own horse, and stops to tend and dress his gaping wounds, pouring in oil and wine ; places him on his own beast, and lays him in a place of safety.

Indeed, our Divine Master seems to lay all nature under contribution. Even among irrational creatures, He searches for images and types expressive of His solicitude for us. He likens Himself now to the hen that gathers her little ones under her wings ; now to the pelican that was believed to feed her young with the blood from her own breast ; or again to the vine giving life and nourishment to the branches : "I am the vine, you are the branches." He is "the Tree of life" (Apoc. ii. 7) ; the "Light of the world" (Is. ix. 2) ; the "Bright and Morning Star" (Apoc. xxii. 16) ; the "Shadow of the Rock" (Is. xxii. 2) ; the Door of the sheepfold" (John x. 7) ; the "Head of the Body of the Church" (Col. i. 18) ; and, sweetest title of all, the true "Bridegroom" (Matt. ix. 15). An article might be devoted to the explanation of each one of the names which are applied by the Holy Spirit to God, so pregnant are they

with meaning, and so much do they tell us of Him whose special name is LOVE.

But true love never rests satisfied with words. It longs to prove itself by deeds, and cannot remain inactive. God's love is no exception to this rule. It manifests itself in ten thousand beautiful ways. It meets us at every turn. It overflows upon us from all sorts of unexpected channels and on all sorts of undreamed-of occasions. It would be worse than useless to attempt to enumerate a tithe of them here. But we must at least touch upon a few of the most remarkable manifestations of God's goodness towards us.

We have already hinted at one, viz., our creation from nothing: a wholly gratuitous act which must be traced back to God's immeasurable love, as to its true source, and to love alone. But our dependence upon Him does not end here. God not only made us, each moment He preserves us, and supports us in life; watches over us as a mother over an only child, and defends us from a thousand evils. All that we have and are, are effects of His love. Every object whose presence brings joy to us, whose beauty gladdens us, whose friendship cheers and brightens existence, is from Him. All that in any way administers to our bodily comfort or mental content all that is in any degree pleasant, delightful, and joy-yielding in social intercourse or family life; all, all without exception, are tokens and earnest of His undying love.

But even this exuberance of generosity could not satisfy the longings of His heart. Indeed, it is the characteristic of excessive love, never to admit it has done enough. Thus, having rifled all nature of its treasures to lay them at our feet; having given us the earth for our temporary abode: the sun to illumine and warm us; birds and beasts and every living creature to subserve our interests; fire and water, and steam and electricity, and all the other powers of nature to labour for our benefit, He wished to do still more. He determined to lift us above nature; yea, as far above nature as the heavens are above the earth. His love induced Him to confer upon us a dignity, a position, and an honour surpassing the uttermost capacities of mere nature. A

dignity, in fact, which all the wealth of the material creation put together could not purchase ; viz., the dignity conferred by divine grace received in holy Baptism. Yes : wonderful to say, by grace we are made participators of the Divine Nature ; adopted sons of God ; brothers of Christ Himself ; heirs to an imperishable kingdom ; and princes of the only truly Royal House of the King of kings : a dignity too great for us in our present state to understand ; and which words cannot express ; which mind fails to conceive, and which no created intelligence is capable of *adequately* realizing—to do so would be to measure the measureless, to pour the whole ocean into the hollow of our hand.

This is a treasure too priceless to be purchased ; too magnificent ever to be really merited ; giving us a claim to Heaven itself, and to the possession of the infinitely Perfect for the whole of eternity. “ I am thy reward exceeding great ” (Gen. xv. 1). When we have said this, we can say no more. Even a Power that is measureless, and a Wisdom that is limitless, can give us nothing greater, nothing more exquisite, nothing more divinely beautiful and precious than the Infinite and the Eternal ; and in possessing Him, we, in the strictest sense of the words, possess all things. Nevertheless, He was still dissatisfied. Love seeks, as far as possible, to put itself on an equality with the beloved. Now God could not make us equal to Himself, since the idea itself involves a contradiction. It was not possible for Him to lift us up to His level, and to transform us into gods. But, though He could not place us on a level with Himself, He could at least abase Himself and sink to our level. This, His infinite love prevailed upon Him to do. He assumed our nature ; became a man as truly as we are men ; clothed Himself with our infirmities and necessities, and “ dwelt amongst us ” as one of ourselves.

Nor was this an act of passing condescension. He took upon Himself our human nature, to retain it. He is still man—verily, as truly man as He is truly God. His human body and His human soul are at this very moment rejoicing the blessed in the highest heavens ; and never for one instant, throughout the endless ages

of eternity, will He dissociate Himself from our manhood. Again and again we hear the Mystery of Incarnation spoken of and referred to; but who will give us the power of appreciating all that it means to us, men and women of the earth! In associating Himself in this truly wondrous manner, God exalts the entire race of man in a degree that cannot be measured. He ennobles, elevates, and honours every single member of the great human family. From the moment in which He "was made flesh," He is no longer our Creator merely, nor merely our Lord and Benefactor, our first Beginning and Last End; but He has entered into new relations with us, and has drawn ten thousand times nearer towards us. He has become our Elder Brother, our intimate associate, one of our own family; bone of our bone, blood of our blood, and flesh of our flesh. What a ravishing thought! that even the least of us can claim a relationship, and *such* a relationship with the Irresistible and the Omnipotent! with Him who rides on the wings of the winds; who poises the earth upon three fingers; who holds the oceans in the hollow of His hands; who can do all things whatsoever He pleases; without whose sanction nothing can stir in Heaven or on earth; and without whose actual permission and co-operation not a sparrow falls to the ground, nor a dry leaf is swept away by the hurrying storm.

Wonderful as this undoubtedly is, it is far more wonderful to note that God not only became man (which could have been accomplished without one pang of suffering), but that He became, like us, a suffering man—a "man of sorrows, acquainted with infirmity" (Is. liii. 3). His prodigal love moved Him to share not our nature only, but our distress and humiliations, our sadness and disappointments. He made Himself subject to fatigue, weariness, langour, and to the pains of hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, labour, bodily and mental anguish, and, finally, death. And such a death! Too cruel, too full of bitterness and shame almost to think of, save with tears of sorrow and compassion. Not through any necessity—for is He not Lord and Master of all?—but through deliberate choice; out of pure love; in order to

cheer us in sorrow ; and to infuse strength and courage and a brave hope in our fainting and faltering hearts ; and to draw out the sting of our death, by dying Himself for all.

Can love extend further than this? One might think not. But love is so mysterious a power. It is so unlike all else. It possesses such unsuspected resources. It is so strangely inventive. Oh ! love will discover ways and means of encompassing its designs, which nothing but love would so much as dream of.

Jesus Christ was not content to die, and then to depart from our midst for ever. "I will not leave you orphans" (John xiv. 18). Quite the contrary. He would be more than ever with us after His crucifixion. He would multiply His corporal presence almost indefinitely. Before that awful immolation upon the cross, He was, as man, in but one place in all the earth. Now, on the contrary, He deigns to dwell in every town and city and hamlet. In the vast metropolis ; in the busy hives of industry ; in the quiet country village ; and in the humblest and remotest places of earth, He holds His court, and receives His friends. Wherever there are gathered together a few devout worshippers and a priest to administer to them, there too He is found in their midst. It is the same all over the world. As the express train, panting and throbbing under its hidden fires, hurries us along through France and Germany, Switzerland and the Tyrol, and we snatch hasty glimpses of a Catholic church tower or a cathedral spire, we know that He is there. When tarrying in foreign lands, how often the silvery notes of the Mass or Vesper bells, resounding through some sequestered valley, or across the waters of some slumbering lake or inland sea, stealing upon our ears, arrest our wandering thoughts, and lead us to muse on the love that has led God to dwell among His chosen ones in every nation.

What belated traveller in far-off climes, wending his tortuous way between rocky heights and mountain ranges, has not, while gazing as it seemed almost into the very sky, beheld the precipitous walls of a convent or monastery, perched upon the summit of some beetling eminence, or

clinging like an eagle's nest to the crags and projections of some terrific cliff, and has not thought, as he gazed, that there too the King of eternal glory dwells; where men have gone to pass their days in prayer and contemplation, far from the maddening, noisy, distracting crowd?

But this multiplied presence; this prodigality of love; this desire on the part of our Lord to be wherever a human heart beats, or an adoring soul lives, though a most astounding effect of divine charity, is surpassed by the institution of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. The great Lover of souls would be not only present, not only in the closest proximity, and, if we may so express it, face to face with His chosen ones, but in actual union with each soul His hands have made. As a mother will not merely watch and tend her helpless offspring, but will draw the puny infant to her bosom, and, not satisfied with "kissing it with the kisses of her mouth," will offer it her breast, and thus incorporate her very substance with the substance of the child, so that it lives and feeds, and develops and grows strong on the very flesh of the mother; so does God the omnipotent draw us tenderly to Himself, and as it were incorporate Himself with our very substance in the Holy Eucharist, in such wise that we live our supernatural life through Him and by Him and on Him. "My flesh is meat indeed, My blood is drink indeed. Who eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, abideth in Me, and I in him" (John vi. 57). He truly and actually enters our souls; occupies our hearts; reposes within us as within a living tabernacle, and so possesses our very being, when we place no obstacle in His way, that we may justly exclaim with St. Paul: "I live; no, not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). There in the very centre of our soul He holds His court. "My delights are to be with the children of men" (Prov. viii. 31); and so intimate and close is the union that then takes place between the poor creature and the powerful Creator, that Christ Himself does not hesitate to compare it with that mysterious union which is greatest of all and absolutely unique; namely, the union between Himself and the Eternal Father. "As the living Father

hath sent Me, and as I live by the Father : so he that eateth Me, the same shall live by Me " (John vi. 58).

It is impossible for anyone to think seriously of what Holy Communion really is, without feeling, if I may so express myself, bewildered, overwhelmed, and almost confounded by the undreamed-of and wholly unparalleled depths of divine condescension it supposes. It is so profound and unfathomable a mystery, and indicates a charity so measureless and infinite, that one feels almost as though one dared not think of it, lest the thought should crush and paralyze one's heart and senses. A kind of spiritual tremor or vertigo seems to seize upon one, such as one experiences in the physical order on looking fearfully and fitfully from the beetling edge of some gigantic height down a measureless fall of sheer precipitous rock.

Oh! if our eyes were not heavy with spiritual torpor, and our senses not steeped in a lethargic sleep, I know not how we could ever dare to approach and receive into our heart of hearts Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and "who dwells in light inaccessible" (1 Tim. vi. 16). There is nothing on earth that can compare with it. No love less than infinite love could have devised or contrived half so beauteous or half so sumptuous a banquet for the weary pilgrim, wending his way along the dusty road of life to the great city of God.

Further than this we cannot go—at least not in *this* life. There is nothing between this and the Beatific Vision itself. In the adorable Eucharist we have all that we shall ever have in heaven. The differences are only accidental. When the consecrated particle rests upon our hearts, we hold within us all that constitutes the essential bliss of the saints in eternal glory; the difference is, that we fail to realize it. We possess it, but without being able to estimate what we possess. If, by some stupendous miracle, our eyes were suddenly opened, we would find that we were really in heaven; or rather that heaven itself had come down upon us, and had entered into our souls. How countless are the ways in which God proves His love for men! We have but touched upon a few of them, yet we must reluctantly pass by others, so

that a few words may be said on the *personal* nature of God's love.

II.

I know of no point of more practical interest or of more pressing importance than this. Man yearns to be loved individually and personally, and on his own account, and not merely as one of a multitude. Thus, there is a danger of our very much undervaluing God's love of us, from the very fact that we know that He loves innumerable other creatures besides. We are naturally wont to estimate a man's love at a higher and higher rate, according as it is more and more exclusive. Indeed, we are inclined to regard with a certain air of suspicion, and almost to doubt the strength and depth of a love which is shared by millions upon millions of others. We hunger after an affection which shall be not only intense but undivided.

Now, this is, no doubt, a just way of reasoning when we are dealing with mere human, and therefore finite, love. A weak human creature cannot with any possibility love a whole multitude with any degree of intensity. What is gained in quantity must by the nature of finite things lose in quality. The most fathomless ocean would soon become no deeper than a street puddle, if its waters were spread over ten million million square miles. So the deepest and intensest human affection would soon be reduced to zero, if divided amongst a vast number. True: but then we must bear in mind that this arises from the necessary limitations of human nature, which limitations can have no place in God. Such reasoning, therefore, when applied to Him is utterly fallacious. The most essentially beautiful characteristic of God's love is just precisely that it is so eminently personal and so essentially heart to heart.

We may illustrate the nature of divine love by comparing it with divine wisdom. Thus: God knows all things. He reads the secret thoughts and most intimate yearnings of all men and angels, at one and the same moment, and indeed for the matter of that, by one and the same act. He sees clearly, fully, accurately, without confusion and without effort, every creature that ever was, that is, or ever shall

be. He knows all as each, and each as all. Take any individual—say, myself, now reading this page. He knows me so intimately, so perfectly, so profoundly, and so exhaustively, that it is metaphysically impossible that He could know me a whit more perfectly than He does. Even, if *per impossibile*, He were to withdraw His gaze from all other creatures in heaven and on earth, to fix His whole mind upon me alone, and exclusively, He could add nothing whatever to the perfection of His knowledge.

With us it is very different. We can give our complete attention to one thing only at a time; we can follow but one train of thought at any given moment. Should we attempt to attend to many different things at once, indistinctness and confusion must inevitably result. Such is the difference between God's knowledge and ours. Now an exactly analogous difference exists between God's love and ours.

Let the reader thus muse within himself. God knows me and loves me, singly and individually, just as truly, just as intimately, as though He knew no other and loved no other. He loves me no whit less because He loves millions and millions besides me. He loves me because He has made me: because His own divine image—the image of the ever Blessed Trinity is indelibly impressed upon me; because He has adorned and enriched my soul by His heavenly grace, transforming it into a thing of extreme loveliness and exquisite splendour. And He loves me because I am His own child by adoption; an heir to His throne; and purchased with a great price (1 Cor. vi. 20). This anyone can say—and say with undeniable truth, if his soul be in a state of grace.¹

The fact that God loves myriads of saints and angels together with me, and much more than me, cannot in the slightest degree interfere with the genuineness of the love

¹ "Per charitatem intime ac filialiter Deo conjungimur: per hanc enim ita nobis communicatur et unitur Spiritus Sanctus, seu *ipsa divinitas*, ut ex hac unione efficiamur filii Dei, tanquam participes effecti divinæ naturæ." (Lessius, *De N.D.*, p. 194.)

"Charitas facit homines deiformes"—is the teaching of St. Thomas, 1, 2, Q. 65, 5. c.

He bears me personally. If I alone existed, if God possessed throughout the measureless realms of possible space no other creature but myself, He would love me neither more nor less than at present, nor would His love be even the faintest shadow of a degree more personal. His love of me increases or diminishes with my own personal sanctity, but is, absolutely independent of the amount of divine love lavished upon others. St. Paul said, "He loved *me*, and delivered Himself for *me*" (Gal. ii. 20). With equal truth, I can employ similar language: *e.g.*, He watches, not over men in general—but over *me*, ceaselessly and unintermittently. I may forget Him: He can never forget me. I may lose consciousness in sleep: He never, even for a moment, relaxes His guard over me. He follows me at every step through life, with a providence so marked and so special, that it could not be greater nor more personal nor more minute, though there were no others to provide for. On the other hand, were the existing multitudes of men and angels and of living creatures of all kinds even ten thousand times more numerous than they are, their government and control would tend in no measure to render God's care and solicitude for me individually less detailed or less special. He is not like a frail creature, to be disturbed or affected by numbers or by multiplicity. The most delightful and special charm of God's love is just precisely its extraordinary individual character.

Practically, I may—indeed I ought, always to treat with God, in the same intimate way, and with the same secret familiarity as though He and I alone existed, and as though He had no one else upon whom to bestow a thought. The more earnestly I strive to carry out His will, and the more carefully I endeavour to please Him in all things, the more His love of me will deepen. Unlike the earthly lover, who may weep and sigh and pine in vain for one too distant to hear the words that breathe and the thoughts that burn, we know that God listens to every sigh, hears every sob, watches every tear, and measures every pulsation, as though no other task devolved upon Him but to contemplate the individual soul as it seeks to win His love. What a glorious impossibility!

I cannot so much as think of Him, but He rejoices at it, nor breathe an ejaculatory prayer but He hearkens to it, and blesses me for it. He is, in fact, present within me, and as absolutely and as wholly present, as though He were nowhere else. No earthly lovers were ever so closely united, or so intimately present to one another, or so undistractedly absorbed in each other's affections, as God and the soul in grace.¹ Hence we must cast aside for ever all those prevalent, though utterly false notions, which, no doubt, arise from our tendency to apply to divine love what can be true of human love alone.

It is only by realizing what an intense reality God's love is, and calling to mind its extraordinarily personal quality, that we can at all understand, I will not say the joyousness and buoyancy which habitually characterised the famous solitaries of old, but even their bare possibility. What man *could* pass ninety long years of unbroken solitude in the desert, like St. Paul of Thebes, without going mad, or, at all events growing morose and testy, unless his love of God, and God's love of him, were something eminently actual, personal, and practical? The hermits, anchorites, and solitaries of the early church, and the silent religious of various contemplative orders of the present day are inexplicable on any other supposition. But, in the midst of the cares and anxieties of an active life in the world, we too must draw our pleasure, joy, and gladness at the same unfailing source.

Oh! beautiful and consoling doctrine! Each footsore and weary wayfarer on earth may truly exclaim:—"The Infinite and the All-perfect loves me, personally, intimately, and individually—not as one of a vast indistinguishable mass; but me, N.N., with my own special character, qualities, disposition, antecedents and history; yea, He loves me with a love which is indescribable and inconceivable; which no language can express, no imagination picture,

¹As Albertus Magnus points out—"Est enim amor ipse virtutis unitivæ et transformativæ, transformans amantem in amatum; et e contra, ut sit unum amatorum in altero, et e converso, in quantum intimius potest." (Chap. xii.)

no mind fathom, no thought reach, no heart encompass. A love which I cannot measure; which I comprehend not, and in this life cannot comprehend: a love which outstrips all figures and symbols, defies all numerical expression, and which would dilate and rend my heart with gladness, and so terminate my physical life, were I made fully conscious of it.¹ a love, compared to which all human love is cold, and barren and hollow: in a word, He, the Almighty and Eternal, loves a soul in grace, with an infinite love: and therefore with an ardour not only above, but immeasurably above, all creatures, whether human or angelic.

It seems a bold statement to make, yet it is easily shown. To begin with; it is, by God's express declaration, infinite in duration: "I have loved with an everlasting love." But more than that, it is also infinite² in intensity; though only, of course, in the sense explained by the angel of the schools, the gifted St. Thomas Aquinas.

What is meant by love! To love a person is to wish him well.³ If, for instance, a man desires that another

¹ Lessius says:—"Saepe amor potest esse tam vehemens, ut sequatur mors, omni spiritu vitali, prae nimia cordis dilatatione, diffuente. Sic multi putant B. Virginem vi amoris mortuam." (*De Nom. Dei*, p. 212.)

² The love God bears His rational creatures is correctly spoken of as "infinite." Yet the term may prove misleading unless accompanied by some explanation. It may not be unprofitable, therefore, to remind our readers that while the love is infinite on the part of the Giver, it is necessarily finite on the part of the receiver. This love receives no limitation from the divine nature, for it is identical therewith; yet it is *de facto* limited by the very condition of the creature. Thus: God gives Himself entirely (*in esse intelligibili*), e.g., to a glorified soul in heaven, and by virtue of the "lumen gloriae;" such a soul possesses God wholly (*totus*), but obviously not adequately (*totaliter*).

In other words, the soul in embracing God, most undoubtedly embraces and enjoys an infinite good, but in an essentially finite manner. God is infinite, and God gives Himself to the individual soul. But the soul can possess Him only according to the measure of its capacity, which must, under every conceivable hypothesis, remain ever circumscribed and limited. Even the *humanity* of Christ does not receive the divine gift and love infinitely, for St. Thomas teaches:—"Humanitas Christi, ex hoc quod est unita Deo etc., habet *quandem* infinitatem." (Pp. q. 25, a. 6, ad. 4.)

Compare pp. q. 12, ad. 7, corp., "Nullus intellectus creatus potest Deum *infinite* cognoscere, etc.;" q. 20, arts. 2, 3, "Bonum quod Deus creaturae vult, non est divina essentia;" and q. 19, arts. 3, a. 5, "Deus sicut uno actu omnia in essentia sua intelligit, ita uno actu vult omnia in sua bonitate."

³ Amare nihil aliud est quam velle bonum alicui." (St. Th.)

should enjoy health and happiness, and dignities and prosperity; if he actually bestows upon him riches, favours, and honours (especially when there is nothing to hope for in return), we rightly conclude that the donor possesses a true love for his friend. Furthermore the value of the gifts bestowed marks in some measure the degree of love. The more valuable the gifts he wishes to bestow upon his friend, and the greater the good he seeks to procure him, the greater, evidently, is the love he bears him. Now, apply this principle to God, and ask what kind of good He seeks to bestow upon us. It is not a created good at all. It is nothing finite, however precious or exalted; it is the Infinite, the Uncreated, and the Eternal, the absolute good. It is nothing less than God Himself. "I am thy reward exceeding great." We are made for nothing less than the possession of God for all eternity.

To confer a great good upon another, is to love him with a great love; but to confer upon another an infinite good, is, most assuredly, to love him with an infinite love—especially when the donor can expect no return, and no equivalent. Yet such is the love of God for His children, even for the least and most humble of them all, so long as he is striving with all his heart to keep the commandments.

How sadly strange, and how strangely sad, it is that, notwithstanding all this, men think so much of the love of creatures, so little of the love of the Creator; that they set such an extortionate price on the puny affections of a sinful man or woman, and are so insensible to the measureless affection of God; that, in a word, they will move heaven and earth, and defy hell itself, to embrace the shadow, while often allowing the substance and the reality to escape them altogether. "O! Vita per quam vivo, sine qua morior, ubi quaeso es? Ubi te inveniam? Prope esto in animo, prope in corde, prope in ore, prope in auribus, prope in auxilio: quia amore langueo, quia sine te morior!"

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE MONASTERY AND LIBRARY OF ST. GALL

AFTER the death of St. Gall his disciples did not disperse but continued under the rule of Columbanus to carry out the intentions of their founder. They were for the most part Irish monks who had been attracted to Switzerland by the fame of their countryman. During the disturbances that followed the decadence of the Merovingians, they had much to suffer from the barbarians who invaded the country from the north. They would, in all probability, have been completely exterminated had it not been for the protection of Talto, a powerful neighbour who earned for himself the well-deserved title of "Protector Hibernorum." They also induced a native priest, well known for his zeal, and for his important connections in the district to join them and become their abbot. This was Othmar of Chur, who brought to the service of the abbey the most devoted and enlightened zeal, and who died a martyr in its cause and in the cause of religion. His first care was to renew the cells of the monks, to rebuild the church, which was falling into decay, and to have the relics of St. Gall transferred from their resting-place and laid beneath the high altar of the new building. His energy and success soon became known abroad. Carloman, when about to retire for ever to the solitude of Monte Casino, stopped at the monastery on his way to Italy, and was so much impressed with its discipline and spirit, that he warmly recommended it to his brother Pepin. This monarch sent to its abbot a present of a bell, of sixty pounds in money, and of a right to twenty vassals in Breisgau beyond the Rhine. Such an example of royal munificence was quickly followed. Donations from smaller, but not less devoted personages, rapidly multiplied. In the modern cantons of Zurich, Thurgau, Appenzell, Schweitz, and St. Gall, the monastery received an enormous number of fiefs. Meyer von Knonau gives an immense list of them in one of his works.¹ Those which were donated on the

¹ *Mittheilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte*, xiii., pp. 65-224.

northern side of the Rhine are enumerated by Bishop Hefele in his *History of the Introduction of Christianity into Southern Germany*.¹ They also are very numerous, and are scattered broadcast over the territory that extends from Basle and Strasburg on the one side, to the banks of the Danube on the other.

All these fiefs or properties did not come in to the monastery at once. They gradually accrued. But in the days of St. Othmar the movement had begun. The records of donations were carefully kept in the register of the monastery, and the motives of each one were usually inscribed in the act of transfer. Some gave up their possessions "for the glory of God and the propagation of His kingdom on earth;" others, "because the monastery teaches the Gospel and the doctrine of the Apostles." A rich proprietor, named Albrih, makes over a territory on account of "the instability of this chequered life."² The pious Countess Beata bequeathes her property "in view of the salvation of her soul, and in order to obtain an eternal recompense." Adalsind³ of Recchinbach is influenced by a motive, to which her sex is perennially sensitive—"a desire to beautify and maintain the Church of our Blessed Lady." And thus to the end of the long chapter the formulas are renewed and repeated.

For centuries these large possessions were turned to the best account. Wherever a property fell into the hands of

¹ "Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums im Südwestlichen Deutschland, besonders in Württemberg." (Pp. 307-314.)

² "Ego itaque Albrih, cogitans instabilitatem hujus erumnosae vitae, et econtra retributionem regni coelestis sollicitè mente pertractans, trado ad monasterium Sancti Galli hobam unam plenam, sitam in loco qui dicitur Luterba, cum servo nomine Razo, et cum omnibus ad eandem hobam pertinentibus, id est domibus, pomariis, exitibus et introitibus, agris, pratis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, silvis, pascuis in omnem partem vergentibus, mobilibus et immobilibus, cultis et incultis et quidquid in loco dici vel nominari potest."

³ "In nomine Dei ego Adalsind trado ad coenobium Sancti Galli, ad ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae Genitricis quae aedificata est sub potestate ipsius monasterii in loco qui dicitur Recchinbach, omnem proprietatem meam quam mihi maritus meus Luito donabat, id est, tam domibus quam caeteris aedificiis, quid dici vel nominari potest, omnia ex integro tradita esse volo ad praedictam ecclesiam." (Meyer von Knonau, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-252.)

the monks, a church was built, and the pastorate of the country around it served from the monastery. Hence, as Bishop Hefele points out, the enormous number of churches dedicated to St. Gall, not only in Switzerland, but in Würtemberg, Bavaria, and the Rhineland. The vassals of the surrounding country preferred to depend upon the monastery rather than on the exacting and rapacious lords who plundered and crushed them. The serfs, in particular, were delighted when they became subjects of the great institution. It meant for them kind masters, security, humane and considerate treatment, and a part, moreover, in the work of civilization which was going on, and which they looked upon, not only as conducive to a much better state of things in this world, but salutary even unto life eternal. There were, however, motives in abundance of a worldly kind to attach them to the monks. The monastery had its weavers, its tailors, its shoemakers, its blacksmiths, its smelters, its brewers, gardeners, grooms, shepherds, swineherds, besides a regular service of sailors and shipmen to manage its flotilla of boats on the Bodensee and the Rhine. All these contributed their part to the wealth of the monastery, whilst at the same time they enjoyed its privileges and protection. But, as the French proverb says, "*qui a terre a guerre.*" The wealth of St. Gall did not escape the covetous eyes and the jealous greed of its neighbours. Two adventurous dukes, named Warin and Ruodbart, were the first to harrass the new establishment. The dispute began about some property which was bequeathed to the monks, and which these pretenders claimed as their own. In the course of the contest St. Othmar was taken prisoner, cast into a dungeon at the castle of Bodman, and afterwards at Stein, where he died on the 16th November, 759, having been practically starved to death by his jailors. The monastery, however, survived its persecutors, and freed itself ultimately from the power of all secular enemies. Its struggle for exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Constance was longer and more envenomed, but in the end equally successful. Both successes were, no doubt, only transient, and were destined in subsequent ages to undergo many vicissitudes; but they

were of sufficient duration for the time to enable the institution to develop its interior life, and to acquire a fame for science and letters as well as for sanctity that was not equalled in Europe for two centuries.

These broils, whether of secular or ecclesiastical origin, occupied a good part of two hundred years, and during that time paralyzed, to a great extent, the intellectual influence of St. Gall.¹ It was only in the year 818 that Louis the Mild, King of France, issued the edict which liberated St. Gall from the domination of the bishops of Constance, and left it absolutely free and unfettered to pursue its mission of civilization and benevolence.

All the conditions were now favourable for such a career—wealth in abundance, exterior and interior peace, schools sufficient for the education of the poor, as well as of the nobles. It required only a man of genius—or at least a man of good education and commanding talents—to give a new impulse to the arts and sciences, in order to bring the influence of the establishment to maturity. This man appeared in due time in the person of Moengal or Marcellus, an Irish monk, who is regarded as the real founder of the school of St. Gall.²

Moengal³ accompanied to Rome his uncle, named Marcus,

¹ "Sub Othmari abbatis tempora vel certe non multo post vixere Scoti quidam illustres viri quos in historia Sancti Galli Beatus Notkerus ait ipsius etiam D. Galli vitam octaque conscripsisse." *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*, by Jodicus Metzler.

² "Pour échapper à ses suivants Marcellus leur partagea son argent, ses chevaux et ses mulets ne gardant pour lui que ses livres. Cette générosité calma les esprits. Une dernière fois le courageux savant revêtit son costume de pèlerin, bénit les siens, leur dit de saluer la verte Erin en son nom, les embarassa jusqu'au dernier et au milieu des sanglots de tous, revêtit le froc du bénédictin et devint le véritable fondateur de la glorieuse école de St. Gall." (*Récits Saint Gallois*, par Frederic Tissot, p. 85.)

³ "Grimaldi temporibus Canonici abbatis, Hartmote ejus quasi proabbate, Marcus quidam Scotigena episcopus, Gallum tanquam conpatriotam suum Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal postea a nostris Marcellus, diminutive a Marco avunculo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis eruditissimus. Rogatur episcopus loco nostro aliquamdui stare, allecto nepote. Diu secum deliberantes socii vix tandem consenserant dieque conducto partitur Marcellos nummos avunculi sui multos per fenestram, timens ne discerperetur ab eis; fremebant enim in illum, quasi ipsius suasu episcopus restaret. Equos et mulos

who was a bishop in Ireland, and who went, with a large retinue of pilgrims, to visit the tombs of the apostles. On their return journey they made a pilgrimage to St. Gall, and were, as usual, hospitably received. The superiority of Moengal's education soon made its impression, with the result that he was implored by the monks to remain with them altogether, and assume the direction of their school. Moengal consented; and, as his uncle was now old and feeble, he also asked to be allowed to end his days in the monastery. He was freely accommodated, and welcomed as a permanent inmate of the cloister; but his followers from Ireland were indignant at being deserted by the two leaders of their expedition. When they realized, however, the good that was to be done by their countrymen, they were satisfied, and received, before starting for Ireland, the blessing of the Bishop and of Moengal, who gave them over their mules, horses, money, and other accommodation for travelling, retaining for themselves only their books, vestments, and sacred vessels.

The direction of the monastic schools was now divided between Marcellus, or Moengal, and Iso.¹ The young monks were confided to Marcellus, and the seculars to Iso. Iso was a native of Switzerland, of noble birth, and of uncommon talent. He was soon called away by the monks of Grandval, in Burgundy, who made him their abbot. After his departure, the whole responsibility of the schools fell upon Moengal. Under his direction some of the brothers were told off to make a special study of Greek; they were the "*Fratres Hellenici*." Others cultivated Latin verse. Another class was set to master the ordinary arts of

quibus ipse voluit nominatim episcopus tradidit, libros vero, aurum et pallia sibi et Sancto Gallo retinuit. Stola tandem imbutus abeuntes benedicit; multis autem lacrimis utrimque dicessum est. Remanserat episcopus cum nepote et paucis suae linguae apparitoribus." (*Ekkeharti, Casus Sancti Galli*, p. 10.)

¹ "Traduntur post tempus Marcello scholae claustrum cum Notkero postea cognomine Bulbulo et ceteris monastici habitus pueris, exteriores autem Ysoni cum Salomone et ejus comparibus. Jucundum est memorari quantum cella Sancti Galli his auspiciis crescere coeperit tandemque floruerit." (*Ekkeharti, Casus Sancti Galli*, p. 11.)

the "trivium" and "quadrivium." Others, again, were employed in the "Scriptorium," or in the laboratory. It was a perfect division of labour, in which nothing was neglected.¹

Amongst the many scholars trained by Marcellus, three became celebrated all over Europe.² They were Notker, Ratpert, and Tuotilo. Notker belonged to a noble family of Thurgovia. He was, in every sense, the most admirable of the three. From his youth he had been afflicted with a delicate constitution, and with a defect in his speech, which gained him the name of Balbulus. He had, however, studied with the greatest diligence under Marcellus, and became a polished Latin scholar. His *Martyrologium* is one of the most important historical works of the period. He copied the Greek manuscripts of the canonical letters of the New Testament that were sent to him by Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, and translated a few of the works of Aristotle. He wrote, besides, a book of Sequences, a sort of new lyrical church poetry then in vogue, and several other works on Scriptural and historical subjects.³ One of his canticles, a sequence on the Holy Ghost, was sung before Innocent III., in the eleventh century. The Pope inquired if the author were canonized; and, on being informed that he was not, he expressed a desire that his process should be commenced. It was only centuries later, however, that Notker was beatified.⁴ Several other hymns were also composed by him. Those most generally adopted in

¹ Inter precipuos scholarum S. Gallensium Magistros apud antiquos fuit Faillanus Scotus noster quem doctissimum et benignissimum adde et beatae memoriae Magistrum dixere patres nostri Contractus, Heppidanus et M.G.S." (Iodicus Metzler, *De Viris Illustribus San. Gallensibus*)

² "De Notkero, Ratperto, Tuotilone quoniam quidem cor et anima una erant mixtim, qualia tres unus fecerit, quantum a patribus audivimus narrare incipimus. Hi quidem ab Hisone cum in divinis non mediocriter essent praeſebati Marcello, ut jam diximus, sunt conjuncti; qui in divinis aequè potens et in humanis, septem liberales eos duxit ad artes, maxime autem ad musicam; quae cum caeteris naturalior et quamvis difficilior apprehensa usu quidem sit jucundior," &c. (Ekkeharti, *Casus Ste. Galli*, pp. 126, 127.)

³ *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, by Pez., vol. i.

⁴ Goldast, *Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores*, vol. i., p. 237.

the liturgy of the Middle Ages were the hymn for the feast of Columbanus:—

“ Nostri solemnis saeculi,
Refulgit dies inclyta
Quo sacer coelos Columba
Ascendet ferens trophoe.
Qui post altus Hybernia
Sacro edoctus dogmate,
Gallica arva adiens
Plebi salutem tribuit;”

and the hymn for the Feast of All Saints:—

“ Omnes superni ordines
Quibus dicatur hic dies
Mille milleni millies
Vestros audite supplices.”

A very different man from the gentle and delicate Notker was the ardent Tutilo. He was a powerful man, well built, and equal to any labour. He was an orator, a linguist, an engineer, a painter, an illuminator, a musician, a poet, a sculptor. A perfect portrait of him has been drawn for us by Ekkehart.¹ He was particularly skilled in music, painting, wood-carving, and decoration. It is related of him that once, in the city of Metz, when painting a figure of the Virgin, he was assisted by our Blessed Lady herself, and left behind him an image that was considered the most perfect work of art of the whole period.² On another occasion, at the monastery of St. Alban's, at Mayence, he carved and decorated a high altar;³ which, according to Ekkehart, was not surpassed in the whole of Christendom. The ivory

¹ “Erat eloquens, voce clarus, celaturae elegans et picturae artifex, musicus sicut et socii ejus, sed in omnium genere fidium et fistularum prae omnibus, concinnandi in utraque lingua potens, promptus natura, serio et joco festivus; sed inter haec omnia quod prae aliis est, in choro strenuus, in latebris herimiosus, versus et melodias facere praepotens, castus ut decebat Marcelli discipulus.” (Ekkeharti, *Casus Sti. Galli*, v. 57.)

² “Pingebat aliquando in Metensium urbe imaginem Divi Virginis et ecce duo angeli in habitu peregrinorum accedentes elymosinam petunt, quae accepta ad quemdam clericum sese convertunt et aiunt illi. Domina illa quae illi radios ita ad manum dat numquid illius soror est?” (Metzler, *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*.)

³ “Cui similem anaglypham raro usque hodie videre est alteram.” (Ekkeharti, *Casus*, p. 146.)

decorations on the covers of the *Evangelium Longum* are the work of his hands, and make good his claim to the title of "egregius ἀναγλύπτης," given him by Metzler.¹ They are marvels of delicacy and artistic combination. In music he surpassed all others; and, as Ekkehart reminds us, reflected the greatest credit on his Irish master, Marcellus. He could play on all kinds of musical instruments, and took particular delight in combining melodies and composing verses to suit them. The most famous of his hymns were the "Hodie Cantandus est," for the feast of Christmas, and the "Omnium virtutum gemmis" for the Ascension. Many tropes and fragments of hymns in honour of other festivals were also composed by him. Thus, for the Resurrection, he writes²:—

" Exurge rector gentium,
Nec moriturus amplius,
Orbemque totum posside
Tuo redemptum sanguine."

Some desultory verses were turned off at a moment when he was impressed with the infinite goodness of the Redeemer:—

" Rex pie, rex regum, regnans, O Christe, per aevum."
" Qui mare, qui terras, coeli qui sceptrā gubernas."
" Noxia depellens, culparum debita solvens."
" Qui super astra sedes, Patri deitate cohaeres."
" Es quoque sermo Patris summi, reparator et orbis."
" Lux, via, vita, salus, spes, pax, sapientia, virtus."
" Hic tibi laus resonet; chorus hic in laude resultet."

In addition to these numerous accomplishments Tuotulo was an inveterate traveller, a fencer, and an athlete. When attacked in the forests his assailants usually suffered for their temerity. On one occasion in particular two powerful men waylaid his companions; but when Tuotulo came up with them they surrendered all their plunder, and were glad enough to escape with their lives. The calm and

¹ *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*, p. 12.

² *Migne's Patrologie*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 52.

home-loving Rathpert often warned his companion against the dissipation of travelling; Tuotilo in his turn joked at the slippers of his mentor, and proved by his marvellous activity how much he had benefited by a change of air.

“ Nothing is known [writes the late Dr. W. K. Sullivan¹] of the origin of this singularly gifted man. If he were a Swiss or German, something would be known of his parentage or birth-place, as in the case of his friends Ratpert and St. Notker. But if he were a foreigner, as he may have been, there is nothing singular in the silence of the monastic chroniclers concerning the events of his early life, about which they could know nothing except incidentally. Of the crowd of Irishmen who poured out of Ireland from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the tenth century, and who took an active part in the intellectual movement of the time, how few have left sufficient evidence to enable us even to connect them with the land of their birth. Their lot was cast in the darkest period of the Middle Ages, and they have consequently suffered the fate which too often befalls those who are the precursors or originators of great intellectual or moral movements, or founders of new branches of science or art. In the second half of the ninth century there appear to have been many Irishmen at St. Gall, besides Moengal; and everything that we know of Tuotilo favours the view that he also was one. In the first place, the name is, to say the least, as much like a latinized form of the Irish *Tuatal*, *Tuotal*, or *Tuathal*, as of the Gothic *Totilo*. Again, the wandering disposition, the warm, impulsive spirit which made him equally ready to use his tongue or his arm against an enemy, remind us forcibly of St. Columbanus; and lastly, his great skill in instrumental music, and especially the decidedly Irish character of the melodies² of the two tropes ‘Hodie Cantandus est’ and ‘Omnipotens Genitor,’ which have been published by Father Schubiger, seem conclusive as to his nationality. This Irish strain in his melodies may be the reason why these were considered in the Middle Ages to be peculiar and easily distinguishable from those of the other St. Gall composers. It is worth remarking that one of the oldest musical monuments of this period, the *Liber Ymnorum Notkeri* (still preserved at Einsiedlen, Codex 121), noted in Neumes, was illuminated, if not entirely written, by an Irish hand.”

¹ Introduction to O’Curry’s *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, pp. dlxviii., dlxix.

² Ekkehart says of them :—“ Istos proposuimus ut quam dispar ejus melodia sit coeteris, si musicus es, noris.” And further on : “ Quae autem Tutilo dictaverat singularis ac agnoscibilis melodiae sunt.”

Tutilo was buried in the chapel of St. Catherine, in the church of St. Gall, and the inscription placed over his resting-place in after ages gratefully recorded that "no one ever went away *sad* from his tomb."¹

Ratpert was the third of the inseparable companions who formed what has been designated as the "*Trifolium Sangalleuse*." To him we are indebted for a most valuable history of his monastery from the death of St. Othmar down to his own times. He also is the author of several hymns, amongst others of the processional litany which begins :²—

"*Ardua spes mundi, solidator et inclyte coeli.*"

But he was particularly successful as a teacher in the schools. Before his death his pupils came to present him with a book which they had ornamented and illuminated in the style of which he himself was such a master. Their address, which was read by the youngest, ran as follows :³—

"*Hoc opus exiguum puerili pollice scriptum.*"

"*Sit Ruhtperte tibi magnum, promptissime doctor.*"

"*Largo lacte tuo potatus, pane cibatus.*"

"*Ipse, precor, vigeas, valeas venereris, ameris.*"

"*Hoc optant mecum pueri, juvenesque, senesque.*"

There were several other Notkers at St. Gall besides Notker Balbulus. Notker Medicus was the great physician of his age. He wrought wonderful cures by means of his art, and varied his occupations by painting a series of frescoes in the church of St. Gall and decorating manuscripts with inimitable miniatures. He was particularly devoted to the memory of St. Othmar, in whose honour he composed the hymn "*Rector aeterni metuende saeculi.*"

Another Notker was a nephew of the Emperor Otho I. He became Dean of St. Gall, Abbot of Stavelot, and Bishop of Liège. Notker Labeo was one of the earliest writers in the German language, into which, about the end of the tenth century and commencement of the eleventh, he

¹ "*Nemo tristis abit qui te colit et veneratur.*"

² Migne, *Patrologie*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 39.

³ *Geschichte der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, von Bibliothekar Weidman.

translated a considerable portion of the Bible, and the works of several ecclesiastical and profane authors.¹

A contemporary of most of those mentioned above was Salomon, Abbot of St. Gall and Bishop of Constance. Salomon was one of the most troublesome friends the monastery ever had. From being a spoiled and wayward child he became an exceedingly clever but worldly ecclesiastic. The wise men of St. Gall shook their heads with good reason when he was allowed to put on the robe of St. Benedict and enter their community. His handsome appearance, and his noble connections, the protection of kings and courts, contributed to make him believe that monastic severity was not intended for such as he. He was, however, too powerful to be refused admittance; and once within, he behaved with discretion, if not with humility and submission. He bided his time until political disturbances gave him an outlet for his ambition, and the Emperor Arnulph, whom he served, was in a position to order the monks to elect him as their Abbot. Later on he also obtained for him the bishopric of Constance. And thus the monastery was brought once again under the sway of the Bishop. For the time it gained materially by the transaction, but a wide gap was opened to abuses from which the establishment was free in the days of its autonomy. It must be said, however, that once Salomon had reached the height of his ambition, he worked earnestly for the good of religion and the advancement of learning. As a minister under four successive emperors, he was one of the most powerful men in Europe. Yet he never lost his affection for St. Gall, and loved to retire there every year to discharge his functions as Abbot, and take his part in the simple and laborious life of the monks. He was, moreover, like Wolsey and Richelieu, a munificent patron of art and letters, and the *Vocabularium Salamonis*, drawn up under his directions, is one of the earliest encyclopædies that was printed in Europe.²

The Ekkeharts, like the Notkers, formed a regular dynasty amongst the distinguished sons of St. Gall.

¹ Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae*, t. ii.

² *Ildefonsus von Arx*, p. 191

Ekkehart I. was at the head of the schools for many years, and afterwards councillor of the Emperor Otho the Great. The most famous of them, however, was the fourth of the name.

About the year 1040, the Emperor Conrad II. was led to believe that the discipline at St. Gall was fast on the decline, and he had recourse to the extreme measure of sending some monks from Cluny to reform the monastery. This proceeding was resented at St. Gall, and life was practically made so uncomfortable for the reformers that they had to withdraw. Ekkehart IV., who had spent some years directing the royal school at Mayence, just then returned to his old home at St. Gall. He was known to be a writer of talent, and was asked by his brethren to take up and immortalize the ancient glories of his *Alma Mater*. Ekkehart did not require to be pressed. He was passionately devoted to the grand old monastery, and was determined to relate its great achievements and confound its enemies. It is evident, however, from the first page that he and his monastery are on their defence. There is gall in his pen, and cutting sarcasm and bitter invective in his pages.¹ The enemies of St. Gall are roundly denounced, and their treacherous intentions exposed to the world. There is little of the historic calm in this work. It is on the face of it a partisan production. Nevertheless, it gives many interesting glimpses into the interior of the monastery, draws life-like pictures of its most famous monks, and says the last word on the merits of its most glorious days. It is by turns jovial and angry, generous and unjust, accurate in detail and plainly dishonest. Nor are its pages altogether free from the coarse joke and the questionable anecdote,

¹ "Enimvero obloquiis patere non dubitamus ut nunc morum et temporum est, si quequam asperum, et maxime quod discipline sit, teligeris, si malorum libertates et impunitates non laudare videberis velut impostor et calumniator apud eos qui in lavitate ambulant haberis. At vero quoniam rerum loco nostro gestarum etiam alii veritati nihil parcentes fortuna et infortunia, quomodolibet erant, edixerunt, temptantes quidem ad nos ea quae a patribus audivimus, ea aviditate qua illi quam verissime datum est, stilo et atramento veritatem perstringere, fortuna et infortunia loci nostri veritati nihil parcentes, edisserere." (Ekkeharti, *Causa Sti. Galli*.)

which are the surest signs of monastic decay and the clearest proof that reform was urgently needed.

Some of the institutions of the monastery, as described by Ekkehart and others, are worthy of attention. From the importance of the gardener, that of higher officials may be judged. He had under his orders a regular cohort of servants, who lived together in a vast farm-house, of which he was the director. He had carefully read the treatise *De Villis*, and knew how to cultivate not only the ordinary garden vegetables but also chervil, coriander, dill, cummin, sage, fennel, mint, rosemary, loveage, and other plants required for the preparation of infusions, and general medical and curative purposes. Another officer had charge of the mill, the granaries, the fruit gardens, the waggons and boats for the transfer of corn and merchandise. The reign of the land steward extended over vast herds of oxen, cows, horses, swine, and the numerous flocks of goats and sheep that ranged over his wide domain. He also had his retinue of servants, and ruled them with all the authority of an autocrat. Nearer to the monastery was a great group of workshops, in one series of which lances, swords, gauntlets, cuirasses, shields, and coats of arms were manufactured; in another, stalls for the church choirs, panels, screens, pulpits, tabernacles. Further on, sculptors and stonecutters plied their chisels. In a building by itself, well guarded, and full of mystery, worked the jewellers, goldsmiths, the lapidaries, the bezellers. Here the gold and silver are melted, ores are tested, alloys are combined, which make the metals solid and pleasant to the eye; Bible covers in ivory or wood are enriched with plates of gold or with precious stones. Here also the finishing touch is given to the rich chasubles and mitres, to the reliquaries, shrines, lustres, altar-pieces, and to the elaborate iron and steel decorations for the great doors of the castles and manor houses.

But the wonder of the whole establishment is the *Scriptorium*. Here the fine parchment specially prepared from the skin of the mountain goat or the young reindeer is furnished to the copyists, the illuminators, the miniaturists. It is here those wonderful initial letters were illuminated in colours that are as fresh and strong to-day almost as on the

day on which they were executed. Like the decorations of the *Book of Kells* at home they will stand the minutest inspection and the powers of the strongest microscope. They retain their proportions and their perfection of tint and shade, no matter how they are enlarged :—

“ Scarcely was there any other establishment so celebrated for the beauty of its manuscripts [writes Wattenbach]’, nor did any other so highly prize the art or develop with such care and ardour the ornamentation of initial letters. Therein, especially, do these monks show that they were faithful followers of their Irish brethren, whom they soon surpassed and left far behind. The Scottish manuscripts are distinguished by very elaborate execution, by brilliant colouring of unfading splendour, and by the richness and beauty of their ornamentation. Their favourite ornaments are the interlaced serpents, and by them as well as by the serpents’ heads one can trace the influence of Irish art, as may be seen, for instance, in the gospels of Charles the Bald.”

It was an Irish monk who taught this art, and the study and perseverance necessary to bring it to perfection. Two strophes composed by him are still venerated in the monastery. We quote them in the translation of an admiring Frenchman,² not being able at this moment to lay our hands on the original :—

“ La vaste forêt m’emprisonne,
Le merle jette au ciel son chant sonore,
Les joyeuses trilles des oiseaux remplissent les airs,
Et moi, je suis penché sur mon livre ligné,
J’entends la note claire du coucou lointain
Un beau gazouillis dans le vert manteau du bocage,
Dieu ! qu’on écrit bien au pied de la colline boisée.”

One of the most famous of the copyists and illuminators of St. Gall was the monk Sintram, who wrote the *Evangelium Longum*,³ which is still preserved, and is one of the

¹ *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*, by Dr. Wattenbach, originally contributed to the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archæologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, and translated by Bishop Reeves in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., p. 237. Wattenbach had evidently never seen the *Book of Kells*.

² F. Tissot, *Récit. St. Gallois*, p. 78.

³ “ Hoc hodie est evangelium scriptura cui nulla ut opinamur par erit ultra quia cum omnis orbis Ci.alpinus Sintramni digitos miretur, in hoc uno ut celebre est triumphat. Sed et hoc in homine mirabile erat et singulare quod cum delicata ejus scriptura jucunde sit directa raro in pagina vel unius verbi mendacium invenias rasum.” (Ekkehart, p. 94.)

great treasures of St. Gall.¹ In the early times even the Latin works were written in Irish characters. Of these, only two complete volumes and a few fragments now remain. The others were destroyed by fire in different conflagrations at the abbey, or lost during the numerous wars and confiscations from which it suffered. The labour of transcription was often exceedingly wearisome, as attested by casual notes of the copyists on the margins, or at the end of the book. "Written with great trouble," is a common observation. "As the sick man desireth health," runs another, "so doth the transcriber desire the end of his volume." Another is of a happier temperament; for he writes:—

"Libro completo
Saltat scriptor
Pede laeto."²

Others, again, invoked imprecations on the heads of those who should presume, after all their trouble, to remove the book from the library. Thus one, who had just finished a copy of St. Jerome's translation of the Psalter, writes at the end:—³

"Auferret hoc in quis damnetur mille flagellis.
Judicioque Dei succumbat corpore pesti;"

and at the end of the prophets, he adds:—

"Si quis et hos auferat, gyppo, scabieque redundet"

The copyists were, no doubt, provoked to this rude method of defence. Noble visitors to the library often coveted, and

¹ "Quelles merveilles d'art, de calligraphie, de patience renferment ces manuscrits! Les capitales sont de couleurs diverses, le plus souvent rouge minium, enjolivées d'arabesques, ornées de petites peintures du pinceau le plus délicat. Après mille ans les couleurs en sont presque aussi vives qu'au premier jour. Le temps destructeur les a respectées. Nos moines avait leur secret venu de l'Irlande et l'ont emporté dans la tombe. Peut-être qu'un naturaliste dans quelque station zoologique marine retrouvera un jour les coquillages dont ils se servaient et nous rendra leur belle encre inalterable. (l'. Tissot, p. 108.)

² Amongst the other notes of frequent occurrence are "Hucusque Calvus Patricii scripsit;" "Tempus est prandii;" "Nox adest;" "Sancta Brigita intercedat pro me;" "Adjuva Xte; fave Brigita;" "In nomine Almi Patricii;" "Vae manus mea;" "Vae pectus meum, O Sacra Virgo."

³ *Geshichte der Stifts bibliothek von St. Gallen*, by Bibliothekar Weidman, p. 7.

obtained as presents, some of the best books that issued from the "Scriptorium." The Emperors Charles the Fat and Otho I. were great amateurs of books; and on the occasions of their visits to the monastery had to be accommodated in this way. "Who would have thought," writes the chronicler, speaking of Otho, "that so powerful a brigand would stoop to pillage the cloister and rob a poor community of monks?"

The library of St. Gall remains to the present day one of the richest in Europe. It contains over twenty thousand volumes of very rare and costly books. It counts, moreover, one thousand five hundred manuscripts, and a large number of fragments and stray quaternios or sheets which embrace all kinds of works—pagan, Christian, prose, poetry, Greek, Latin, German. Early in the ninth century the whole catalogue was composed of about twenty volumes of Latin, written in Irish characters—*Libri Scottice Scripti*. We give them below¹ as they are found in the catalogue of Weidman, published in 1841. Of these there is now but one solitary volume remaining. It is the *Gospel of St. John*, written on good parchment, and in large, clear Irish letters. It is certain, however, that all the old Irish books are not included in this list, for one whole book of the Gospels in similar handwriting is still extant. It is supposed to have been brought to St. Gall by Marcellus or Marcus. These two works are splendid specimens of calligraphy. They are

¹ LIBRI SCOTTICE SCRIPTI.

Metrum Juveni, vol. i.; *Epistolae Pauli*, vol. i.; *Actus Apostolorum*, vol. i.; *Epistolae Canonicae VII.*, in vol. i.; *Tractatus Bedae in Proverbia Salamonis*, vol. i.; *Ezechiel Propheta*, vol. i.; *Evangelium secundum Johannem*, vol. i.; *Enchiridion Augustini*, vol. i.; *Item Metrum Juveni*, vol. i.; *Apocalypsis*, vol. i.; *Metrum Sedulii*, vol. i.; *De Gradibus Ecclesiasticis*, vol. i.; *Arithmetica Boetii*, vol. i.; *Missalis*, vol. i.; *Vita Sancti Hilarii*, in Codicillo i.; *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Marcellini et Petri*. *Metrum Virgilii*, in vol. i.; *Ejus glosa in altero*; *Quaternio I. de Inventione Corporis Scti. Stephani*; *Quaternio I. de relatione translationis Sci. Galli in novam Ecclesiam*; *Beda de Arte Metrica in quaternionibus*; *Instructio Ecclesiastici ordinis*, in Codicillo i.; *Liber I. Genesis*, in quaternionibus; *Actus Apostolorum et Apocalypsis*, in vol. i. veteri; *Quaternio I. in Natali Innocentium legendus*; *Orationes et sententiae variae*, in vol. i.; *Orationes in quaternionibus*; *Expositio in Cantica Canticorum in quaternionibus*; *Item in Regum*, quaternio. (*Geshichte der Stifts Bibliothek von St. Gallen von Bibliothekar Weidman*, p. 364.)

based on the *Vetus Itala* version of the Bible which was the only version used in Ireland until St. Finian of Moville brought over St. Jerome's translation which he received as a present from Pope Palagius in 557. They agree, moreover, almost without a variant, with the *Vercelli Codex* published by Father Bianchini, in 1749. In addition to these there are several fragments of works written in Irish characters, and contained chiefly in the Codices Nos. 1394-1395 in the Library Catalogue. The Irish glosses of most importance in the library are those on Priscian's *Grammar*. They have been to a great extent deciphered and published by Zeuss. Amongst the valuable manuscripts of general interest to be seen in the cases are nine palimpsests or "Codices rescripti" of the fifth and sixth centuries; a complete Bible of the ninth century, in royal folio; the "Psalter of Notker," in Latin and German; the "Psalter of Folchard;" the "Psalterium Aureum;" the "Evangelium Longum," all of which are written in Roman characters but decorated in Celtic style. There are two homilies of St. Isidore of Seville, written on Egyptian papyrus, dating from the seventh century; the Antiphonarium of Pope Gregory the Great; four missals from the tenth century; the four books of the *Odes* of Horace, the *Satires* of Juvenal, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a few works of Ovid and Statius, all from the ninth or tenth centuries. The most important manuscripts in the modern tongue comprise very early copies of the *Nibelungenlied*, and of the romances and exploits of Percival and Roland. Soon after the invention of printing, in 1450, several exceedingly rare books were procured for the monastery. There are two Bibles, one Latin and one German, dating from 1464 and 1466, respectively; the Commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, published at Strasburg, in 1492; a Commentary of St. Thomas of Aquin on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boëthius, printed by Octavian Skotus of Venice, in 1494; several very early copies of the *Imitation of Christ*, from the presses of Strasburg and Nuremburg; the Missals of Chur, Augsburg, Constance and Basel, from 1483 to 1497. In addition to these, nearly all the great valuable collections illustrating

the sciences of theology, history, and philosophy, are to be found there. Indeed it is one of the peculiarities of the library of St. Gall, that nearly all its works are rare and costly. The early cultivation in its schools of the science as well as of the art of music makes it also a favourite resort for those who are interested in the history of the notation of music and the primitive trials of counterpoint and harmony.

After the Council of Constance, the Roman Curia sent a commission, composed of three "savants," to examine the library, and obtain copies of the works of any of the ancient writers that they might discover there. These three men were Poggio, Cencio, and Bartolomeo di Monte Politiano. They discovered a large portion of the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus; eight speeches of Cicero, bound up in a speech of Q. Asconius Pedianus; a small work by Lactantius, *De Utroque Homine*; the work of Vitruvius, on Architecture; Priscian's treatise on Grammar.¹ A complete Quintilian (*adhuc salvum et incolumen*) was found by Poggio hidden away in an old tower, under a heap of rubbish. Several other works of minor importance were also discovered; and the learned world was in ecstasy, particularly in Italy. Niebuhr's researches were not so fruitful. The poem of Merobaudes seems to have been the only thing of importance brought to light by him. There is no library in Europe, in which the work of research is easier than at St. Gall. This is chiefly due to the intelligence and foresight of two distinguished librarians of last century, Father Pius Kolb and Father Ildephonsus von Arx, who had all the manuscripts carefully catalogued and arranged in order, and to the most obliging and painstaking priest, Dr. Kah, who has charge of the library at the present time.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century the intellectual glory of St. Gall gradually declined. The

¹Zeuss published a good portion of the Irish glosses in this work in his *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 1008-1022. In the Introduction he says: "Codex Prisciani Sancti Galli magnam glossarum molem præbuis . . . Discerni in hoc codice possunt tres glossatorum manus, una generalis per totum Codicem, diligens et clara in paucis tantum columnis locum cedens alteri manui; tertia manus hic vel illic quasdam ad, spersit glossulas."

monastery got mixed up in the political disputes of the empire and in the social troubles of later times. In 1204, its Abbot Ulrich Baron of Hohensax, was made a Prince of the German Empire, and his successors retained the title till the French Revolution. One of them led an army against Rudolf of Hapsburg, in 1280, to maintain the rights of the monastery, and they all had to contend with the revolutionary spirit of their vassals and serfs, who on several occasions made organized attempts to shake off the claims of the monastery. In 1795 a general insurrection of the tenants and labourers took place, and the Abbot Beda yielded to nearly all their demands. Cardinal Buoncompagni, Secretary of State to Pope Pius VII., negotiated a settlement between the Swiss Government and the authorities of the monastery. In 1806, however, the revolutionists got the upper hand, and the monastery was suppressed. During all these years the moral character of St. Gall was perfectly sound. In this respect its enemies had never a word to say against it. The tone and spirit may have been worldly, but the personal lives of its monks were beyond the breath of reproach. In the seventeenth century it had even a short revival of its old intellectual spirit. It was during the time that the learned Cardinal Sfondrati was Abbot of the monastery. This great canonist, theologian, and devoted churchman, was buried in Rome, in the church of St. Caecilia; but he bequeathed his heart to St. Gall, where it is now enshrined in one of the chapels off the choir. Beneath the eloquent inscription that records the merits of the great abbot may be seen the words :—

“ Bene sperate.”

“ Ego dormio, sed cor meum vigilat.”

“ Vigilate.”

The buildings of the great old monastery are now used for State purposes. The library alone has been left under the care of the bishop, who appoints the librarian. The splendid Cathedral of St. Gall, with its fine choir, its rich frescoes and windows, has always remained in Catholic hands. It is one of the most spacious churches in Europe; and, what is better still, is well filled at the Masses and evening services.

Before we take leave of the monastery we must not neglect to mention that at the rear of the old building there was a spacious enclosure surrounded by high walls, and intersected within by rows of shrubs and cypress trees. It was the last resting-place of the monks and their dependents. This field of death, "*ager mortis*" as it was called, saw the end of many an interesting career. It witnessed many a touching scene which proved that the human heart was not dead under the cowl of the monk, and that the sacrifice of liberty and worldly enjoyment was amply soothed and rewarded by religion. Here lie the fathers and brethren of a thousand years, awaiting the blessed hope.

"Jusqu'au jour du grand reveil
On y trouve un doux sommeil."

Over their graves there is no name, no cross, no stone, but the green sward and the clear blue sky. Alone in the centre of the enclosure a large wooden crucifix arises and seems to embrace the land around it. At its base are inscribed the solemn words :—

"Of all the trees of the earth the holy cross alone bears fruit that tastes of life eternal."¹

In the graves around lie the ashes of many Irish monks who in the ardour of faith and through love of learning and higher things became voluntary exiles. They sleep far away from their native land of Erin. But nature took their mortal bodies back to her bosom on a friendly soil. On the last day they shall rise around their Blessed Father Gall to receive the reward of their labours. Meanwhile the lofty mountains which they loved keep guard around their earthly dwellings, and their dirge is murmured for ever by the swaying forest trees and the fall of the distant cascade.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ "*Inter ligna soli haec semper sanctissima crux est* "

"*In qua perpetuae poma salutis olent* "

"*Hanc circum lateant defuncta calavera fratrum* "

"*Qua radiante iterum regna Poli accipiant.*"

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII., ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

THE least ardent admirer of Leo XIII. will find a freshness and a power visible in his recent Encyclical on the "Study of Sacred Scripture," which will dispel any idle apprehensions he may entertain that "his bays are sere, his former laurels fade." A more luminous and exhaustive exposition of doctrine and duty has never emanated even from his powerful and prolific pen. The grave importance and sublimity of his subject would appear to have brought into full play his wonderful concentration of thought and strength of diction; while for methodic and comprehensive treatment this document rivals even his most elaborate compositions.

HIS OBJECT

in addressing this long-deferred and momentous communication to the Universal Church, is to secure the co-operation of all his children, lay as well as clerical, in the twofold work of cultivating and spreading a deep reverence, love, and knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, and of making due provision to defend the stronghold of inspiration against its numerous and envenomed assailants.

But to priests he appeals with special warmth and emphasis, defining their obligations in this matter clearly and in full detail. He quotes with marked approval the forcible statement of St. Jerome: "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ." Above all, he insists, are preachers bound to breathe the spirit of the Sacred Writings, taking care to be thoroughly imbued with it by constant reading and devout meditation. Having established this by cogent argument and copious examples, commencing with that of our Lord Himself, he pronounces severe but well-deserved strictures on those preachers who hardly ever introduce a word or idea taken from Scripture, but who try to gain cheaply-purchased applause by stringing together

flimsy shreds of discourses and superficial ornaments, hurriedly collected from any and every other source at hand. Without running any risk of being considered hypercritical or unfair to the rank and file of our priests, who have sometimes indeed very little leisure for composing erudite discourses, we would ask them to read and re-read the portion of the Encyclical dealing with this matter—*nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*. Preaching is much commoner in our Irish churches now than it has been perhaps ever before; but does it bear the same deep impress of careful study; does it reflect so strongly the spirit and language of Scripture, as it did in former times?

In the sermons of Dr. Gallagher, for instance, the whole framework of each discourse is of distinctly Scriptural complexion, and the words have the strong flavour of close contact with the same inexhaustible storehouse of materials for pulpit oratory. The encomium St. Jerome bestows on the discourses of the Apostles—"Conciones suas dictis Veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt"—might not unjustly be transferred to such preachers as this truly apostolic bishop. Fortunately for his hearers, the Bible, with the most approved of the old commentaries, and a few first-class works on theology, were the only books he had recourse to in preparing his unctuous homilies. His meagre library was not made up mainly of sermon-books, of which there exists such a mischievous plethora at the present day.

It is only by energetic and sustained efforts on the part of the bishops, by constant and zealous pleading on the part of conductors of diocesan retreats, and by the cheerful co-operation of priests themselves, that anything like a universal and successful movement in favour of cultivating an extensive and careful use of Scripture in sermons and lectures can be initiated. Everybody recognises and deplures the want, but individual exertion can effect little. The paternal voice of the illustrious Pontiff, addressing his widespread family of devoted children, will nowhere, we are confident, be hearkened to with prompter obedience and more lasting earnestness, than here in Ireland. The work mapped out for colleges, can only produce its results, in a

ripe and abundant measure, after some years; in this part of the Encyclical, there is question of the missionary priest, who is assured that it is not enough to study the Inspired Word merely in the preparation of his public discourses, but that by constant meditation upon it, "his whole language should be seasoned with the deep unction of Scriptural reading"—*presbyteri sermo Scripturarum lectione conditus sit*. We are then reminded that the essential difference between the Sacred Scriptures and all other books whatever, and the main and ultimate foundation on which the dignity, excellence, and advantages of the former rest, is

INSPIRATION

This subject he deals with very exhaustively at a later stage; and, as a fairly accurate knowledge of inspiration is an indispensable safeguard in reading the works of heterodox writers, it may not be out of place here to give a brief explanation of what it implies and what it excludes, in popular language.

In the production of the sacred depository of God's Written Word, four objectively distinct acts of the divine power are to be recognised as always necessary for inspiration. First: it was necessary that the will of the individual who was to be employed as the inspired medium, should receive an impulse to write. His intellect, in the second place, was to be enlightened and sustained, so as to understand, in the cases where it was desirable he should understand, for the purpose of committing them to writing, those truths, and those truths only, which God wished to have thus communicated to man. Thirdly, the mental faculties needed divine direction and control, to prevent omissions, and to check effectually any possible temptation to add new humanly conceived ideas. And, lastly, an essential element, so to speak, of the divine operation was the aid of the Holy Ghost in selecting suitable language in which to convey with accuracy and fulness the ideas to be expressed.¹ Is revelation, therefore, not an indispensably necessary condition

¹ Mazzella, *De Virt. Inf. Disp.*, iv., Art. iv.

to the existence of inspiration? To this question, a categorical answer, "No," can be readily and correctly given. But it may be well to explain what the word revelation means. In its etymological and strict acceptation, it is the "unveiling" of something previously hidden. Now, in the Sacred Scriptures we have clear evidence¹ of anxious solicitude, on the part of the writers, in ascertaining and investigating facts from the books or lips of others, or by personal observation. On the other hand, it is obvious that truths already clearly and fully in possession of the writer may, under the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost, be made the subject of inspiration. Hence, as Franzelin observes, "*potest esse inspiratio verissima sive ad loquendum, sive ad scribendum citra revelationem illo stricto sensu acceptam.*" Of course, if the truths which the inspired writer is moved to transmit, be incapable of comprehension by the light of reason, and be actually unknown to him from any source, natural or supernatural, revelation, in its strictest sense, becomes an absolutely indispensable condition. This word, however, in its wider, but more usual acceptation, includes every species of divine operation, whatever faculty of the writer or speaker it may directly affect, which has for its object the manifestation of some truth to the Church. "Si vero," writes Mazzella, "*revelatio sumatur sensu latiori, pro locutione seu propositione quacunque veritatis scribendae, tunc evidenter est de ratione inspirationis.*" Thus understood, revelation is obviously implied in the four-fold divine operation explained above, and is, consequently, an essential factor in inspiration.

It might appear to follow that revelation is the less comprehensive term, being, in one sense, an accidental, and, in another sense, an essential constituent of inspiration. The reverse is the case; not all doctrines that are revealed have reached the Church through the medium of the Inspired Word. For all those truths have been revealed that have been, or can be at any future day defined and proposed to the faithful as the doctrine of the Church, in her capacity of

¹ 2 Macch. ii. 24-27; Luke i. 3; John xix. 36.

infallible interpreter and teacher, the “*custos et magistra verbi revelati*.” The solemn words of the Vatican Council, in which this doctrine is formulated and defined, are:—“*Porro fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab ecclesia sive solemnii judicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tanquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur.*” Revelation, therefore, covers the entire domain of Catholic faith; inspiration is restricted to a part. In order to form a distinct and adequate notion of the import of the term “*inspiration*,” as applied to the Word of God, it is necessary to keep apart in our minds the two separate questions of the *nature* and of the *extent* of the divine operation. In what does it consist? And in the case of an admittedly inspired book, how far did the Holy Ghost influence the intelligent moral instrument, the writer of that book? The conditions requisite to constitute inspiration have been already enumerated; but it will contribute to a full and clear understanding of its *nature*, to state and explain the defined teaching of the Church on the subject, and to indicate briefly the main errors opposed thereto.

The unvarying belief and constant doctrine of the Church since it was first established, was formulated and solemnly defined by the Vatican Council as follows:—“*Eos [libros] vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet . . . propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.*” The phrase “*Deum habent auctorem*” had been repeatedly employed in the doctrinal decrees of councils and popes from the earliest times. We shall examine what precisely it means, when we come to treat of the *extent* of inspiration. The errors as to its *nature* may be ranged under four heads:—

1. Some maintained that the Godhead is the immediate author of even the most trifling and apparently unimportant tittle of information, suggesting even the words, the collocation, &c.; and, in a word, leaving nothing to be done by the writer but the bare mechanical work of inscribing on parchment the cut-and-dry matter. That the Holy Ghost thus dictated, as it were, the minutest details as well as the

substance; that He designed the precise form of expression; that He directed and superintended every stage in the progress of the work; that man was a mere instrument, whose function was similar to that of a modern copying-machine—this extreme opinion was advanced by the chief promoters of the pseudo-Reformation.

2. The antipodes of this error is the absolute denial of any influence exercised by the divine power on any faculty or sense of the biblical writers. This opinion is not entirely restricted to the Socinians and the Rationalists; some Protestants advocate it; while they contend at the same time that the Scriptures may be justly designated “divine” or “inspired,” not on account of the author, but on account of the matter.

3. A third erroneous and clearly heretical doctrine identifies “Inspiration” with the grace that sanctifies the soul, either freeing it from mortal sin, or augmenting the positive sanctification it already enjoys. This opinion, strange as it may appear, is not uncommonly held even by learned Protestants. Thus Archdeacon Lee in his work on the *Inspiration of Holy Scripture* devotes a great deal of space and argument to prove that “the character of that divine influence under which the Bible has been composed, is *specifically* distinct from those preventing and assisting graces of the Holy Ghost, which have been the gift of Christ to His Church.” His own views on the subject are, apart from the matter of justification, largely the same as the Catholic teaching; but he quotes a Mr. Maurice as reasoning in this way. “The Church of England uses the very word inspiration in a certain collect and communion service, as the object prayed for. Are we paltering with words in a double sense?”

4. Lastly, very many heretics—and the same view is erroneously attributed to Lessius—contend that Inspiration is nothing more than a purely preventive influence on the part of the Holy Ghost, initiating nothing, suggesting nothing, but securing the writer against errors of doctrine or of fact.

It is obvious that the second, third, and fourth of these

opinions are in direct antagonism to the teaching of the Church ; the first is, on the face of it, untenable, but has not been condemned. The Vatican Council defines that certain books with all their parts are to be received as sacred and canonical, and are so regarded by the Church, "Non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati, nec ideo duntaxat quod revelationem sine errore contineant."

In regard to the *extent* of inspiration, those who embrace the first-mentioned error on the question of its *nature*, propound the extreme view as to *its extent*, already clearly set forth. In fact, they cannot state in what it consists, without defining its extent. Secondly, others contend that it is only in matters of grave moment that the divine power operated on the mind of the writer, leaving him to his own unaided energies and resources in the treatment of minute details of history, in doctrinal expositions of obscure dogmas that do not practically affect our spiritual well-being, in descriptions of men and things, &c. This view was propounded by Erasmus and, more recently, by Horne ; indeed the latter author only recognises a divine interposition, in so far as to protect the writer against *grave* errors in matters of great importance. Traces of this doctrine are to be found in many Protestant writers.

Again, not a few of those who acknowledge that every sentiment, every idea, every sentence, and every clause in the Sacred Writings, have passed under the "*digitus Dei*," a divine censorship, as it were, deny that the influence of the Holy Ghost extended farther than to repress erroneous doctrines or statements of fact.

A fourth opinion, expressly condemned by the Vatican Council in words quoted above, ignores altogether the divine authorship of the Inspired Writings as originally composed, but maintains that the Church by her subsequent acceptance and approval of these writings, as sacred and canonical, invested them with the character denoted by the word "*Inspiration*."

The definition of Inspiration given above fully explains the received teaching of the most eminent theologians.

Every sentiment enunciated in the canonical books, as conceived by the sacred writers, was *inspired*, and the Holy Ghost exercised an infallible controlling influence in the selection of suitable language. This doctrine is not a *defined* dogma, claiming acceptance under pain of heresy. But it is, and has been, commonly taught; it is the only doctrine that at once harmonizes with the explicit teaching of the fathers, the arguments adduced by plenary councils, and the remarkably strong declaration of his Holiness in two passages of the present Encyclical: "At nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum Sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Non enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus se expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea pertinere, eo quod," &c. . . . "Consequitur ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quid etiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut Catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem."

The instructive story of the Church's constant and triumphant labours in the cause of the Holy Scriptures, here narrated so vividly and succinctly, fills some of the brightest pages in the history of the Church, and disposes of all the stale calumnies of her adversaries on this score. But the Church requires new re-inforcements to meet her latest and most unscrupulous opponents—the Rationalists. Having described the origin and trend of their movement, and the machinery employed to further it, he lays down a complete and admirable code of

PRACTICAL DIRECTIONS

addressed mainly to those responsible for the regulation of the Scriptural studies in colleges, where any reform of this kind, to be enduring and universal, must be inaugurated. It is gratifying to know that, in our Irish colleges, most of these instructions have been forestalled, with the most fruitful results. But the words of the Pontiff are not addressed exclusively to the heads of ecclesiastical colleges;

neither are these pages primarily intended for such. Hence, it may not be wrong to reproduce, here, a few of the instructions that apply generally to the whole body of the priesthood.

A sound knowledge of dogmatic theology is rigidly insisted on; and, should any doubt present itself as to the doctrinal bearing of a text, it is hardly too much to ask, that a standard author—the class-book read in college, for instance—be closely scrutinized, where that particular point is explicitly or impliedly treated. The very interest, inseparable from such an examination and comparison more than repays the trouble. There is entirely too little doctrinal instruction given from our altars and pulpits; *docete omnes gentes* applies primarily to matters of faith.

Every missionary priest is thoroughly cognisant of the existence and extent of the ordinance obliging him to adhere to the *Vulgate version* in all his public utterances, and of the immense light derivable from comparing it with the original Hebrew or Greek texts. This knowledge, remembered from his college days, is refreshed and strengthened every time he looks into A'Lapide, and the other commentaries he uses in preparing his discourses. Is he equally convinced of the importance and almost indispensable duty of keeping near his hand, on such occasions, a good text-book or reference book on the *Introduction to Sacred Scripture*, such as Cornely, Ubaldi, &c.? The proofs of the "integrity, authorship, and genuineness" of the Sacred volumes, we may, of course, remember; but contemporaneous events, customs, modes of expression, &c., it is impossible we could accurately keep in our minds for ever. Again, the laws of interpretation cannot be too frequently or too closely studied; indeed, the Encyclical gives us an invaluable abridgment of the more salient and essential principles.

Lastly, the cheerful and zealous assistance of Catholic scientists is solicited; that, by using their talents and attainments in the cause so dear to their mother, the Church, they may at once dispel the illusion, that true science is arrayed against her, as her natural enemy, and may furnish weapons

to their co-religionists, who cannot devote the same gifted minds, it may be, or, at all events, the same time and energy to any one special subject, not directly appertaining to their profession. Theologians are cautioned against interfering in things that belong to the domain of philosophy, and are requested to leave such matters, when a controversy arises, in the safe keeping of orthodox philosophers of position and name. The same wholesome rule holds all round. It could serve no useful purpose to allow those who have merely touched the fringes of such sciences as geology, for example, to undertake to conduct controversies with eminent specialists, on the chosen ground of the latter. But all catholic readers, and, still more so, preachers ought to keep before their minds the remarkable words of Augustine—"Si aliquid in eis offendero litteris, quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam." It is equally necessary that they realise the well-established truth, that the most distinguished scientists have frequently changed opinions they had pronounced unassailable, as his Holiness reminds us.

We conclude this most imperfect analysis of the Encyclical, on the "Study of Sacred Scripture," by requesting our readers to procure, scrutinize, and keep the original, scrupulously adhering to the injunction, it conveys. *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia Ejus.*

E. MAGUIRE.

TENNYSON AS DRAMATIST

IN some recent numbers of the I. E. RECORD we aimed at giving a critical analysis of Tennyson's principal works. It was our intention at the time to continue the series of articles until a comprehensive estimate of the distinguished poet's merits should be presented to our readers; but pressure of business of a more important nature supervened, and rendered a temporary interruption in such studies unavoidable. Within the last few weeks, however, we have tried to find leisure to resume the subject, and now submit our final essay on the remaining writings of the poet. His dramatic works form the only important department of his poetry on which we have not hitherto touched: to these, therefore, we shall confine our attention in the present paper.

That an author, who had attained the highest distinction in other fields of literature, should, at the advanced age of sixty-six, hazard his reputation by entering on a domain of intellectual work he had never previously attempted, was for many a matter of extreme surprise. There had been few examples in the history of English men of letters to justify such a venture. Neither had Tennyson's previous writings furnished any certain guarantee that the experiment would prove a success. In some few of his narrative poems he had executed some clever character sketches; but of incident or action, in the dramatic sense of these terms, there had been absolutely none. And a yet more serious cause for apprehension lest the new departure should result in failure was founded on the manner of life the poet had hitherto led. The seclusion of Farringford or Aldworth could have afforded him little experience of the art of stage management; while his naturally retiring disposition had drawn him far aloof from the turmoil of social life and the jarring interests of political controversy, which have always been regarded as the most fitting schools for the education of the dramatist. These circumstances combined to fill the admirers of the poet with serious misgivings about the success of his new undertaking; and their gloomiest

forebodings were justified in the event. Of the seven dramatic works written by Tennyson, that most generally admired—*Harold*—has never been represented on the stage; and the others, though variously curtailed and modified to suit the exigencies of the theatre, have enjoyed in turn the briefest possible period of toleration from the public. Even Mr. Irving's rendering of *Becket*, though sustained by exceptional talent and a display of scenic magnificence that is said to have cost thousands of pounds, soon palled upon the popular taste in England; nor is its success in New York, where it is being acted at present, likely to be more long-lived than at home. It may be asserted, therefore, with truth, that Tennyson's dramas form the least successful of his works; and that, when the present generation will have passed away, they will cease to claim the attention of the student of literature.

But for many readers they possess an interest from a totally different standpoint. Three of these poems express the views of a man of undoubted genius on three of the most important epochs in English history, and on the characters of the distinguished men who gave life and colouring to the movements associated with those epochs. Considered under this aspect, the works referred to will be found valuable additions to our already abundant treasury of English poetry; and though early associations and deep-rooted sectarian prejudices often blinded the author to the legitimate demands of truth and the earnest pleadings of virtue, yet his deliberate judgment on complex problems, which are constantly recurring for solution, deserves to be recorded in every adequate review of his writings. The events that led up to the Anglo-Norman invasion; the rival claims of Church and State, as represented by St. Thomas à Becket, on one side, and Henry Plantagenet on the other, leading up to a protracted struggle of the most far-reaching consequence to the ecclesiastical life of the country; the storm of passion, of mutual recrimination, of bloody persecution, that heralded the darkest days of the apostacy of England as a nation: such form the bases of his historical plays. Hence their worthlessness as dramatic compositions cannot deprive them of an intrinsic value as records

of genius on questions of great importance to the student of history. Nor are the four remaining dramas without a collateral interest also. The aim of the dramatist, Hamlet informs us, is "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." However wretched, therefore, these works may be from a purely literary point of view, they are interesting as furnishing evidence of their author's estimate of social virtue in England, and of the most suitable mental pabulum for the audiences to whose literary tastes he panders in these compositions.

The earliest of the historical dramas, *Queen Mary*, which was published in 1875, and subsequently acted by Irving's company at the Lyceum Theatre, deals with the life and character of Mary Tudor. The tone of the work throughout gratifies upon our Catholic instincts. In almost every page we detect traces of religious and political bias, which warps the feelings of the writer, and leads him to give a complexion to facts and statements that is unsupported by our most trustworthy historians. This, however, was the necessary consequence of the method pursued by the poet. Accepting Froude's picturesque but mendacious narrative as his only authority, he follows it faithfully in all its lurid details, and works up a picture of tyranny and fanaticism, before which the most ferocious description we have read of the Spanish Inquisition or of the Huguenot persecution under the Guises, seems tempered with moderation. The heroine of the play is the "Bloody Mary" of Protestant tradition. Her life is a perpetual oscillation between two concurrent passions—an hysterical woman's infatuation for a cold, designing foreigner, who is equally devoid of every sentiment of honour and every feeling of humanity; and a tyrant's reckless cruelty, whose wild thirst for revenge on her own subjects refuses to be slaked except by blood. The unrelieved wickedness of the character becomes the more revolting by contrast with the serene dignity and intellectual strength of Elizabeth, who, though occupying only a subordinate place in the drama, is so represented as at once to elicit the admiration of the reader. Conscious of her powers, she regards the inane

policy of her sister with pity rather than contempt, and patiently bides her opportunity to restore the nation to its normal condition of political independence, and to win back its people once more to the fold of orthodox Protestantism. Cranmer, a victim of religious bigotry and persecution, dies a martyr's death; while Pole, an obsequious courtier, an unscrupulous ecclesiastic, becomes the favourite of royalty and the recipient of the highest dignity in the gift of Rome. Gardener, Bonner, Heath, Wyatt, Courtney, Stafford, Petre, and the numerous less important characters of the drama, so speak and act that their several parts accord with the central design of the poet, and contribute to form a picture of contrasted colours—the sincerity, the long-suffering, the righteous determination of the self-styled Reformers only serving to throw into relief the fatuity, the bigotry, the unrelenting cruelty of the Catholic powers of the time.

From even a cursory perusal of the work, the least experienced reader can infer the nature of its chief defects. There is no combination of incidents that can be dignified with the title of plot. The prominent events of Mary's reign are thrown into the form of dialogue, without the smallest regard for their suitability as materials for a drama; and, in consequence, many of the grandiloquent speeches have no more bearing on the catastrophe than on the death of Julius Cæsar. Thus the very first condition of Aristotle's "unity of action"—namely, that every part should in some way be connected with, and lead up to, the catastrophe—is violated. If it were permissible to compose drama after Tennyson's fashion, a writer might commence with Henry VII. and end with Queen Elizabeth, and call his work *The Tudor Dynasty*. How differently Shakespeare handles the materials from which he constructs his historical plays! He reads Holinshed or Plutarch, and seizes instinctively on the strong dramatic elements in the narrative; he determines one incident for crisis, and another incident for catastrophe, and around these he groups his acts and scenes and characters, in due order and proportion; and from the midst of this profusion and variety he builds up a work of art in which simplicity and unity shine

forth as conspicuous and attractive qualities. In this constructive faculty Tennyson was signally defective, and hence his comparative failure in the composition under review.

Nor is absence of dramatic unity the only technical feature of *Queen Mary* to which we are disposed to take exception; the personnel and character-sketching of the poem also are seriously at fault. There is no other dramatic work of our acquaintance in which, exclusive of a multitude of dumb-show figures, so many as forty-five characters take part in the action. The effect of introducing this exceptionally large number upon the stage is to bewilder the audience, and to render it impossible for them to understand the relation of each minor character to the protagonist. This peculiar defect of the work we can account for only on one hypothesis—that the poet deemed it right to honour every name he met in Froude with a place in the drama. But, notwithstanding the number of characters, there is not one that possesses the attractiveness that should invest the leading figures in any truly dramatic work. The queen has not a single feature that could inspire the audience to wish for either her success or failure. Philip is a compound of callous frigidity and designing cruelty—qualities that can excite little interest in either the student or the play-goer. And the whole crowd of fawning courtiers and wretched ecclesiastics, who compete to win the smiles of royalty, arouse the contempt rather than the sympathy of all who are not hypocrites or slaves. We have no hesitation, therefore, in stating that, in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, notwithstanding its many beauties—for such all the poet's works contain—there are found elements of weakness which have already doomed it to failure as an acting play, and which, when the present generation will have passed away, will consign it to oblivion even for the student of literature.

Two years subsequently to the publication of *Queen Mary* (1877), *Harold*, the second of Tennyson's dramatic poems, appeared. Though it has never been publicly acted, it is much superior to its predecessor for stage purposes, and contains few of the glaring faults that are conspicuous

in the earlier work. In many respects the two compositions present a remarkable contrast. The events commemorated in *Queen Mary* belong to a period of history which is comparatively modern, and are based—or at least pretend to be based—on authentic records; the incidents described in *Harold*, on the other hand, belong to a much earlier date, and rest, for the most part, for their authority, on vague legendary tradition. Moreover, in *Queen Mary* the dramatic interest, if any, is based upon the importance of the period of history which it portrays; while in *Harold*, as in many of Shakespeare's works, the poet depends for his effects upon the bold and striking features of the chief characters in the play. Harold and William and Aldwyth and Edith, unlike the personnel of *Queen Mary*, embody very exceptional qualities, and yield the most appropriate materials for dramatic composition. All these differences were in the poet's favour. Yet so imperfectly did he take advantage of them that, of the two plays, *Harold* is the less commonly read, and the less frequently quoted as a specimen of the literature of the nineteenth century.

The subject of the poem carries back the mind to the stormy days that preceded the Norman conquest in England. Edward the Confessor wields the sceptre, while Earl Godwin and his sons are the most prominent representatives of the fierce valour of the time. Harold especially is a typical hero of the age. He has just reached man's estate, and is beloved by the people not less for his princely bearing and handsome person than for his wisdom in the council and his bravery in the field. The King, having no heirs of his own household, and Edgar Atheling, his next-of-kin, being incapacitated by mental weakness for the exercise of sovereign power, the nation have long looked on the brave young prince, in whose veins both Danish and Saxon blood are harmoniously commingled, as the rightful successor to the throne. But in Normandy there is a dangerous rival in the person of Duke William. At first his title is equivocal, being based on no better ground than a distant relationship to the mother of the Confessor; but circumstances lend it a validity it could not otherwise possess. Harold is shipwrecked on the

Norman coast, and, falling into hostile hands, is carried prisoner to the court of William. Here, with his hands on a casket of sacred relics, he is compelled to swear that he will relinquish his own claims to the crown of England, and use all his energies to secure it for his rival. No sooner is the oath recorded, however, than he repents of his weakness. Soon after, the Confessor dies, bequeathing his throne to Harold. The explicit nature of the bequest, and the unjust compulsion under which the fatal oath was extracted from him, determine him to assume the reins of power. This becomes the signal for war, not only in Normandy but at home. His brother, Tostig, rebels in the north; a second brother, Wulfurth, allies himself to William; and many Norman ecclesiastics, introduced by Edward into England, are in favour of their own countryman. Stamford Bridge is fought; but Harold has not time to enjoy the fruits of victory when he is hurriedly summoned to the south to defend his kingdom against the invader. Hastings, the scene of the fatal encounter, which Edward with the clear vision of a prophet predicted from his death-bed, witnesses the fall of the brave young king; and William, rioting amid the spoils of conquest that lie strewn in profusion around him, becomes the ruler of England.

These are the events that form the groundwork of the play; but for purposes of poetic embellishment other elements had to be introduced. The evil genius of the drama is Aldwyth, widow of Griffyth, King of Wales; and the jealousy begotten of the rival claims of this unhappy woman and Edith, a ward of the Confessor, to the love of Harold, supply the romantic element to the work. Harold's marriage with Aldwyth is one of political convenience; for Edith is the last to bless him as he enters the fatal field, and she alone can identify his body amid the reeking heaps of slain. Other interesting characters in the play are Stigand, created Archbishop of Canterbury by the antipope Benedict; the Norman Bishop of London; and Hugh Margot, a Norman monk. They are introduced for the purpose of throwing an instructive side-light on the ecclesiastical life of the time; and, indeed, from this point of view they are not totally devoid of interest for the student of history.

Harold, as we have seen, possesses many advantages over Tennyson's earliest dramatic work; yet it is by no means free from blemishes. Macaulay, in his eloquent essay on Lord Byron, says that the failure of that distinguished poet, when he undertook the rôle of dramatist, was due to his inability to paint more than two characters—his men being all modelled in himself, and his women on the low ideal that he had formed of womankind. The statement, in a modified sense, would apply also to Tennyson, as he appears in *Harold*. His characters, for the most part, speak Tennysonian; or, if he varies their style of utterance, failure is the inevitable result. We find evidence of a determination to render the dialogue realistic in the scene where Harold is thrown among the fishermen of Ponthieu; and it will be readily admitted that a more unsuccessful attempt at reproducing the conversation of low life could hardly be conceived. Another peculiar example of misconception, far less excusable than the preceding, is Harold's defence of our nineteenth century Anglicanism. The Pope is "a wolf," "a juggler;" sacred relics and ecclesiastical censures are subjects to excite the laughter of scorn; celibacy is an exploded superstition, and—

"At times

They seem to me too narrow, all the faiths
Of this grown world of ours, whose baby eye
Saw them sufficient."

But side by side with these defects and anachronisms are found lines of noble poetry, which, for originality of conception and eloquent beauty of expression, rival anything to be met with in the lyrical writings of the author. The scenes in which Edith appears are characterized by an idyllic simplicity in Tennyson's best style; and many passages of the dialogue between Harold and Stigand, if not in conformity with authentic history, are true at least to the loftiest conceptions of creative genius. Though *Harold*, therefore, can never rank in the highest class of dramatic compositions, yet it will always deserve attention for its many beauties of thought and expression, and will amply repay the most careful study of the reader.

The last of Tennyson's historical dramas, published in 1884, deals with a subject of more thrilling interest than either *Queen Mary* or *Harold. Becket* aims at a representation of the protracted struggle between ecclesiastical authority and civil power during the reign of Henry II. Though the author in his preface disclaims any intention to "meet the exigencies of the modern theatre," yet the work has been found capable of adaptation to the stage. Within the last year, owing to the popularity given it by Mr. Irving, the composition has been reviewed in most of the leading periodicals and newspapers in the kingdom. In the August number of the I. E. RECORD for 1893, an able article will be found on the subject by Rev. J. A. Howlett, O.S.B. We deem it unnecessary, therefore, to make further reference to it here. Hence nothing remains for us but to glance at the merits of the author's lighter and less important dramatic works; and the more briefly we discharge this inconvenient duty the better for the poet, for our readers, and for ourselves.

The Falcon, which is the least ambitious of Tennyson's lighter plays, is based on one of the tales of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The poet follows the mediæval legend so faithfully, that a summary of the one will mean a summary of the other. The incidents are narrated in the ninth novel of the fifth day, and may be shortly stated as follows:—Federigo Alberighi, a young Florentine nobleman, having become the victim of an insane infatuation, squanders his property in vain efforts to win the hand of Giovanna in marriage. Reduced to poverty, he is obliged to remove to a small suburban farm, where a falcon is his only means of support. In course of time, Giovanna and her son take up their abode in the same locality. Suddenly the boy falls ill; but persuades himself that an unfailing cure for his malady would be the possession of his neighbour's favourite bird. The anxious mother, overcoming her natural feelings of repugnance to such an undertaking, visits Federigo with a view to gratify the boy's request; but in the exercise of hospitality, Federigo, having no other food at hand, serves up the ill-fated bird to dinner. Overcome by this wonderful self-denial on

the part of her host, Giovanna relents, and shares her ample fortune and her lot with the man she had so long despised.

Such is an epitome of the legend on which *The Falcon* is based; and the first thought that will occur to the mind of every reader is, whether in such a silly little romance any feature can be discovered that could justify a poet in raising it to the dignity of a drama. We can understand how Longfellow found in it materials for an admirable ballad;¹ but of dramatic action or characterization we can see in it absolutely none. That affection for a hawk might become the motive of important complications would, no doubt, be intelligible to Florentines of the fourteenth century; but an English audience entertain towards the mediæval pastime of falconry no sympathy that would enable them to realize the probability of the action. We are not surprised, therefore, that, though the play was brought before the public under the auspices of Mr. Irving, it was coldly received, and had to be withdrawn as soon as consideration for the author's feelings would permit.

In little more than a year after the appearance of *The Falcon*, Tennyson, undaunted by previous failures, announced his intention of publishing a new drama; and accordingly, in January, 1881, *The Cup* was staged at the Lyceum Theatre, amid a display of scenic magnificence of which all the London papers wrote eloquently at the time. For some months the play was unquestionably a great success; but this fact only proves to the impartial critic the low ebb that dramatic taste has reached in England. The plot is founded on the development of a passion that should never receive a concrete representation in a pure-minded community. Treachery, murder, and intrigue of the vilest character, form the salient points of the action; while there is no compensating moral, except that wickedness receives condign punishment in the end.

Synorix, formerly Governor of Galatia, was, on account of various acts of cruelty and peculation, superseded by Sennatus; and now, from motives of personal revenge, no

¹ See *Tales of a Wayside Inn*: "The Student's Tale."

less than to gratify a guilty passion, he determines to encompass the ruin of his rival's domestic peace. His schemes are on the point of succeeding, when Sennatus appears; a mortal conflict ensues, in which Synorix is victor; and the wife of the fallen chief is at the mercy of the murderer. In due course the nuptials are celebrated; but while the bridal festivities are in progress, a golden cup, a gift of the bridegroom to his bride, becomes the medium of a poisoned draught for the destruction of both.

Who could have foreseen in the author of *In Memoriam* and of the *Idylls*, a dramatist who would select such revolting incidents as the groundwork of a composition intended for the stage? The anomaly is explained only on the hypothesis that the once lofty genius became clouded by senility; that the once pure taste, which had portrayed the chivalry of the Round Table, grew gross when it undertook to pander to the passions of the vulgar crowd. No doubt there are found in this, as in all the other poems of Tennyson, passages of rare beauty; but the prevailing tone is so coarse that the attractiveness of its style cannot redeem it from condemnation. We may, therefore, be excused for dismissing the work without further comment.

The last of Tennyson's dramatic compositions that demands notice at our hands is *The Promise of May*. We should gladly forbear touching it at all, but that the mode of treatment we have adopted demands some brief reference to it. It would seem as if the poet's studies in lighter drama led him from bad to worse, until in the work before us he reached the very nadir of decency. The poem professes to describe the downward career of a professed, if not typical, agnostic, "a surface man of theories, true to none." Like all shallow men, he is aggressive; he ostentatiously proclaims his views, holding man to be "an automatic series of sensations;" he asserts his rule of conduct to be that of "a quietist, taking all things easily;" and openly avows that, since "night and silence" immediately follow death, he means "to crop the flower and pass." Nor do his acts belie his principles. As the slime on the grass marks the windings of the serpent, so a record of shame and sorrow follows him wherever he

turns. Innocence destroyed, hearts broken, homes blighted, beauty blasted and driven forth upon the world—these trace him like a shadow in his downward career of wickedness. The details of the plot are too revolting in their suggestiveness—and, it might be added, absurdity—for reproduction in these pages. Indeed we have already said enough to indicate the character of the play.

Repulsive as is the plot in outline, it leads to situations that are far more repulsive still. From beginning to end the work is bristling with improbabilities, and betrays errors in technique that a third-rate poet would have avoided. Uninteresting soliloquies, inopportune dances, unseemly squabbles in the presence of death, disguises and deceptions which common sense protests against as absurd—such are the ingredients of which this strange medley is composed. When to these is added the blatant effrontery with which the protagonist proclaims his principles of wickedness, we are not surprised that the play was hissed off the stage on the occasion of its first appearance, and that a distinguished member of the audience, the Marquis of Queensbury, rose to enter a public protest against Tennyson's "gross caricature" of agnosticism. Henceforth *The Promise of May* was doomed to irreparable failure, and every candid admirer of the Laureate regretted, as probably he did himself, that the work had ever been given to the world.

Since the publication of *The Promise of May*, another drama entitled *The Foresters*, and dealing with the exploits of Robin Hood, has appeared; but since it is not included in the published editions of his works, we are not in a position to estimate its merits. We have said enough, however, to enable our readers to understand "Tennyson as Dramatist." We believe we have established the contention with which we started, that he would have consulted more effectually for his reputation had he never attempted drama at all. But his failure as dramatist cannot dethrone him from the lofty eminence he has won in other departments of composition. As a lyrist he has never been excelled. As a narrative poet he has won renown which neither the asperity of critics nor the lapse of time can ever wholly destroy.

While the English language is spoken, *The Idylls of the King* and *In Memoriam* will continue to command attention. Nor will those who are most severe in condemnation of his later works venture to deny that he has enriched the literature of his country with many rare revelations of beauty, and many noble principles of honour, which have contributed to render men wiser and better than they had been before. That he was the first of contemporary poets—the interpreter of his age, the voice of his time—is now universally admitted; and when the historian of the future undertakes to study the nineteenth century from the literature it will have produced, nowhere will he find the spirit of enlightenment, of culture, and of progress, so faithfully, yet so beautifully, reflected as in the poetry of Alfred Tennyson.

JOHN J. CLANCY.

Liturgical Notes

THE FEAST OF THE TITULAR OR PATRON OF A CHURCH

WE have had occasion more than once, in replying to correspondents, to state that all priests attached to a church which has been blessed and dedicated to a patron or titular, are bound to celebrate the feast of that patron or titular as a double of the first class, with an octave. This manifest obligation is, we fear, sometimes left unfulfilled; and the excuse usually offered for this neglect is the difficulty of re-arranging the *Ordo* to meet the requirements of the new rite to which the feast must be raised. But this difficulty is almost, if not altogether imaginary, as we purpose showing in the course of this paper.

Titulars or patrons,¹ with respect to the *Ordo*, may be

¹ The term titular is more comprehensive than patron; for whereas the former can be applied to the Divine Persons and to mysteries, as well as to creatures, the latter can be applied only to creatures, that is, to angels and saints. Thus we should not speak of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Saviour, the Redeemer, as the patron of a church, but as the titular; while we may speak of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Joseph, of the angels guardian, as either patron or titular.

divided into two classes—those whose feasts are already celebrated as doubles of the first class, with an octave, and those whose feasts are celebrated under a lower rite. With regard to the former, as is manifest, no change whatever has to be made in the *Ordo*, unless, perhaps, in one instance. The Feast of St. John the Baptist, though a double of the first class, with an octave, has not the *Creed* in the Mass. In churches, however, dedicated to this saint, the *Creed* should be said on the feast day itself, and on every day within the octave. This class of titulars is larger than might, at first sight, appear; for, besides the feasts in the general *Ordo* celebrated as doubles of the first class, with an octave, there is in each diocese (in Ireland) the feast of the patron of the diocese, which is celebrated under the same rite. Hence many priests celebrate the feast of the titular of their church by merely following the directions given in the *Ordo* for the general celebration of the feast. This is true with regard to churches dedicated to our Blessed Lady, under the title of the Assumption or of the Immaculate Conception, and also of churches dedicated to All Saints, to St. Joseph, to SS. Peter and Paul, and to St. Patrick (in Ireland). To these we may add the numerous churches in each diocese dedicated to the patron saint, for all which the directions in the *Ordo* suffice.

The other class of titulars is more numerous than the one of which we have just spoken; and it is this class only that presents any apparent difficulty. There are titulars in this class whose feasts range from doubles of the second class down to simples, and even some who find no place at all in the Breviary or Missal. With regard to all these, it may be said, generally, that the only difficulty involved in raising them to first class rite, and celebrating their octaves, consists in defining what commemorations are to be made, and what are to be omitted on the feast day itself, and in arranging for the octave day. For everyone knows that the *Creed* is to be said every day of the octave; that the office of the octave takes precedence of simple and ferial offices; that a commemoration of the octave is to be made in Vespers, Lauds, and Mass, on every day within the octave

on which a "feast of nine Lessons" falls, provided such feast be not of first or second class rite.

A commemoration may be made in first Vespers, in Lauds, Mass, or in second Vespers. The first Vespers of a double of the first class admit the commemoration of a preceding double of the first or second class, of one of the *greater Sundays*; that is, the Sundays of Advent, and the Sundays from Septuagesima till Low Sunday, both included; together with Trinity Sunday, the octave days of the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, and *Corpus Christi*, and the days within the octaves of Christmas, the Epiphany, and *Corpus Christi*.

In Lauds and Mass, on a double of the first class, a commemoration is made of an occurring Sunday, of an occurring *feria* in Advent, Lent, or Quarter Tense, of Rogation Monday, of octave days, and of the days within the octaves of Christmas, the Epiphany, and *Corpus Christi*.

Second Vespers of a double of the first class admit the commemoration of a following feast even of semidouble rite, but not of a day within an octave, unless the octave be one of the three mentioned above. They also admit the commemoration of an occurring or following Sunday, and of a *feria* in Advent or Lent

The octave day is the eighth day, counting the feast day as the first, and, of course, falls on the same day of the week as the feast. Now if this day be already occupied by a feast of the first or second class, the octave day is merely commemorated in Lauds, Mass, and both Vespers. But if it be occupied by a feast of double major, or double minor, or semi-double rite, the feast is transferred to the first day on which there is not already a feast of nine Lessons, which becomes its *dies fixa*, and the octave day is celebrated as a double minor. If no feast of nine Lessons, that is, no feast even of semi-double rite, occur on this eighth day, the octave day is, of course, celebrated under its proper rite, and a commemoration is made of an occurring simple, if there be such.

It is important to remember that there are seasons during which octaves of titulars, &c., are forbidden. The first of these, following the course of the ecclesiastical year, extends

from December 17 until the octave day of the Epiphany; the second extends from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday; and the third from the eve of Pentecost until Trinity Sunday. Hence if the feast of a titular occur within any one of these periods, it is celebrated as a double of the first class, but without an octave. And if it occur some days before the beginning of one of those periods, the octave ceases with Vespers of the day preceding December 17, Ash Wednesday, or the eve of Pentecost, unless in the case in which any one of these days should be the octave day itself. For as there could be no commemoration of the octave day on the following day, there should be no commemoration of it on the preceding evening.

By referring to the *Ordo* for the present year, we can find an illustration of each of the points just mentioned in connection with the suspension of octaves. Ash Wednesday this year falls on February 7; and the day preceding, February 6, is the feast of St. Mel, patron of the diocese of Ardagh. In ordinary circumstances the feast of St. Mel should have an octave; but as it occurs this year on the very eve of Ash Wednesday, it has no octave. Again, February 7 is the octave day of the feast of St. Aidan, in the diocese of Ferns, of which St. Aidan is patron; but as will be seen by referring to the *Ordo*, the octave of St. Aidan, in the diocese of Ferns, ceases with None, and no commemoration of it is made in Vespers. But in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, February 7 is a day within the octave of their holy patroness, St. Brigid, and hence a commemoration of the octave is made in Vespers.

We subjoin the *Ordo* for churches dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and to St. Michael. By comparing these specimens with the general *Ordo*, it will be seen how few, and how easily made, the changes are:—

JULY

21. Sabb. Ss. MARTYRUM GORCOMIENSII, *dupl. d. f.* (*In Suppl. pro Rub. aliquib. loc. ad 9 Julii.*) 9 l. et com. S. Praxedis in L. et M. Vesp. de seq. (hymn. prop.) com. Dom. 10 (*Ant. Fecit Joas*) tant.
22. DOMINICA X. post Pentec. S. MARIAE MAGDALENAE
Alb. POENITENTIS *dupl. 1 cl. cum Oct. Off. propr. 9 l. et com.*
 Dom. in L. et M. *Credo per Oct. Ev. ult. Dom. In 2 Vesp.*
com. seq. et Dom. tant.

23. Fer. 2. S. Apollinaris. Ep. et M. *dupl. com.* Oct. ac S. Libori
Rub. Ep. et C. in L. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. et
 S. Christinae V. et M.
24. Fer. 3. (Vigilia S. Jacobi.) De iii. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de
Alb. Scr. occ. Lll. 2 et 3 Nn. ut in die festo, 9 l. et com. Vig. et
 S. Christinae in L. et M. *Credo.* Ev. ult. Vig. Vesp. de seq.
 sine com.
25. Fer. 4. S. JACOBI APOST. *dupl. 2 cl.* Com. S. Christophori M
Alb. in L. et M. (privata). *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. tant.
26. Fer. 5. S. ANNAE MATRIS B.M.V. *dupl. 2 cl.* *Credo*
Alb. In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. S. Mariae Magdalенаe, et S. Panta-
 leonis M.
27. Fer. vi. De vi. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de scr. occ. Ll. 2 et
Alb. 3 Nn. ut in die festo. 9 l. et com. S. Pantaleonis in L. et M.
 3. Or. *Concede.* de B.M.V. *Credo.* Vesp. a cap. de seq.
 com. praec.
28. Sabb. SS. Nazarii et Loc. Mm. *semid.* Com. Oct. in L. et M.
Rub. 3 Or. *Concede* de B.M.V. *Credo.* Vesp. de die Octava (ut
 in l. Vesp. festi.) com. Dom. (1 Aug.—Ant. *Sapientia.* Or de
 Dom. 11.), Com. praec. et SS. Felicis et Soc. Mm.
29. Dominica xi. Octava S. Mariae Magdalенаe, *dupl.* Ll. 1 N.
Alb. *Incip. Parab. Salomonis,* occ. caet. ut in die festo. 9 l. hom et
 com. Dom. et SS. Mm. in L. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com.
 Dom. seq. et SS. Abdon et Sennen Mm.—*Alb.*
30. Fer. ii. S. Marthae, v. *semid.* (d.f. In Brev. heri.). 9 l. et com.
Alb. SS. Min. in L. (*suffrag. SS.*) et M. 3 Or. *A cunctis.* Ad Prim.
Preces Dominicales, Vesp. de seq. com. praec.
31. Fer. iii. Hodie et deinceps ut in *Ordine Generali.*
Alb.

SEPTEMBER

28. Fer. vi. Ut in *Ordine Generali,* etiam ad Vesp.
29. Sabb. S. MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI, *dupl. 1 cl.* cum Oct. Omnia
Alb. propr. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (Ant. *O Doctor*) et Dom. 1
 Oct. (Ant. *Adaperiat Dominus.*—Oratio. Dom. 20.)
30. Dominica xx. post Pentec. et 1 Oct. S. Hieronymi, C. et D. *dupl.*
Alb. Ll. 1 N. *Sapientiam* de comm. Doctor. 9 l. et com. Dom et
 Oct. S. Michaelis in L. et M. *Credo.* Ev. ult. Dom. In
 2 Vesp. com. Dom. seq. et Oct.—*Alb.*

OCTOBER

1. Fer. ii. S. Remigii Ep. et C. *semid.* (m. t. v.) Ll. 1 N. *Incip. lib. 1.*
Alb. *Machabaeor.,* occ. heri. (Dom. 1 Oct.) com. Oct. in L. et M.
 3 or. *Concede* de B.M.V. *Credo.* non dicuntur *Suffrag. SS.* nec
Preces Dominicales. Vesp. de seq. com. praec. et Oct.
2. Fer. iii. SS. Angelorum Custodum, *dupl. maj.* Com. Oct. in L.
Alb. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct.
3. Fer. iv. De v. die Oct. s. d. Ll. 1 N. de Scr. occ. caet. ut in die
Alb. festo. In mis. 2 Or. *Concede.* 3 *Ecclesiae* vel pro Papa.
Credo. Vesp. de seq. com. Oct.

4. Fer. v. S. Francisci Assisii. C. *dupl. maj.* Com. Oct. in L. et M. Alb. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. et SS. Placidi et Soc. Mm.
5. Fer. vi. De vii. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de Scr. Occ. Alb. Caet ut in die festo. 9 l. et com. SS. Placidi et Soc. in L. et M. 3. Or. *Concede, Credo.* Vesp. (1^{ma}) de Oct.
6. Sabb. OCTAVA DIE S MICHAELIS, *dupl.* Ll. 1 N. de Scr. Occ. Alb. Caet ut in die festo. *Credo.* Vesp. de seq. com. praec. et Dom. 2 Oct. (Ant. *Refulsit.* Or. Dom. 21.). Ad Complet. et Hor. *Jesu . . . qui natus.*
7. Dom. xxi. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
8. Fer. ii. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
9. Fer. iii. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
10. Fer. iv. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
11. Fer. v. S. Canici. *dupl. maj.* Ll. 1 et 2 Nn. de comm. Conf. Alb. non Pont. Ll. 3. N. et mis. de comm. Abb. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.
12. Fer. vi. S. Brunonis, C. (*m. t. v.—d. f.* In Brev. Oct. 6.) Alb. Ll. 1 N. de Ser. Occ. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.
13. Sabb. Hodie et deinceps ut in *Ordine generali.*

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

INDULGENCED CRUCIFIXES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am very grateful for your opinion regarding the indulgenced crucifixes. I am aware that you have not, at any time, denied the existence of the privilege in question.

I have just received from the Secretary of Card. Melchers a printed document, a copy of which I enclose. It is as follows :—

“Son Eminence le Cardinal Melchers, de passage à Rome, étant encore Archevêque de Cologne, sollicita de Sa Sainteté Pie IX. l'insigne privilège de pouvoir appliquer sur les crucifix, qui lui seraient, en ce but, présentés, toutes les indulgences du Chemin de la Croix. Le Saint-Père consentit à faire droit à sa demande et, par écrit, lui accorda, dans toute son étendue la faveur désirée. Pourtant peu après, se retournant vers l'Archevêque, il lui dit : ‘Ce que vous m'avez demandé vous est accordé, mais avec les restrictions ordinaires.’ A quoi l'Archevêque répondit ; ‘Pardon Sainteté, l'écrit ne renferme aucune restriction.’ ‘Eh bien ! alors,’ répliqua le Saint-Père confirmant ainsi tout ce qui avait été fait : ‘*Quod scripsi, scripsi.*’

“Appelé à Rome en 1885 le Cardinal Melchers exposa à Sa Sainteté Léon XIII. les conditions dans lesquelles ce précieux privilège lui avait été concédé par son prédécesseur Pie IX., et son

extrême désir de le conserver ; ce que Léon XIII. voulut bien lui accorder *ad tempus vitæ*.

“ Donc, pour les personnes qui ont l’immense avantage de posséder un de ces crucifix il *suffit* pour gagner toutes les Indulgences du chemin de la croix.

“ 1. De tenir en main le crucifix,

“ 2. De reciter vingt Pater, Ave, Gloria.

“ Nota.—On peut ainsi faire son chemin de croix et gagner toutes les indulgences qui y sont attachées, *en santé comme en maladie, partout où on se trouve dans sa chambre comme ailleurs, même dans une église, où le chemin de la croix serait érigé sans qu’il soit nécessaire de changer de place ni même de se lever à chaque station.*

MONS. GRATZFELD, *Secrétaire et Auditeur,*

“ DE S. EM. LE CARDINAL MELCHERS.”

Your obedient servant,

A. B.

We feel very much obliged to our esteemed correspondent for all the trouble he has taken in having this question fully discussed, and satisfactorily solved. His present contribution, which we have much pleasure in laying before the readers of the I. E. RECORD, leaves no room for further doubt or uncertainty. Crucifixes blessed by Cardinal Melchers can be used to gain the indulgences of the Way of the Cross by the healthy as well as by the sick, by those who can easily visit a church where the Stations of the Cross are erected as well as by those who are confined to bed ; in fine, anyone who has the good fortune to possess one of these crucifixes can gain all the indulgences of the Way of the Cross by reciting, crucifix in hand, the prescribed prayers even in a church where the Stations are canonically erected. Our correspondent will confer an additional, and very great favour on us, if he will kindly inform us how we may procure one or more of these crucifixes.

OBLIGATION OF RECITING THE REQUIEM OFFICE AT FUNERALS

REV. DEAR SIR,—The custom in Ireland is to give priests a stipendium for the celebration of a Mass, and attendance at the Requiem Office for a deceased friend. The celebration of the

Mass is, of course, a matter of strict justice, and the chanting of the office *in solidum*. But many priests contend that the material presence of each priest at the office is all that our Irish custom requires in strict justice, and that one may recite the office of his breviary during the progress of the Requiem Office and Mass; sometimes only one nocturn is recited without any scruple, and priests who miss a nocturn or two do not consider that they are bound by a strict obligation of justice to supply the omission.

1. Is each priest who receives a stipendium bound to recite the entire Requiem Office by a strict obligation of commutative justice?

2. Is he bound to be in the state of grace when reciting it?

O. S., OSSORIANUM.

1. No.

2. No.

THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

The following has been sent to us by an esteemed correspondent as a confirmation of what we stated in the I. E. RECORD for last month regarding the side of the church or chapel on which the first of the Stations of the Cross should be hung:—

REV. DEAR SIR,—With reference to the question of position in the erection of Stations of the Cross, I send you the following from Moutault, *Traité Pratique de la construction, &c., des Eglises*, note, page 13, tome 2:—

“An indifferens sit ut incipiant a cornu Epistolæ et desinant ad cornu Evangelii aut vice versa?

“Non est necessitate præcepti ut ad acquirendas indulgentias incipiendum sit pium exercitium Viæ Crucis a cornu Evangelii.

“Nec est tamen consuetudo ac praxis generalis, quæ piis est innixa congruentiæ rationibus. In una Brugen, 1837.”

ATQUE.

D. O'LOAN.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, ET EPISCOPOS, UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HARENTES.

DE STUDIIS SCRIPTURAE SACRAE.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPISCOPIS, ET EPISCOPIS, UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM,

Providentissimus Deus, qui humanum genus, admirabili caritatis consilio, ad consortium naturae divinae principio evexit, dein a communi labe exitioque eductum, in pristinam dignitatem restituit, hoc eidem propterea contulit singulare praesidium, ut arcana divinitatis, sapientiae, misericordiae suae supernaturali via patefaceret. Licet enim in divina revelatione res quoque comprehendantur quae humanae rationi inaccessae non sunt, ideo hominibus revelatae, *ut ab omnibus expedite, firma certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint, non hac tamen de causa revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinita bonitate sua ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem.*¹ Quae *supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem, continetur tum in sine scripto traditionibus, tum etiam in libris scriptis, qui appellantur sacri et canonici, eo quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.*² Hoc sane de utriusque Testamenti libris perpetuo tenuit palamque professa est Ecclesia: eaque cognita sunt gravissima veterum documenta, quibus enuntiatur, Deum, prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos locutum, etiam Scripturam condidisse, quae canonica nominatur,³

¹ Conc. Vat., s. iii., c. ii., *de Revel.*

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Aug., *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 3.

eamdemque esse oracula et eloquia divina,¹ litteras esse, humano generi longe a patria peregrinanti a Patre caelesti datas et per auctores sacros transmissas.² Iam, tanta quum sit praestantia et dignitas Scripturarum, ut Deo ipso auctore confectae, altissima eiusdem mysteria, consilia, opera complectantur, illud consequitur, eam quoque partem sacrae theologiae, quae in eisdem divinis Libris tuendis interpretandisque versatur, excellentiae et utilitatis esse quam maximae.

Nos igitur quemadmodum alia quaedam disciplinarum genera, quippe quae ad incrementa divinae gloriae humanaeque salutis valere plurimum posse viderentur, crebris epistolis et cohortationibus provehenda, non sine fructu, Deo adiutore, curavimus, ita nobilissimum hoc sacrarum Litterarum studium excitare et commendare, atque etiam ad temporum necessitates congruentius dirigere iamdiu apud Nos cogitamus. Movemur nempe ac prope impellimur sollicitudine Apostolici muneris, non modo et hunc praeclarum catholicae revelationis fontem tutius atque uberius ad utilitatem dominici gregis patere velimus, verum etiam ut eundem ne patiamur ulla in parte violari, ab iis qui in Scripturam sanctam, sive impio ausu invehuntur aperte, sive nova quaedam fallaciter imprudenterve moliuntur.

Non sumus equidem nescii, Venerabiles Fratres, haud paucos esse e catholicis, viros ingenio doctrinisque abundantes, qui ferantur alacres ad divinorum Librorum vel defensionem agendam vel cognitionem et intelligentiam parandam ampliorem. At vero, qui eorum operam atque fructus merito collaudamus, facere tamen non possumus quin ceteros etiam, quorum sollertia et doctrina et pietas optime hac in re pollicentur, ad eamdem sancti propositi laudem vehementer hortemur. Optamus nimirum et cupimus, ut plures patrocinium divinarum Litterarum rite suscipiant teneantque constanter; utque illi potissime, quos divina gratia in sacrum ordinem vocavit, maiorem in dies diligentiam industriamque iisdem legendis, meditandis, explanandis, quod aequissimum est, impendant.

Hoc enimvero studium cur tantopere commendandum videatur, praeter ipsius praestantiam atque obsequium verbo Dei debitum, praecipua causa inest in multiplici utilitatum genere, quas inde

¹ S. Clem. Rom., *I. ad Cor.*, 45; S. Polycarp., *ad Phil.* 7; S. Iren., *Con. Haer.*, ii. 28, 2.

S. Chrys., in *Gen. Hom.* 2, 2; S. Aug., in *Ps. xxx.*, *Serm.* ii. 1; S. Greg., *M. ad Theod.*, *Ep.* iv. 31.

novimus manaturas, sponsore certissimo Spiritu Sancto: *Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus.*¹ Tali sane consilio Scripturas a Deo esse datas hominibus. exempla ostendunt Christi Domini et Apostolorum. Ipse enim qui "miraculis conciliavit auctoritatem, auctoritate meruit fidem, fide contraxit multitudinem,"² ad sacras Litteras, in divinae suae legationis munere, appellare consuevit: nam per occasionem ex psis etiam sese a Deo missum Deumque declarat; ex ipsis argumenta petit ad discipulos erudiendos, ad doctrinam confirmandam suam; earumdem testimonia et a calumniis vindicat obtrectantium, et Sadducaeis ac Phariseis ad coarguendum opponit, in ipsumque Satanum, impudentius sollicitantem, retorquet; easdemque sub ipsum vitae exitum usurpavit, explanavitque discipulis redivivus, usque dum ad Patris gloriam ascendit.

Eius autem voce praeceptisque Apostoli conformati, tametsi dabat ipse *signa et prodigia fieri per manus eorum*,³ magnum tamen efficacitatem ex divinis traxerunt Libris, ut christianam sapientiam late gentibus persuaderent, ut Iudaeorum pervicaciam frangerent, ut haereses comprimerent erumpentes. Id apertum ex ipsorum concionibus, in primis Beati Petri, quas, in argumentum firmissimum praescriptionis novae, dictis veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt; idque ipsum patet ex Matthaei et Joannis Evangeliiis atque ex Catholicis, quae vocantur, epistolis; luculentissime vero ex eius testimonio qui "ad pedes Gamalielis Legem Moysi et Prophetas se didicisse gloriatur, ut armatus spiritualibus telis postea diceret confidenter: *Arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo.*"⁴

Per exempla igitur Christi Domini et Apostolorum omnes intelligant, tirones praesertim militiae sacrae, quanti faciendae sint divinae Litterae, et quo ipsi studio qua religione ad idem veluti armentarium accedere debeant. Nam catholicae veritatis doctrinam qui habeant apud doctos vel indoctos tractandam, nulla uspiam de Deo, summo et perfectissimo bono, deque operibus gloriam caritatemque ipsius prodentibus, suppetet eis vel cumulator copia vel amplior praedicatio. De Servatore autem humani generis nihil uberius expressiusve quam ea, quae

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

² S. Aug., de Util. Cred., xiv. 32.

³ Acts xiv. 3.

⁴ S. Hier., de Studio Script. ad Paulin, Ep. liii. 3.

in universo habentur Bibliorum contextu; recteque affirmavit Hieronymus, "ignorationem Scripturarum esse ignorationem Christi":¹ ab illis nimirum extat, veluti viva et spirans, imago eius, ex qua levatio malorum, cohortatio virtutum, amoris divini invitatio mirifice prorsus diffunditur. Ad Ecclesiam vero quod attinet, institutio, natura, munera, charismata eius tam crebra ibidem mentione occurrunt, tam multa pro ea tamque firma prompta sunt argumenta, idem ut Hieronymus verissime edixerit: "Qui sacrarum Scripturarum testimoniis roboratus est, is est propugnaculum Ecclesiae."² Quod si de vitae morumque conformatione et disciplina quaeratur, larga indidem et optima subsidia habituri sunt viri apostolici: plena sanctitatis praescripta, suavitate et vi condita hortamenta, exempla in omni virtutum genere insignia; gravissima accedit, ipsius Dei nomine et verbis, praemiorum in aeternitatem promissio, denunciatio poenarum.

Atque haec propria et singularis Scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quae oratori sacro auctoritatem addit, apostolicam praebet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert, ille, *non loquitur in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute et in Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa.*³ Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt praepostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent et praecepta divina enuntiant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanae scientiae et prudentiae verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinis innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quantumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est, utpote quae igne careat sermonis Dei,⁴ eandemque, longe abesse ab illa qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus.*⁵ Quamquam, hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,⁶ atque res ipsa confirmat praestantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduae Bibliorum consuetudini piaque meditationi se praecipue debere, grati Deo affirmarunt.

Quae omnia Ss. Patres cognitione et usu quum exploratissima haberent, nunquam cessarunt in divinis Litteris earumque fructi-

¹ *In Is. Prol.*

² *In Is.*, liv. 12.

³ *1 Thess. i. 5.*

⁴ *Jerem. xxiii. 29.*

⁵ *Heb. iv. 12.*

⁶ *De Doct. Chr.*, iv. 6, 7.

bus collaudandis. Eas enimvero crebris locis appellant vel thesaurum locupletissimum doctrinarum caelestium,¹ vel perennes fontes salutis,² vel ita proponunt quasi prata fertilia et amoenissimos hortos, in quibus grex dominicus admirabili modo reficiatur et delectetur.³ Aptè cadunt illa S. Hieronymi ad Nepotianum clericum: "Divinas Scripturas saepius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur; discere quod doceas . . . sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit;"⁴ convenitque sententia S. Gregorii Magni, quo nemo sapientius pastorum Ecclesiae descripsit munera. "Necesse est, inquit, ut qui ad officium praedicationis excubant, a sacrae lectionis studio non recedant."⁵

Hic tamen libet Augustinum admonentem inducere, "Verbi Dei inanem esse forinsecus praedicatorem, qui non sit intus auditor,"⁶ eumque ipsun Gregorium sacris concionitaribus praeipientem, "ut in divinis sermonibus, priusquam aliis eos proferant, semetipsos requirant, ne insequentes aliorum facta se deserant."⁷ Sed hoc iam, ab exemplo et documento Christi, qui *coepit facere et docere*, vox apostolica late praemonuerat, non unum allocuta Timotheum, sed omnem clericorum ordinem, eo mandato: *Attende tibi et doctrinae, insta in illis; hoc enim faciens, et teipsum salvum facies, et eos qui te audiunt.*⁸ Salutis profecto perfectionisque et propriae et alienae exiriā in sacris Litteris praesto sunt adiumenta, copiosius in Psalmis celebrata; iis tamen, qui ad divina eloquia, non solum mentem afferant docilem atque attentam, sed integrae quoque piaque habitum voluntatis. Neque enim eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est; sed, quoniam sunt ab ipso Spiritu Sancto dictati, resque gravissimas continent multisque partibus reconditas et difficiliore, ad illas propterea intelligendas exponendasque semper ejusdem Spiritus "indigemus adventu,"⁹ hoc est lumine et gratia ejus: quae sane, ut divini Psaltae frequenter instat auctoritas, humili sunt precatione imploranda, sanctimonia vitae custodienda.

¹ S. Chrys., in *Gen. Hom.*, 21, 2; *Hom.*, 60, 3; St. Aug., de *Discipl. Chr.*, 2.

² S. Athan., *ep. fest.*, 39.

³ S. Aug., *Serm.*, 26, 24; St. Ambr., in *Ps. cxviii. Serm.*, 19, 2.

⁴ S. Hier. de *vit. cleric.* ad Nepot.

⁵ S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* ii. 11 (al 22); *Moral.* xviii. 26 (al 14.)

⁶ S. Aug. *Serm.* 179, 1.

⁷ S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* iii., 24 (al. 48).

⁸ 1 Tim. iv. 16.

⁹ S. Hier. in *Mich.*, 1. 10.

Praeclare igitur ex his providentia excellit Ecclesiae, quae, *ne caelestis ille sacrorum Librorum thesaurus quem Spiritus Sanctus summa liberalitate hominibus tradidit, neglectus iaceret,*"¹ optimis semper et institutis et legibus cavit. Ipsa enim constituit, non solum magnam eorum partem ab omnibus suis ministris in quotidiano sacrae psalmodiae officio legendam esse et mente pia considerandam, sed eorundem expositionem et interpretationem in ecclesiis cathedralibus, in monasteriis, in conventibus aliorum regularium, in quibus studia commode vigere possint, per idoneos viros esse tradendam; diebus autem saltem dominicis et festis solemnibus fideles salutaribus Evangelii verbis pasci, restricte iussit.² Item prudentiae debetur diligentiaeque Ecclesiae cultus ille Scripturae sacrae per aetatem omnem vividus et plurimae ferax utilitatis.

In quo, etiam ad firmanda documenta hortationesque Nostras, iuvat commemorare quemadmodum a religionis christianae initiis, quotquot sanctitate vitae rerumque divinarum scientia floruerunt, ii sacris in Litteris multi semper assidueque fuerint. Proximos Apostolorum discipulos, in quibus Clementem Romanum, Ignatium Antiochenum, Polycarpum, tum Apologetas, nominatim Justinum et Irenaeum, videmus epistolis et libris suis, sive ad tutelam sive ad commendationem pertinerent catholicorum dogmatum, e divinis maxime Litteris fidem, robur, gratiam omnem pietatis arcessere. Scholis autem catecheticis ac theologicis in multis sedibus episcoporum exortis, Alexandrina et Antiochena celeberrimis, quae in eis habebatur institutio, non alia prope re, nisi lectione, explicatione, defensione divini verbi scripti continebatur. Inde plerique prodierunt Patres et scriptores, quorum operosis studiis egregiisque libris consecuta tria circiter saecula ita abundarunt, ut aetas biblicae exegeseos aurea jure ea sit appellata.

Inter orientales principem locum tenet Origenes, celeritate ingenii et laborum constantia admirabilis, cujus ex plurimis scriptis et immenso Hexaplorum opere deinceps fere omnes hauserunt. Adnumerandi plures, qui hujus disciplinae fines amplificaverunt: ita, inter excellentiores tulit Alexandria Clementem, Cyrillum; Palaestina Eusebium, Cyrillum alterum; Cappadocia Basilium Magnum, utrumque Gregorium, Nazianzenum et Nyssenum; Antiochia Joannem illum Chrysostomum,

¹ Conc. Trid., sess. v., decret. de reform., 1.

² Ibid., 1-2.

in quo hujus peritia doctrinae cum summa eloquentia certavit. Neque id praecclare minus apud occidentales. In multis qui se admodum probavere, clara Tertulliani et Cypriani nomina, Hilarii et Ambrosii, Leonis et Gregorii Magnorum; clarissima Augustini et Hieronymi: quorum alter mire acutus extitit in perspicienda divini verbi sententia, uberrimusque in ea deducenda ad auxilia catholicae veritatis, alter a singulari Bibliorum scientia magnisque ad eorum usum laboribus, nomine Doctoris maximi praeconio Ecclesiae est honestatus.

Ex eo tempore ad undecimum usque saeculum, quamquam hujusmodi contentio studiorum non pari atque antea ardore ac fructu vixit, vixit tamen, opera praesertim hominum sacri ordinis. Curaverunt enim, aut quae veteres in hac re fructuosiora reliquissent deligere, eaque apte digesta de suisque aucta pervulgare, ut ab Isidoro Hispalensi, Beda, Alcuino factum est in primis; aut sacros codices illustrare glossis, ut Valafridus Strabo et Anselmus Laudunensis, aut eorundem integritati novis curis consulere, ut Petrus Damianus et Lanfrancus fecerunt.

Saeculo autem duodecimo allegoricam Scripturae enarrationem bona cum laude plerique tractarunt: in eo genere S. Bernardus ceteris facile antecessit, cujus etiam sermones nihil prope nisi divinas Litteras sapiunt. Sed nova et laetiora incrementa ex disciplina accessere *Scholasticorum*. Qui, etsi in germanam versionis latinae lectionem studuerunt inquirere, confectaque ab ipsis *Correctoria biblica* id plane testantur, plus tamen studii industriaeque in interpretatione et explanatione collocaverunt. Composite enim dilucideque, nihil ut melius antea, sacrorum verborum sensus varii distincti; cujusque pondus in re theologica perpensum; definitae librorum partes, argumenta partium; investigata scriptorum proposita; explicata sententiarum inter ipsas necessitudo et connexio: quibus ex rebus nemo unus non videt quantum sit luminis obscurioribus locis admotum. Ipsorum praeterea de Scripturis lectam doctrinae copiam admodum produnt, tum de theologia libri, tum in easdem commentaria; quo etiam nomine Thomas Aquinas inter eos habuit palmam.

Postquam vero Clemens V. decessor Noster Athenaeum in Urbe et celeberrimas quasque studiorum Universitates litterarum orientalium magisteriis auxit, exquisitius homines nostri in nativo Bibliorum codice et in exemplari latino elaborare coeperunt. Reverta deinde ad nos eruditione Graecorum, multoque magis arte nova libraria feliciter inventa, cultus Scripturae

sanctae latissime accrevit. Mirandum est enim quam brevi aetatis spatio multiplicata praelo sacra exemplaria, *vulgata* praecipue, catholicum orbem quasi compleverint: adeo per id ipsum tempus, contra quam Ecclesiae hostes calumniantur, in honore et amore erant divina volumina.

Neque praetereundum est, quantus doctorum virorum numerus, maxime ex religiosis familiis, a Viennensi Concilio ad Tridentinum, in rei biblicae bonum provenerit: qui et novis usi subsidiis et variae eruditionis ingeniique sui segetem conferentes, non modo auxerunt congestas maiorum opes, sed quasi munierunt viam ad praestantiam subsecuti saeculi, quod ab eodem Tridentino effluxit, quum nobilissima Patrum aetas propemodum rediisse visa est. Nec enim quisquam ignorat, Nobisque est memoratu jucundum, decessores Nostros, a Pio IV. ad Clementem VIII., auctores fuisse ut insignes illae editiones adornarentur versionum veterum, *Vulgatae* et *Alexandrinae*; quae deinde, Sixti V. eiusdemque Clementis jussu et auctoritate, emissae, in communi usu versantur. Per eadem autem tempora, notum est, quum versiones alias Bibliorum antiquas, tum polyglottas Antuerpiensem et Parisiensem, diligentissime esse editas, sinceræ investigandae sententiae peraptas: nec ullum esse utriusque Testamenti librum, qui non plus uno nactus sit bonum explanatorem, neque graviores ullam de iisdem rebus quaestionem, quae non multorum ingenia fecundissime exercuerit: quos inter non pauci, iique studiosiores Ss. Patrum, nomen sibi fecere eximium. Neque, ex illa demum aetate, desiderata est nostrorum sollertia; quum clari subinde viri de iisdem studiis bene sint meriti, sacrasque Litteras contra *rationalismi* commenta, ex philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta, simili argumentorum genere vindicarint.

Haec omnia qui probe ut oportet considerent, dabunt profecto, Ecclesiam, nec ullo unquam providentiae modo defuisse, quo divinae Scripturae fontes in filios suos salutariter derivaret, atque illud praesidium, in quo divinitus ad ejusdem tutelam decusque locata est, retinuisse perpetuo omnique studio ope exornasse, ut nullis externorum hominum incitamentis egerit, egeat.

(To be continued.)

Notices of Books

AT HOME NEAR THE ALTAR. By the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. London: Burns and Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE have read every line in this charming little book, and have risen from it with the exclamation: "What a pity men who can write thus do not write more!" In size, in binding, in style, in matter, it is an ideal booklet of devotion. Every idea in its eighty-three pages springs warm from a heart aflame with divine love, and is crystallized in language of limpid clearness and chaste poetic beauty. Side by side with it we have read Faber and Dalgairns, and have formed the conclusion that *At Home Near the Altar* will appeal forcibly to many hearts that are impervious to the more austere influences of *The Blessed Sacrament* and *Holy Communion*. The spirit of Father Russell's work is as different from that of the others, as is the fervour of a devout communicant from the cold enlightenment of the theological student. And in times like ours, when the rapid progress of knowledge and the bewildering confusion of secular pursuits seem to paralyze the love of God in many excellent souls, we doubt not that the simple outpourings of devotion in this admirable little book are calculated to effect more good than the elaborate and erudite treatises to which we have referred.

Father Russell's booklet contains a development of a series of beautiful thoughts suggested by the numerous phases that the Blessed Sacrament presents to a devout mind. The possibility of transubstantiation, the fact of the Real Presence, the mysterious manner of Christ's Eucharistic life, the manifold effects of Holy Communion, the necessity and special functions of Viaticum—all these dogmatic questions are touched upon, but are treated rather as postulates than as conclusions. Nor are these the only fountains of the author's inspiration. His extensive reading, his retentive memory, his exceptionally refined taste, have enabled him to collect a valuable treasury of quotations, in reference to the Holy Eucharist, from the writings of persons eminent for holiness and learning. These quotations suggest kindred ideas to the mind of the writer; and these ideas again find expression in words as felicitous as those by which they were originally suggested. The sources on which the author draws in this manner

are almost infinitely varied. The Venerable Father Southwell, S.J., the Venerable Father Colombière, Richard of St. Victor, Silvio Pellico, St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, St. Louis of France, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Bernard, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Mrs. Seton, first Sister of Charity in the United States; Father Curtis, S.J.; Father Molony, S.J.; Father Cheerheart, Father Faber, Lamartine, Richard D'Alton Williams, J. J. Callanan, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Father Abram J. Ryan, Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Bishop of Ephesus—these are some of the writers that have contributed to Father Russell's repertory of select quotations; and the admirable use he makes of their words is an instructive example of the profit that may be derived from methodic reading. From this point of view, *At Home Near the Altar* is a choice spiritual bouquet culled from the garden of intellectual creation in honour of the Blessed Sacrament; and the living seedlings that it contains will, we have no doubt, fall upon many prolific hearts, where they will grow in beauty and fragrance unto the more perfect service of the sanctuary.

Nor could the arrangement of the various sections be more artistic than it is. As the reader is carried along from point to point, he feels so entranced by the sublimity of the subject, and the elegance of the style, and, it may be, the concomitant influence of grace, that at times he would fain breathe an earnest personal prayer from the depth of his own emotion; when, lo! the very thoughts that struggle in his heart for utterance are expressed on the page before him in the attractive form of verse. The poetic lines that occur at intervals in the work break upon the reader like an inspiration, and supply a more suitable garb wherewith to clothe his feelings than he could ever devise for them himself. To this end, the poems "At Thy Feet" and "O Happy Flowers," are peculiarly appropriate. Their tenderness of thought and exquisite harmony of expression are in accord with the tone of mind and heart that the preceding chapters cannot fail to have awakened; and the impression they leave behind will be sure to remind the sympathetic soul sometimes that he should learn from inanimate nature to try and do more for the honour of the patient Godhead whom love has made our prisoner. The same is true, though in a somewhat less degree, of the other beautiful poems embodied in the work.

In one of his opening chapters the author modestly disclaims the hope that the book will meet with a widespread acceptance among priests. We feel warranted in being far more sanguine

than he. We believe that priests desire to have in their libraries books of real worth; and there is no priest who will not find the work under review of this character—who will not derive incalculable benefits, both intellectual and spiritual, from even a cursory perusal of its pages. Let any priest make five minutes' meditation on the section entitled "A Garden of Weeds," or that headed "Believing and Doing," and then see whether he does not feel himself a better man; or let him examine his rule of life in the light of Father Russell's own simple verses, *Horae Diurnae*, and then see whether his conscience absolves him from all blame in reference to the important subject with which they deal.

But the work will be found specially useful by members of religious communities. The first series of pious thoughts and prayers, entitled *Moments Before the Tabernacle*, of which *At Home Near the Altar* is a continuation, "has been received," the author informs us in his preface, "with much favour by the devout faithful, and especially by religious communities, not only at home, but in Australia and the United States." We have no hesitation in predicting an equally extensive popularity for the present volume. No religious can read the sections on "Royal Incognito," "A Little Devotee," "A Servant Maid's Ejaculation," "Love's Captive," &c., without finding abundant food for most salutary reflection. To such readers we commend especially the exquisite poem headed "At Thy Feet." There is a soul of sweetness and sympathy in its every line, not unworthy of an emanation from the heart of St. Francis of Assisi.

Nor will the ordinary faithful find these pages devoid of a particular interest for themselves. With the exception of a few chapters, which bear a special significance for priests and religious, the work will be found to possess a general usefulness. Indeed, it includes some few sections that have a direct reference to the laity. A quotation from Denis Florence MacCarthy's "Lay Missioner," which, Father Russell tells us, was intended as a portrait of the late Lord O'Hagan, will be found of wide application. "All are not priests," wrote the distinguished poet, "but priestly duties may and should be all men's." The words are explained as having a peculiar appositeness when there is question of the due decoration of God's altar and of God's house. Each member of the Christian family should be able to say to himself in the words of Solomon: "I have loved the beauty of Thy house, O Lord, and the place where Thy glory dwelleth." "Yes," writes Father Russell, "we must all of us, not priests only, love the altar and work for the altar. The altar of holy

Mass, the altar of benediction, the altar of our visits to the Blessed Sacrament, the altar whose solitude is not disturbed by our visits : we must love it, and we must try to show our love by works." Nor can we refrain from applying to the ordinary faithful, as well as to priests and religious, the following beautiful stanzas, entitled "Two Stars":—

"When the Wise Men sought for the new-born King,
 Who had come to rule o'er the earth,
 They followed a Star from their home afar
 To the place of our Savior's birth.
 And the wise men still who would seek our Lord,
 From a star His true course learns,—
 'Tis a tiny light that by day and by night
 Near the tabernacle burns."

It was the fervent wish of St. Alphonsus Liguori that a copy of his treatise on prayer should be placed in the hands of every Christian on earth. We entertain a similar feeling regarding this admirable little book, and earnestly pray that, as far as possible, our hopes may be fulfilled. Indeed we have no doubt but the work will secure a vast circulation, and will sow the seeds of a rich harvest of good in innumerable souls. It will thus worthily take its place among the publications that are daily emanating from the Jesuit Order, and that aim, as this does, at a yet higher realization of the beautiful motto of the society—*ad majorem Dei gloriam*.
 J. J. C.

THE CHILD OF MARY BEFORE JESUS ABANDONED IN THE TABERNACLE. Translated from the French by Rev. Francis Daly, S.J. Eleventh Edition. Limerick: Guy & Co., Limited, 114, George-street. 1893.

WE are delighted to find that Father Daly's neat little volume has already reached the eleventh edition. In its present form it comes to us with the cordial approbation of His Eminence Cardinal Logue and of quite a number of other bishops. The book more than deserves the popularity it has secured. It contains the prayers and meditations necessary for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, all expressed in the clearest and most devotional language. Considering that one hundred copies in paper may be had for 13s. 6d., or one dozen copies in cloth for 3s. 3d., we venture to recommend it to priests for distribution amongst their parishioners—more especially the school children. It has already found a wide circulation in colleges and convents.

J. J. C.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

TERENCE ALBERT O'BRIEN AND COMPANIONS

THOUGH all true followers of the Crucified are willing to lay down their lives for Him, and a multitude that no man can number has received the grace to do so, yet amongst all the martyrs the bishops shine with a brightness of their own. The aureola becomes a mitred head best. The hand that carries a crozier here most suitably bears a palm branch in the Church triumphant. The very episcopal consecration of itself culminates in that love "greater than which no man hath." And still more so when the bishop has through life, in spite of dangers and difficulties innumerable, defended and maintained the faith in all its purity.

Such a pastor was he to whose memory the following pages are dedicated. One of the most conspicuous figures in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland during the eventful seventeenth century is unquestionably Terence Albert O'Brien, the martyr-bishop of Emly. His unswerving rectitude and devotion to duty, joined to his nobility of soul and his loyalty to the Holy See, have won for him the admiration of posterity.

We do not know the exact place of his birth, but the boundaries of his ancestral domain are clearly marked, for the sept or clan to which he belonged was the Mac I-Brien Arra, whose chief fortress stood on Keeper Hill, and whose other castles were Ballina, Cnoc-an-ein-Fin, and Kilmostully.

They sprang from Brien Roe O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, eighth in descent from Brian Boru, and younger brother of Teige, the ancestor of the earls of Thomond and Inchiquin. Terence or Turlough (his was a family name in the Arra branch, but rarely met with amongst the other O'Briens) while still young conceived the desire of devoting himself to the service of God in the Dominican Order, and applied to his uncle, Father Maurice O'Brien, then Prior of St. Saviour's, Limerick. The request was gladly acceded to. Could his family and his new superior have seen the future that was in store for that child of many hopes, they would have acknowledged that it surpassed their highest expectations. At his reception he took the name of Albert, dear to Dominicans, as being that of one of the prodigies of the thirteenth century, known to all succeeding ages as "Albert the Great." If lustre was ever added to that name, it certainly was by him who was now henceforward to bear it. The year's probation showed what was in the youthful novice, so richly endowed with the gifts of nature, and the still better ones of grace. At its close, with all the devotion of his young heart, he pronounced his solemn vows before the altar of St. Saviour's, Limerick, and soon after bade a temporary farewell to the land of his birth.

In the *Regesta* of the Most Rev. Father Seraphino Sicci, General of the Order (1620-24), we find the following entry:—"1622, May 22nd. Brother Albert O'Brien was sent to Toledo for his studies." (Archives of the Order, Rome.) Archdeacon Lynch of Tuam also states in his manuscript history of the Irish bishops, to which we shall often have occasion to refer, that Terence Albert O'Brien went through his course of ecclesiastical studies in St. Peter Martyr's, Toledo. It was at that time one of the most famous schools of theology in Spain. In the list of the fifty Irish students residing in Spanish houses of the Order, which was sent to Propaganda in 1627, amongst the last names we see those of Frater Albertus Brian, Frater Arturus Geoghegan, Frater Thaddeus Moriarty, Frater Joannes Cuillain." All four were destined to receive the palm of martyrdom, though not at the same time. How closely united in mutual charity,

Some of our Martyrs.

and how true to their high vocation were these devoted religious! Far away from Ireland as they were, they ever remembered that she expected them to do their utmost to maintain her dearest cause, that of the true faith. And fervently they prayed that God would protect the Island of Saints, and enable themselves, when their turn should come, to promote her highest interests to the best of their ability.

The subject of our article was still in Spain, in 1629, as another list sent to Propaganda shows. This is an instructive instance of the importance attached to a full course of study, at a time when less enlightened superiors would have been induced to curtail it by the specious plea of the urgent necessities of the Irish mission. The Dominican legislation of the period not only takes into account, it even lays stress on, the peculiar circumstances of the country, but only to find in them a cogent argument for bringing home none but matured priests, men of solid virtue and learning, able to guide others, and ready to face the dangers which awaited the ministers of the Gospel. How wise this was, and how well Terence Albert O'Brien repaid the care that had been bestowed on his ecclesiastical training, will abundantly appear in the sequel. With regard to the companions of his novitiate, who, with one exception, were not the companions of his martyrdom, it will be enough to say here that Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty and Father John O'Cuillin were amongst the most zealous priests that ever returned to the shores of Ireland. The third, Father Arthur Geoghegan, was apprehended on his way home; he suffered at Tyburn, in 1633. Their history will be contained in other articles.

On his arrival in Ireland, Father Albert O'Brien was assigned to St. Saviour's, Limerick. For many years, unobserved by men, he laboured assiduously for his own sanctification, as well as for that of his neighbour. During this period he was twice Prior of St. Saviour's, and once of St. Peter Martyr's, Lorrha, near Portumna. As regards his own inner life at this time, it is to be regretted that no detailed account of it has been preserved such as that given of his actions and of his influence on others at a later

period. We have, however, sufficient evidence of his virtues, as well as of the esteem with which he was regarded, in the fact of his being thrice elected Prior. This of itself would entitle him to our respect; and still more does the choice made of him in the Chapter held in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, A.D. 1643, to be Provincial of Ireland. We may mention that in the letters patent of the confirmation of his election (Archives of the Order, Rome) he is called "Albertus Bernardinus, *vulgo* O'Brien;" why "Bernardinus," we know not. But Lynch also states, in the manuscript already quoted, that he took as his name in religion, "Albertus aut Bernardinus"! Those who elected him to be their Provincial acted wisely in entrusting their common weal to one who, in the words of a contemporary, was conspicuous for his zeal. It was a time of hope, when the hearts of Catholics throbbed with the expectation of a brighter day. The Confederation had assembled in Kilkenny, and all around the social and political horizon looked fair, and promised the sunshine of national liberty. Efforts were joyfully made on every side to remove the traces of all the crimes that Queen Elizabeth and James I. had committed; and men vied, as it were, with each other in restoring religion to its ancient splendour.

It is interesting to note that nearly all the old chalices, &c., still in use in Dominican churches throughout Ireland belong to this period. Only two or three at most bear an earlier date; but, speaking from memory, even these are of the seventeenth century. This fact in the case of one Order shows how complete was the confiscation of church plate in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, even allowing for accidental losses, &c. And the other remarkable fact points as clearly to a great revival, almost instantaneous, made with a determination like that of the Macchabees, to reinstate divine worship in all its due solemnity. It is equally interesting to note that many of these chalices, as well as some other ones without date, appear to be of Spanish workmanship. Such sacred memorials of the past tell their own history. Young priests returning home from Toledo, Salamanca, &c., must have brought these chalices to Ireland.

Thus it is morally certain that some of those still in daily use were often in the hands of one or other of the "martyrs."

We saw already that at the same period the number of Dominicans in Ireland was about six hundred. They had in a few years increased most marvellously, in the designs of God, no doubt, in order to meet the enemies of His Church in the struggle that was nearer than perhaps anyone thought then. The few religious who had survived the last persecution united once more in community life; schools and novitiates were re-opened or enlarged; and large numbers of students were sent to the best schools of theology on the Continent. How holy their lives must have been, how apostolic their spirit, appeared when their virtue was put to the severest of all tests.

The guiding spirit of all the good then effected by the Dominicans in Ireland was their saintly Provincial. His energy made itself felt everywhere. We may well be surprised that, amidst the pressing cares of his new position, and the exigencies of the times, he could hope to find time for reading. Yet so it was. A letter from the General, of a later date, gives him permission to have, for his own use, a history of the General Councils, the works of St. Thomas, Cajetan, Baronius, &c. Towards the end of the year 1643 he received a summons to attend the General Chapter of the Order in Rome. The high esteem in which he was held by the Supreme Council is evident from the following letters of safe-conduct and recommendation:—

A PASS FOR FATHER ALBERT O'BRIEN

[*Translation.*]

"As the Very Rev. Father Albert O'Brien is summoned, on account of his office, to the General Chapter of the Order of Preachers, which is to be held in Rome next May, by authority of our Holy Father Urban VIII., we deem it right, on account of his noble birth, his spotless life, his eminent learning, and his office of Provincial of his Order in Ireland, to commend him to all Catholics to whom these presents shall come, because he has exerted every effort to promote the Catholic cause in Ireland. We trust that he will be welcome to all that favour our cause, and that, as is meet, he will be received by them with Christian charity and courtesy.

"Given at Kilkenny, 10th Feb., 1643 (4)."

The letter of recommendation had been written the day before.

LETTER TO FATHER LUKE WADDING FROM THE SUPREME
COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATION

"REVEREND FATHER,—The bearer, Father Albertus O'Brien, Provincial of the Friars Preachers in this kingdome, beinge sent for to the Generall Chapter of his Order, to be held at Rome, hath merited soe well of us and our cause, and hath beene soe zealous in furtheringe of it, both by himselfe and those subject to his authoritye, that we may not omitt to recommend him unto you as a man who hath made it his studye to advance our designes, as well by cherishinge and encouradginge those who did assist us, as by chastising some who thought to disquiet our proceedings. Wee pray you, therefore, to further and to give all due countenance to his affairs.

"Kilkenny, the 9th of Februarie, 1643 (4)."¹

The Provincial must have set out immediately, and travelled with expedition, for he reached Rome on the 24th of April, as appears from an entry of that date (General's Archives). The room in the Minerva (the head house of the Order) which he occupied may still be seen. The famous Franciscan, Father Luke Wadding, was the agent of the Confederate Catholics at Rome; and none could have been found more capable or more deserving of that high office. He gave, we may be sure, a warm welcome to the Dominican, from whom, in turn, he would learn the latest news of the great events then occurring at home.

In the General Chapter of 1644 many important enactments relating to the Dominican Province of Ireland were made, in all which one may trace the noble spirit, and the influence for good which were the characteristics of Terence Albert O'Brien. These, as being so much private legislation, we shall pass over; suffice it to say that they all testify to his wisdom and zeal. Two other matters, however, may be of interest to many readers, and so will be mentioned here. It was in this Chapter that the privilege was granted to all Irish Catholics that wear the white scapular bestowed on the Order by the Blessed Virgin, of participating in the

¹From the Manuscript Register Book of Letters of Supreme Council, Gilbert's *Hist. War*, 1641, vol. iii., p. 99.

benefits enjoyed and in the merit of the good works performed by all Dominicans throughout the world. It was in this General Chapter also that the first list of our martyrs was made. For many years no representative of the Irish Province had been able to take part in such an assembly, and unfortunately the names of those who died for the faith during that period have not been recorded in the contemporary "*Acta Capitulorum Generalium*." The exceeding violence of that long persecution which sent so many to heaven, "clothed with white robes and palms in their hands," was at the same time the partial cause of their names with few exceptions being no longer remembered on earth. But Terence Albert O'Brien resolved, as regarded the martyrs of his own time about whom he could bear witness, that this omission should not be suffered to continue. A succinct list was accordingly drawn up and presented to the Chapter. The first name on this roll of the Church's heroes was that of his fellow-student, Arthur MacGeoghegan. As he gave testimony to the glorious death of his former companion, did a voice from heaven whisper in his ear, "To-day for me, to-morrow for thee." His humility might forbid such a presentiment, but in his heart glowed a martyr's spirit, and the desire, if God so willed, of standing once more side by side with the friend of his youth, never again to be separated. And so it was to be ; a few years afterwards his own name was to be the first on another list of martyrs.

During the Chapter the virtue and learning of the Irish Provincial won the admiration of all, and in time became known to the Pope, Urban VIII. At its conclusion, he and some other Irish fathers received the highest distinction, the degree, namely, of Master in Theology. As soon as his presence in Rome was no longer required, he set out for home, and on his way stopped at Lisbon for the purpose of making the usual visitation of the members of the Irish Province, priests and nuns residing in that city, the former at Corpo Santo, the latter at Belem (Bethlehem). It was during his stay in Lisbon that he received the announcement that, in consequence of a petition received from the Supreme Council, it was the Pope's intention to appoint him

to the see of Emly; and in consequence he bade farewell to his brethren in Corpo Santo, including its founder the famous Dominic of the Rosary (O'Daly), and returned without further delay to Ireland in order to convoke the Provincial Chapter for the election of his successor. The date of Father Albert O'Brien's actual elevation to the episcopacy was unknown to Dr. Burke¹ and other writers, the fact being that, perhaps in consequence of the death of Urban VIII. (29th July, 1644), he was not appointed immediately. In the following year, on October 22nd, the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, landed at Kenmare, and on November 12th entered Kilkenny when the Supreme Confederation was sitting. His first care, as Father Meehan² shows so clearly, was to fill up the ranks of the episcopate, for at the time several sees were vacant, and one at least required a coadjutor. The Nuncio's letter to Cardinal Panfilio—Kilkenny, 31st December, 1645—contains the following interesting passage:—"Father Terence, the Dominican Provincial, has been in Italy. He is a man of prudence and discretion, and experienced in the management of affairs. We may be sure that he will be a success, and the Bishop who desires to have him as Coadjutor feels himself to be in extremely bad health."³ And on 11th August, 1646 (Latest account of the dioceses), "the Bishop of Emly is confined to his bed, speechless and senseless. It appears necessary therefore to give him a Coadjutor, and a better cannot be found than Father Terence O'Brien, whose support, moreover, of the Catholic cause at the present time is deserving of the highest possible reward, as the memorial of the clergy sets forth."⁴

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 488.

² *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*, chap. viii.

³ "Fr. Terenzio, Provinciale dei Dominicani, è uomo di prudenza e di sagacità, stato in Italia e pratico di molti maneggi, da sperarne ogni buona riuscita, e il Vescovo che lo desidera per Coadiutore sente che è ridotto in malissimo termine di sanità." (*Nunciatura*, p. 84.)

⁴ "(Nuova Relazione delle Chiese) Il Vescovo Imolacense sta in letto, muto ed insensato, e però par necessario di dargli il Coadiutore, ne migliore può darsi di Pr. Terenzio Brien, il quale ha di più un merito presente con la causa Cattolica, degno di qualsivoglia remunerazione, come narrerà il mandato del clero."

Then "on Monday, 11th March, 1647, a secret consistory was held, in which (as according to the report of the Cardinal D'Este, the see called Calamensis had become vacant on account of the translation of Edmund Dwyer to the see of Limerick) his Holiness appointed thereto Terence Albert O'Brien, O.P., as bishop and pastor, and made him Coadjutor to the Bishop of Emly,¹ with right of succession, &c." (*Consistorial Records*.) The appointment was notified at once, for in the *Regesta* of the General (De Marinis), we find the entry, "March 25th, permission was granted to Father Terence O'Brien, Master of Theology, to accept the

¹ This Bishop's surname was O'Hurley, as we learn from both the Pontifical and the Dominican Records. They do not, however, agree about his Christian name. The *Acta Consistorialia* in the Vatican Archives, show that a Maurice O'Hurley was appointed to the see of Emly, on the 15th of June, 1620, and the Preconium of Cardinal Fabrizio Verello, Protector of Ireland, states that Maurice was at the time "aetatis ad minus quadraginta annorum, presbyter a multis annis . . . magister in theologia, ac officium Vicarii Generalis dictae Ecclesiae (Limericensis) per plures annos probe et laudabiliter exercuit" (*Tabularium Congr. Consistorialis*). On the other hand, a James O'Hurley was, according to the *Bullarium Dominicanum* (tom vi., p. 143), and O'Heyne (p. 17), the immediate predecessor of T. A. O'Brien in the see of Emly; and O'Heyne adds, that James O'Hurley had been Provincial of Ireland. Dr. Burke, who agrees with all this, quotes, moreover, the following passage from the *Registrum Ordinis*, "Anno 1639, die 19 Februarii, confirmatus in Provincialem, canonicus electus in Capitulo Provinciali congregato in Conventu Deiparae Gratiarum Yeoghelensi 12 Octobris P. Fr. Jacobus Hurleus;" and as there was a Vicar Provincial in 1641, he infers that James O'Hurley had been by that time raised to the episcopal dignity.

But of a James O'Hurley immediately prior to T. A. O'Brien, there is no trace in the Consistorial Records, nor in the Corsini, nor in the Barberini MSS. Neither is there in Lynch's MS. History, but he mentions that he knew Maurice O'Hurley, from whom he received Minor Orders and Tonsure. It seems infinitely less probable that there should be two Dr. O'Hurleys in succession, one of whom is not mentioned in the Roman Records (an inexplicable omission in a continuous series of most accurate and complete accounts) than that Maurice was the baptismal, and James the religious name of the same individual. That Maurice had been a Vicar-General is no reason for saying that he was not a Dominican—there are instances of regulars holding that office even in the last century—while his title of "Magister in Theologia" is almost a peculiarly Dominican one. On the other hand, it must be remarked that Rinuccini does not say in the passages above quoted that T. A. O'Brien's predecessor was a Dominican; nay, Cardinal Verello speaks of him as "presbyter Limericensis diocesis." However he may have been taken out of a house of his Order to supply a pressing need in the Diocese. This was not uncommon even in recent times. The difference then between Maurice O'Hurley and James O'Hurley need be no greater than that which exists in regard of the

bishopric." It is certain that he was consecrated by the Nuncio (as Lynch affirms), the ceremony being performed probably in St. Canice's Cathedral, or in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. Lynch¹ also states, that in November, 1651, he had been more than four years a bishop. This enables us to ascertain approximately the date of the ceremony.

The consecration of Terence Albert O'Brien, whose zeal and activity were indefatigable, marked the commencement of a new era not only for the diocesans of Emly, but for the Catholics of Ireland. As was, however, to be expected, those very qualities which endeared the bishop to the people made him, according to the remark of another contemporary writer,² the man in all Ireland whom the Protestants hated most. His energy and firm resolve were but too well known, and they felt instinctively that even if they got the upper hand, they might break but not bend him. Dr. O'Hurley was unable to attend to the wants of his flock, but his place was well filled. Such was the verdict of friend and foe. Very

subject of this article between Terence O'Brien and Albert O'Brien—Rinuccini calls him by the first name, the Dominicans often call him by the second.

As regards Maurice James O'Hurley, to give him for once his full name, the only possible period for his Provincialship is between 1615-1620. A blank occurs here in Dr. Burke's list of Provincials. It is true that in 1617 Fr. Roche MacGeoghegan was Vicar-Provincial, but Father O'Hurley may have held office either before or after within the period just mentioned. Lastly, with respect to the Father James Hurley who certainly was elected Provincial in 1639, he is apparently a distinct person from the bishop of the same name. At least until it can be shown that there is an omission in the Consistorial Records, the only way which occurs to the present writer of reconciling Dominican history with them, is to suppose that this James O'Hurley was never the occupant of the see of Emly. Dr. O'Hurley died about 1649 (Brady, *Episcopal Succession*).

The transcripts of the Consistorial Record with several others have been kindly furnished by the Very Rev. Father Costello, St. Clement's, Rome, who of all men is the best qualified to speak on the succession of the Irish Bishops, as he has discovered and copied all the Roman documents regarding it for about six centuries. These documents were not within the reach of Dr. Burke. He did the best with the materials then at hand.

¹ "A Domino Nuntio consecratus suae et totius Hiberniae Ecclesiae auctoritate, consilio et vigilantia ultra 4 annos indefesse succurere studebat." (Lynch.)

² "Cum autem Episcopus factus esset, tanto Religionis Catholicae negotium agebat fervore, quasi unus solus et omnis homo actitare videbatur, et plus aliis cujuscunque Status personis omnium Hereticorum in se furorem excitaverit." (O'Daly.)

soon the diocese of Emly began to experience the bitter results of the defeat sustained by the Confederates at Cnoc-na-noss, 13th November, 1647, when Inchiquin in the pride and insolence of victory overran the whole district west of Cashel, and in his hatred of the Nuncio revenged himself on his own noble kinsman. The latter, on his part, left nothing undone to succour and console his flock in their misfortunes. Night and day, through wood and glen, did this good shepherd, at the risk of his own life, seek his sheep and defend them from the wolf. When the raid was over he was one of those thirteen bishops who on April 27th, 1648, signed at Kilkenny the famous declaration that no truce should be made with Inchiquin.

With that fidelity to the Holy See and its representatives characteristic of the Order to which he belonged,¹ he gave on every occasion proofs of his unalterable loyalty and attachment to Rinuccini till that prelate's departure from Galway, January 23rd, 1649. At the first announcement he had hastened to bid him farewell, but when he reached the neighbourhood of the city, to his disappointment, he was informed that the Nuncio's vessel, the *San Pietro*, had already sailed. He was also in Galway, August 23rd, 1650, when with four other bishops he subscribed the Jamestown Declaration (August 6th, same year) against the iniquitous policy of Ormond; and a letter written in the same city, 29th March, 1651, states that he had been unable to enter his own diocese for more than a year.²

Through all this troubled time the cause of the nation was the cause of God. This must be ever kept in mind as the reason why the Irish hierarchy took the lead in affairs which otherwise would be purely secular. The motives which animated the bishops may best be understood from their own words:—

"We, the Archbishops, Bishops, &c., having met at Clonmacnoise, on the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord

¹ "It is as natural to Dominicans to defend the Holy See as it is to man to breathe." (Rinuccini. Letter to Father Gregory O'Farrell, Irish Provincial.)

² *Spicil Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 369.

God, 1649, taking into our consideration among many other affairs then agitated and determined for the preservation of the Kingdom, that many of our flock are held by a vain opinion of hope that the Commander-in-Chief of the Rebels' forces (commonly called the Parliamentaries) would afford them good conditions, and that relying thereon, they suffer utter destruction of religion, lives, and fortunes, if not prevented. We cannot, therefore, in our duty to God, and in discharge of the care we are obliged to have for the preservation of our flocks, but admonish them not to delude and lose themselves with the vain expectation of conditions to be had from that merciless enemy. And, consequently, we beseech the gentry and inhabitants, for God's glory and their own safety, to contribute with patience to the support of the war against that enemy, in hopes that by the blessing of God they may be rescued from the threatened evils, &c. Admonishing also those that are enlisted of the army to prosecute constantly, according to each man's charge, the trust reposed in them, the opposition of the common enemy, in so just a war as that they have undertaken for their religion, king, and country, as they expect the blessing of God to fall on their actions; and to avoid God's heavy judgment, and the indignation of their native country, they neither plunder nor oppress the people, &c."

Among the twenty-two signatures is that of *Frater Terentius Imolac*.

We now approach the most glorious part of his career. He was in Limerick when that devoted city was first besieged. He had gone there, as Lynch observes, when the power of the Confederate Catholics began to wane. Such was the opinion entertained of his energy and influence, even by those outside the walls, that Ireton secretly sent him word that he would give him forty thousand golden crowns and a safe-conduct out of the kingdom to any place he pleased, if he would only cease to exhort the inhabitants to the defence of the city, and connive at its surrender. From the commencement of the siege he had opposed the very mention of a compromise with the Parliamentarians, and had used every means to encourage the garrison to hold out. His efforts redoubled when he saw that some began to waver. The Cromwellian general estimated correctly the bishop's power, but he must not have known what sort of a man the bishop was. The base suggestion was indignantly rejected. Filled with rage at being disappointed, Ireton vowed that if he

ever got possession of Limerick he would immolate O'Brien. As Linehan says¹:—

“When Ireton heard of the stern inflexibility of the Bishop, he resolved at once to except him from amnesty and every other condition he proposed to the besieged. He swore, too, that he would visit with the most awful consequences the citizens if they hesitated to bring him the head of the Bishop, together with those of the twenty men who had voted against giving the city into his hands. A council assembled; a debate ensued. Two hundred ecclesiastics now met, and with one voice they proclaimed their determination to interpose between Ireton and the twenty he had named for death; but in vain, for all ecclesiastics were excepted. O'Daly [“Dominic of the Rosary”] throws out a dark hint, which is supposed to reflect on some of those who were engaged inside the walls at the time, and adds that the witnesses to the circumstances to which he alludes were in Lisbon at the moment he wrote. O'Brien offered to give himself up, so that the others should be saved; but his proposal was rejected by the ecclesiastics.”

On October 29th, after a heroic resistance of five months, the city surrendered. Besides those slain in its defence, five thousand had already died of pestilence within its walls. The remaining inhabitants would perchance have held out longer, and might have forced Ireton to raise the siege, but for Fennel's treason. At length, however, the gates of Limerick were opened; a rush was made by the eager Puritans; and the noble-hearted bishop, faithful to the end, in ministering to the crowd of the dying in the pest-house, fell into the clutches of his enemies. He was a coveted prize, for he had often foiled their most desperate efforts. With his hands bound, and his feet chained with fetters, he was taken before Ireton, whose fiendish exultation at having the Popish prelate in his power at last may easily be imagined. He charged O'Brien with inciting the people against the English rule and religion; and without more ado passed sentence on him. The latter calmly answered that he was a bishop; that all they did and could condemn him for was the faithful discharge of a bishop's duty; and that for it he was prepared to die. While those who surrounded him offered a last insult to his sacred person, he

¹ *History of Limerick*, p. 177.

fearlessly denounced the hypocrisy and wickedness of Ireton, and summoned him soon to appear before the divine tribunal. The words were prophetic. The ruthless persecutor was only permitted to fill up the number of the martyr's brethren, in part, by the slaughter of the others—Dominic Fanning, Thomas Stritch, &c.—whom he had not “received to pardon.” Then the avenging arm of God's justice was no longer stayed, and the unhappy wretch, haunted by remorse and terror, like Herod's, in his dying hours, had to acknowledge that the innocent blood of O'Brien was the cause of his own death, was heard to shriek out: “Oh, that I had never seen that Popish bishop! It was not I, it was not I; the Council did it.”¹ But remorse was not repentance; and the ruling passion, strong in death, finally claimed the man of iron, the pitiless murderer, as its victim. Another author, whose testimony is here above suspicion—for his chief aim is ever to glorify Cromwell and his relatives—thus describes Ireton's end: “While in this last appointment, in the height of his most prosperous success, he was seized, November 15, 1651, before Limerick, with the plague, which carried him off on the 26th of the same month; and if we may believe Sir Philip Warwick (who had it from a person who was present), he died raving, crying out: ‘I will have more blood, blood, blood!’”² Such was the fate in store for this implacable enemy of religion. The prophecy and its awful fulfilment was so well known in Limerick that the new Protestant inhabitants of that city for years afterwards boldly kept Thursday, the day on which Cromwell's worthy son-in-law expired, as a *festival*, lest the Catholics should point to his untimely end as to a visible mark of divine vengeance.³ The devotion which imposed this weekly feast in commemoration of Ireton, no doubt suggested also the title of his funeral oration, “The Labouring Saint's Dismission to Rest.” Such was the shameless hypocrisy, or the blind fanaticism, of his followers.

But to return to the Bishop. The old jail, which until a few years ago stood near Mary Street, was probably the

¹ O'Daly, Lynch, &c. ² Noble's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 322.

³ Letter of Dr. John O'Molony, *Spicil. Oss.*

place of his imprisonment during the two days previous to his execution. On his way from it to the scaffold he did his best to console the Catholics, who, according to Lynch's narrative, were weeping bitterly at the sight of the indignities already heaped on the beloved bishop. Many were overcome with dismay at the thought of being about losing, in the hour of direst need, their best friend and protector. He recommended himself to the prayers of all, while the serenity of his own look showed the gladness which filled his soul. His last words, spoken from the scaffold, were: "Preserve the faith, keep the Commandments, be resigned to the will of God, for thus will you preserve your souls. Weep not for me, but pray that I may meet death with gratitude, and happily finish my course." It was the eve of All Saints—a fitting day to bear testimony to their King, and then to be numbered amongst them. The martyr's body was left hanging for three hours, during which the Puritan soldiers treated it with every mark of contempt. They swung it to and fro in derision, and so beat it with their muskets that it almost lost the appearance of having once been human. Three days after this horrible scene had been enacted, Ireton sent the following despatch, which is in his usual canting style, to Lenthal, the Speaker of the Parliament:—"November 3rd. It hath pleased God, since the surrender, to discover and deliver into our hands two persons of principal activity and influence in the obstinate holding out of Limerick—the Bishop of Emly and Major-General Purcell, whom we presently hanged, and have set up their heads on the gates." What Protestant historians thought of the former deed of savage cruelty, may be gathered from these words of Borlase, the son of the persecuting Lord Justice of the same name. In his *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*, p. 299 (ed. 1680), copying Clarendon, as usual, he says:—

"The instances of blood and severity which Ireton gave on being possessed of this place were very remarkable, whilst Ireton manifested what his [the Bishop of Limerick's] fate would have been by the treatment they gave to Terlough O'Brien, the Bishop of Emly, whom they took, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, caused to be publicly hanged.

This unhappy prelate had from the beginning opposed with great passion the King's authority, and obstinately adhered to the Nuncio and to that party which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably put to death even in that city whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his Majesty's authority."

Borlase wrote long after the Restoration, and this may explain his choice of certain words. The "King's" authority mentioned by him must be the pretended one in spirituals, peculiar to the successors of Henry VIII. in the government of England, by whatever name they were styled; for surely he knew that in 1651 there was no English monarch, and that the Cromwellians despised royal authority in temporals. Writing in 1680, he could not hope to impose on anyone by calling Ireton a good subject; nor, on the other hand, to escape unpleasant consequences himself if he expressed sympathy with the Roundhead policy. He may have had the unblushing hardihood to assert that the Bishop of Emly was a rebel to lawful temporal authority; but that is false. All true Catholics, but pre-eminently the Bishop and the others of the Nuncio's party, were thoroughly loyal to Charles I. It may not, however, be known to every reader that the unfortunate monarch was well aware of the fact. He writes thus to the Earl of Glamorgan: "Tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his or your hands, which ought to be extremely desired by you both, as well as for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it."¹ But Rinuccini, in his mission to Ireland, and Terence Albert O'Brien in co-operating with him, had a higher motive than allegiance to an earthly king; and Ireton, in Limerick, was actuated more by hatred towards the Catholic religion than by the desire of establishing the Parliamentary power.

The head of the martyred bishop was fixed on a pole. It was then placed upon one of the towers of King John's Castle, over the archway leading to the city, where it long remained, perfectly incorrupt, with fresh blood dropping from it. This prodigy, which still continued when Dominic

¹ Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the Earl of Glamorgan's transactions in Ireland.

of the Rosary wrote his history, four years later, has always been looked on as a token of the Bishop's spotless purity. Throughout life he had been distinguished by his great holiness, which was subsequently attested to by Father Denis Hanrahan, O.P.,¹ who heard his general confession on the very day the English entered Limerick. It was from the account of the saintly prelate's life and death, written by this Dominican, that Archdeacon Lynch made the epitome contained in the oft-quoted manuscript history of the Irish bishops.

All succeeding writers have paid honour to the memory of the glorious martyr-bishop. Their words would be too long for insertion here. A testimony, however, of special interest is found in the memorial on behalf of Ireland presented, in 1667, to Clement X. by Nicholas Ffrench, the famous Bishop of Ferns: "*Interfecti in Odium Fidei: 2. D. Fr. Terentius O'Brien, Episcopus Imolacensis, Ordinis Prædicatorum, laqueo strangulatus fuit in civitate Limericensi sic jubente Iretonio Cromuelli Genero, et exercitu hæretico barbære ei insultante.*" An official document in the archives of the Propaganda also testifies to the fact: "Fra Vescovi,

¹ All we know of Father Hanrahan personally is, that he studied in Spain (Propaganda List, 1627). His work, entitled *Rosetum Prædicatorum Hiberniæ*, was a history of members of his province illustrious by their sanctity. There is reason to think that not a single copy of it has escaped the ravages of time and of persecution. Many of the great libraries of Europe have been searched, and every other likely source of information has been examined; but all in vain. No catalogue, either of printed works or of manuscripts, even contains the name. The only positive proof, so far as our knowledge extends, that the book ever existed, is that Lynch used it. Another work has also disappeared which would be invaluable at the present time, namely, the *Index Martyrum Provinciæ Hiberniæ*, compiled, about A.D. 1650, by order of the General, De Marinis. Steill refers to it continually in his *Ephemerides Dominicane Sacrae*; or, *Lustgarten des Prediger-Ordens*, Dillingen, 1692. Charles de S. Vincent, one of the continuators of Souège's *Année Dominicaine*, does the same; and he adds that it was printed. Both authors distinguish it from the list published in the Acts of the General Chapter, 1656. All that can now be found in the General's Archives is a manuscript (*Coll. Annal.*, p. 957), which contains short accounts of martyrs, commencing with T. A. O'Brien. This manuscript was apparently used for the Chapter of 1656, and seems to be itself the compendium of a detailed narrative. It is certain, from comparison with the long extracts in Lynch, that the writer of this manuscript had Father Hanrahan's work before him. He does not mention the name, but the verbal coincidences with Lynch are sufficient intrinsic evidence.

Imolacense ottimo, morto martire”¹ In the same collection, fol. 610, is preserved the summary of a petition drawn up by the Secretary of Propaganda, which ends thus: “Per gloriosam mortem sui consanguinei Terentii O’Brien ejusdem sedis ultimi Antistitis.” The petition itself, presented in 1652, is on the preceding page, fol. 609; in it the clergy of Emly pray that Dermot O’Brien, a relative of the late bishop, and a faithful imitator of his virtues, be appointed Vicar-General of the bereaved diocese. The memory of Terence Albert O’Brien has never ceased to be one of the brightest glories of Emly. A few years ago, if the writer is not mistaken, the clergy of the now united dioceses of Cashel and Emly presented as their offering to the new church in Emly a memorial window representing the two martyr-prelates, Dermot O’Hurley (Cashel) and Terence A. O’Brien. The only relic of our bishop now apparently extant is his pectoral cross.²

The “White” manuscripts records in a few simple words his death, and those of his companions. The passage

¹ Originali Antichi 111, 298, fol. 46.

² The following description of it will be read with interest:—“And now a few words descriptive of the small crucifix belonging to this prelate, which the members present may examine for themselves. I cannot pretend to any special knowledge concerning it, but you will see that it is double—which seems to be a remarkable feature—crucifixes, so far as I am aware, representing only the figure of our Lord on the cross. This on the obverse side has the usual figure of our Lord on the cross, with the title on the top, I.N.R.I., and underneath His feet a skull; but on the reverse side of the cross there is the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and underneath her feet a crescent moon, probably with reference to the passage in the Revelation, ‘A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet;’ or it may possibly be meant to represent her as crushing the head of the serpent, though the former explanation seems to me the more probable one. There is a radiated nimbus round the Saviour’s head; and the special pattern of the cross itself determines it to be, if I am not mistaken, a cross botonée or treillée, i.e., a trefoil cross; a form of the sacred emblem that one might naturally expect to meet with in Ireland oftener than is the case. This interesting relic has been kindly entrusted to me by its owner, Mr. Thomas O’Brien of the New Square, Mitchelstown; and he has informed me that it was given to the Bishop’s mother at the time of his execution, and was at her death handed over to the Dominican Convent in Limerick, whence it afterwards repassed into the possession of descendants of the Bishop. As a work of ecclesiastical art, it is perhaps more curious than beautiful; but a great interest undoubtedly attaches to it from the circumstance connected with its ownership.” (Paper read by Very Rev. Canon Moore, *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. i., No. 7, July, 1892, p. 184.)

occurs in the description of the outrages committed by Ireton's soldiery on the inhabitants of Limerick: "Some were hanged, others beheaded and quartered, and their heads fixed on the gates of the city. Among those we know were executed, the Rev. Terence O'Brien, of ye Order of St. Dominick, and Bishop of Emly, and a native of Limerick, the Rev. James Woulfe, and Rev. John Collins, children of ye Dominican Convent of Limerick, a short time after the surrender were taken and executed."

Father Woulfe, a native of Limerick, had also studied in Spain. At the date of the siege he was far advanced in years, and had been several times Prior of various houses. In 1627 he appears, from the Propaganda list, to have been one of the community of St. Mary's, Coleraine. For a long time he suffered in prison as a confessor of the faith. Confinement and privation could not avail to damp the ardour of his apostolic soul: trials such as these were not trials to him; or, rather, they were a joy, because they helped to make him a better minister of the Gospel. On his release he continued to discharge the duties of his sacred calling with the same exemplary zeal and devotion, and on all occasions he was remarkable for the zeal with which he upheld the authority of the Holy See. Those who treat of his life mention also that he was a gifted preacher. It appears from O'Daly's narrative that Father Woulfe was absent from Limerick during the siege, devoting himself to the country people at the time in sore distress, when as he knew the city was abundantly supplied with priests. As soon, however, as Limerick surrendered, and all these ministers were either banished or slain within its walls, he fearlessly entered in order to attend to the wants of the laity. He had been there scarcely a week, when one morning he was arrested just after he had said Mass, and in the course of the same day was condemned to be hanged, and was taken to the place of execution. In his last moments, when standing on the gallows, he uttered the memorable words: "We are made a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men; to God's glory, to angels' joy, to men's mockery."

Ireton dealt very summarily with the Dominicans whom

he knew to be the faithful and efficient helpers of the Nuncio. Borlase, speaking of the capture of Dominic Fanning, one of the best Catholics of Limerick, remarks that he was immediately hanged; and adds, "the same fate had Friar Wolf." Our martyr was not the "Francis Woulfe, a friar," excepted from pardon by Ireton, for the latter was one of those within the walls, if the Cromwellian General was correctly informed. For the same reason, neither was the "John Quin, a Dominican friar," also excluded from mercy.

Father John O'Cuillin,² in early life the fellow-student, and in death the fellow-martyr of Terence Albert O'Brien, is justly regarded as one of the most illustrious of the Irish Dominicans. The record of his holy life, as we find it in the

¹ See the list of the proscribed in Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 183.

² It seems that this martyr is called by two names—John O'Cuillin (General Chapter, 1656, Bruodin) and John Collins (O'Daly). The date and place of martyrdom, its cause, and attendant circumstances, as recorded respectively by these authorities, so coincide that they appear to belong to the same individual. Some of them must be given here briefly. General Chapter.—"1652. For defence of Papal authority, head fastened to a lance as a trophy." Bruodin's concluding words are: "Capitur itaque a rebellibus Cromwellistis, et in odium fidei quam Collinus constanter propagavit, Limerici suspendio necatur. Anno 1652." O'Daly says: "In obsidione civitatis Limericensis—captus ab hereticis," &c. At first sight, the difference between O'Cuillin and Collins might seem, perhaps, to indicate that they could not be the same. But what is Collins but an anglicized form of the Celtic surname O'Cuillin? Anyone who is curious to learn how Irish patronymics are thus changed, and often into three or four divergent forms, has only to turn over the pages of O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees*. A parallel instance to ours occurs in the case of another martyr, the Jesuit lay brother, Dominic O'Cuillin. His name appears as Collini in a Vatican manuscript. (See Bellesheim, *Geschichte-Irland*, vol. ii., p. 240.) To put the present statement beyond doubt, let the reader observe that Bruodin, who writes O'Cuillin in the commencement of his description, uses the other form in the passage quoted above. On the hypothesis that there were two martyrs, can it be explained how the General Chapter of 1656 omits Collins, and how O'Daly, who professes to mention all the martyrs of his own time, omits O'Cuillin? It is true that Dr. Burke makes a distinction (see the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 568, n. xxx., and p. 572, n. xli.); but he assigns no reason for doing so. He does, indeed, insert (Atheniensis) into the passage about Father O'Cuillin, which he quotes from the Acts of the General Chapter; and if this additional statement were correct, it would be a fair proof that there were two. To explain this to the general reader: postulants, at their reception into the Dominican Order, are *affiliated* to a certain house, so that wherever they may make their novitiate, or may afterwards be sent to reside, they still, in a sense, belong to that house for which they were received, and of which

pages of Bruodin¹ who knew him personally, and who when writing his own invaluable work many years afterwards, still preserved an affectionate veneration for his memory, is full of interesting details. With its assistance we can easily trace the stages of the long course by which God prepared His servant for his final struggle and glorious victory.

Born of poor and pious parents who lived near the residence of Donat M'Namara,² a kinsman of Bruodin himself, young O'Cuillin had already begun the study of philosophy when he was clothed with the Dominican habit in St. Saviour's, Limerick. It is evident that he was possessed of superior intelligence, for we find elsewhere the observation that he acquired almost all the sciences without a master. Bruodin says that even during the year's novitiate his virtues were a subject of universal admiration. He went to Spain soon after his profession, probably in company with the future Bishop of Emly. We next hear of him as a priest in Limerick, where his preaching was rewarded by an abundant harvest of souls. Father O'Cuillin was also sent by his superiors to give missions in various parts of Thomond, where Bruodin's acquaintance with him began. While still young, he tells us, he often listened in his father's house to the fervent exhortations of the holy priest. Powerful as were the Dominican's words to move the hearts of his hearers, the example of his daily life, for those privileged to behold it, was far more so.

Though of delicate frame, he took three severe disciplines, and fasted thrice every week, in addition, of course, to the fast of many vigils, all Fridays throughout the year, and the

they are called the "sons." Thus O'Daly says of Father Collins: "Conventus Limericensis filius;" and the "White" manuscript, with equal accuracy, styles him and Father Woulfe "children of ye Dominican Convent of Limerick." We showed above that Dr. Burke gives no reason for the statement that Father O'Cuillin belonged by affiliation to Athenry. —his only argument apparently for holding that there were two distinct martyrs. We now quote the manuscript used in the Chapter of 1656, which Dr. Burke never saw: "P. Fr. Joannes O'Cuillin, conventus Limericensis." The two last words are not in the printed Acts.

¹ *Passio Martyrum*, lib. iv., chap. xv., p. 728. Prægae. 1666. Bruodin, O.S.F.
² "Arx Ballinahensiae," Ballynahinch Castle, Barony of Upper Tullagh, Co. Clare. It is said that the M'Namaras were the Clan Cuillin.

continual one from the feast of Holy Cross, September 14th, to Easter Sunday, which were prescribed by his rule. He was the humblest of men, and possessed of such winning sweetness that none could be insensible to its attractions, much less resist its influence. Being a Dominican, it is needless to say he was a devoted client of the Queen of the Rosary. He passed many hours of the day and night in mental or in vocal prayer, wherever he might be, during those outbursts even of fierce persecution when a priest often found it necessary to change his place of refuge; and notwithstanding his toilsome labours, as a missionary, he invariably rose at midnight to say the Divine Office and that of the Blessed Virgin. He always recited them on his knees, while, as he prayed, tears of devotion continually flowed down his pale features. The same tender love of God was always manifested during his Mass. Such are the details of Father O'Cuillin's inner life, as witnessed and minutely portrayed by one who came close to him, and perhaps served at the very altar where his sanctity became more than ever visible. What a beautiful picture rises before the mind's eye; the holy Dominican, for whom the martyr's crown was waiting, absorbed in God as he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in presence of the faithful Irish catholics, for whom it was death to be there; while the boy, reverent and attentive, the future son of St. Francis, historian and theologian, treasures up in loving memory that scene of incomparable faith and piety. After years had rolled by, and Bruodin was living in exile far away from home, a religious, and a priest himself, his thoughts must often have reverted to those long past and happier days, when in his father's house he gazed upon the saintly priest destined so soon to be a martyr. Every word of his narrative breathes veneration and love.

To return to the records of Father O'Cuillin's own Order which extol his love of prayer and penance, and call him a living model of Dominican observance, they relate that on several occasions he refuted in public the assertions of the heretics, inspired fresh courage into the Catholics, and exposed himself to numberless dangers in defence of the Holy See, and its legate Rinuccini,

This intense devotion to the Holy See and burning zeal for Catholic interests is the link, the means of recognition, between Fr. O'Cuillin, the contemplative such as he is depicted by Bruodin, and Fr. Collins, the man of action such as he appears in the pages of O'Daly (*De Geraldinis*, Appendix). The latter shows the glorious deeds which shone so bright in the eyes of men, the former tells of that inner life which was the source of all that heroism: one narrates the active part he took in the defence of religion, the other prefers to dwell on the long arduous preparation by prayer and mortification for his public mission: the one shows how he came by his death, the other recounts the daily practices commenced in early life which enabled him to merit the martyr's crown: one writes what he heard from the lips of those that had escaped from Limerick, and merely says that it sprang from "efficaci fide" the other who most probably read the account in the *De Geraldinis*, and whose personal recollections of the martyr were so vivid, contents himself with calling him "Thaumaturgus ille excellentissimus." One description, in fact, supplements the other. Up to this we listened to Bruodin exclusively, now we shall hear O'Daly.

Father John Collins belonged by affiliation to the Priory of St. Saviour's, Limerick. Though small in person, and of an unprepossessing appearance, he had a noble soul, full of lively faith, and was endowed with such heroism that he performed numerous achievements which amazed all that beheld them. During the siege of Bunratty Castle, before the eyes of the Papal Nuncio, and many bishops, in the white habit of his Order, with crucifix in hand, he led the attack. He animated the Catholic soldiers to conquer, now chiding, now exhorting, now picturing to them the disgrace of defeat, now encouraging them with the hope of victory. Armed men, brave warriors fighting for the faith would have been ashamed not to follow that puny figure whose only defence was its crucifix. What prodigies of valour did not they and their leader perform! A shower of bullets fell around him, till without a wound or a moment's faltering he took his men across the ramparts, and Bunratty Castle was once more in the possession of the Confederate Catholics. This

memorable event occurred in June, 1646. Soon after Rinuccini thus writes: "At Bunratty we took ten stands of colours from the English, and they will be carried in the procession when we go to sing the *Te Deum*."

During the siege of Limerick, Father Collins again selected the post of danger. He remained outside the walls in order to discover Ireton's resources, and to watch all the movements of his army. His ingenuity in detecting them was no less marvellous than the rapidity with which he communicated them to the besieged. The struggle wore on, and still he was unflagging in his noble efforts to save the Catholic stronghold. This devoted service cost him his life. So enraged were the Cromwellians at being baffled repeatedly in their attempts on Limerick by the friar, that they had his likeness circulated, and several times passed prospective sentence of death on him. At last he fell into their hands, and was identified by means of the portrait. He crowned his long and unrelaxed struggle with heresy by a martyr's death, in 1652. Yet death was to him a gain, and in it he found his greatest victory. His sole object had ever been, not to slay bodies, but to save souls, and now that he could offer for that purpose the sacrifice of his own life, his dearest wish was accomplished, all that he could do was done. Nor had the persecutors conquered him—no, his was the victory that overcometh the world, that of faith.

Such were the three Dominicans who gave testimony to the faith, when Limerick surrendered. St. Vincent de Paul, who heard about them and the others that suffered in the same devoted city, from his own missionaries on their return to Paris, is reported to have said: "*que le sang de ces martyrs ne serait pas en oublié devant Dieu, et que tôt ou tard il servirait à la production de nouveaux catholiques.*" The words of the saints are often prophetic. It is piously believed that these three children of St. Dominic are now in heaven, among those who have come out of tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. May the day soon come when their names shall be heard at the altars of the Church militant, and be enshrined in her liturgy.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON SACRAMENTAL ABSOLUTION

IN discussing the question of the giving, refusing, or deferring of absolution, theologians lay it down as a fixed principle, that it ought to be given to every penitent about the sincerity of whose dispositions a confessor entertains no reasonable doubt. "Absolutio," writes Gury, "*concedi debet ex justitia et sub gravi omni poenitenti rite confesso et disposito.*" The reason of the principle is obvious. The Sacrament of Penance is, from its very nature, a species of bilateral contract, wherein a penitent confesses his sins and makes heartfelt protestations of sorrow, on condition that a confessor will exercise in his behalf the exceptional powers wherewith he is invested, and remit the moral faults he has confessed. The power of the confessor is not an arbitrary one, which he can exercise or withhold at his caprice. "Gerens vices Christi," he must remember that while safeguarding the sacred right of which he is the accredited custodian, he is seated in a tribunal, the striking characteristic of which is mercy, and the decisions which he pronounces, while seated in that tribunal, must be tempered with the same divine quality. Mindful that he is the delegate of one who came, not to call the just, but sinners to repentance; who promised to make the way easy and the burden light; he has not so much to regard the nature and gravity of the sins confessed, as the dispositions a penitent brings to the tribunal; and however grave or numerous the former, in the absence of the "*suspicio prudens indispositionis,*" the refusal of absolution would be at once a violation of a penitent's rights, and an abuse of the "*potestas retinendi*" with which, as confessor, he is invested.

The very fact, however, that the exercise of the power is, in a certain sense, discretionary, depending, as it is, on the *judicium prudens*, renders it a matter of extreme difficulty; and the "*judex spiritualis*" who has, in the formation of his judgment, to weigh the evidence on either side, may

be oftentimes biassed, and the power of retaining which he possess, made to do duty for the better disposing and instructing.

That cases will arise in which it will be a matter of duty to refuse absolution, need only be stated. Certain dispositions are required on the part of the penitent, and in the evident absence or doubtful presence of these dispositions, ministering, or attempting to minister, the sacred rite, would be simply to cast pearls before swine. To determine, even in a general way, when there is evidence of such indisposition on the part of a penitent, would involve a discussion of the conditions requisite for a valid sacrament, a task requiring much more time and ability than are at the disposal of the present writer. The "*propositum non peccandi*" is, as a rule, the element in the judicial process which presents most difficulty; and much, if not all, the doubt on a confessor's mind will hinge upon its sincerity. The most satisfactory evidence that it has been "*vere efficax et firmum*" is undoubtedly the "*emendatio futura*"—"vera poenitentia est auteacta flere et flenda non committere;" and while relapse by no means argues an essential defect, it is oftentimes sufficient to create a serious prejudice against its sincerity. Even the most liberal-minded theologians go so far as to say that the penitent "*qui post plures confessiones*—usually set down as three or four—in *eadem peccata et sine ulla emendatione reincidit*," has so far discredited his former promises, of amendment, that he can no longer be regarded as sincere in making them. St. Liguori would go even further, and say that relapse "*post unam confessionem eodem vel quasi eodem modo absque emendatione*" is quite enough to raise a doubt in a confessor's mind, and to cause him to hesitate before ministering absolution. "*Recidivi*," he writes, "*ut communiter docetur, absolvi nequeunt, si sola signa ordinaria afferunt nempe, si tantum confiteantur, se poenitere et proponere.*" And he describes a recidivus as one "*qui post confessionem eodem, vel quasi eodem modo, est relapsus absque emendatione.*"

Neither the rule laid down by St. Liguori, nor the more liberal one of those who take a more merciful view of the

"recidivus," may be regarded as determining with mathematical accuracy, the mode of treatment in individual cases. They supply simply so many data, the result, no doubt, of a wide experience and a careful observation of the weakness of human nature, to enable a confessor to arrive at a correct appreciation of a penitent's dispositions, and to aid him in forming the "*judicium prudens*." The Roman Catechism lays down a rule which, considering the source from which it emanates, may be taken as fairly well representing the teaching of the most approved authorities on the subject. "*Si audita confessione,*" it writes, "*judicaverit (sacerdos), neque in enumerandis peccatis diligentiam, nec in detestandis dolorem poenitenti omnino defuisse, absolvi poterit.*" And St. Liguori, in another portion of his work, states:— "*Sufficit quod confessarius habeat prudentem probabilitatem de dispositione poenitentis et non obstat ex alia parte prudens suspicio indispositionis; alias vix ullus absolvi potest.*" The question, therefore, of the absolution of the "recidivus" simply comes to this, when, notwithstanding repeated violations of his "*propositum*," may a confessor feel the "*prudens probabilitas et sine suspicione*," that he is now really sincere.

No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down, and individual cases as they arise must be largely solved on their own merits and entrusted to the prudence of a confessor. As the "*judex spiritualis*" he will have to weigh the evidence on either side. On the one side he will have to consider the repeated falls following immediately upon resolutions of amendment; and, on the other, the present purpose of amendment fortified with the "*signa doloris*" which accompany it. "At," writes Lehmkühl, "*qua ratione et quo gradu hæc probatio fieri debet certa regula definiri non potest. Quo magis prejudicium contra sinceritatem doloris et ejus nudae assertionis ex frequenti relapsu apparet, eo magis insistendum est ut hoc prejudicium melioribus signis diluatur. Sed si tandem confessarius sibi dicere prudenter debet, non obstante frequenti relapsu, sibi de sincero dolore et proposito solide persuasum esse, non est cur absolutio dari nequeat.*" Occasionally, indeed, the evidences of the sorrow of the

"recidivus" may be so overwhelming, and the proofs of his sincerity of purpose so cogent, as to remove every doubt as to his fitness to receive the grace of sacramental absolution. On the other hand, in spite of protestations to the contrary, and viewed even in light of the teaching of the most liberal-minded theologians, his dispositions may be so very doubtful that the "*custos mysteriorum Dei*" cannot without a manifest betrayal of his trust attempt the ministration of the sacred rite. The presence of the "*signa extraordinaria*" will, no doubt, largely aid a confessor in forming his judgment, but even these are not always infallible guides; and, on the other hand, the "*dolor supernaturalis*," and the "*propositum firmum et efficax*" are quite compatible with the absence of any very exceptional manifestations of sorrow. Ballerini puts the whole case very well where he writes: "*Ceterum rei substantia in hoc residet ut confessorius undecunque judicandi argumenta hauriat prudens illud de dispositione poenitentis iudicium efformet, quod etiam sanctus Alphonsus, prouti in hac et praeecedente nota innuimus, sufficiens ad rite absolvendum censuit. Suntne haec dispositionis argumenta seu iudicia dicenda ordinaria an extraordinaria juxta quorundam theorias questio minoris momenti videri potest.*"

The whole question, therefore, ultimately turns on the prudence of a confessor. In making up his mind as to the fitness or unfitness of his penitent, he will, no doubt, be aided by the *dicta* of theologians, but he must draw largely on his own experience, on his skilful diagnosis of the human heart, and on his accurate knowledge of the circumstances attending individual cases submitted for adjudication. In a work that is highly supernatural, and where divine grace is the principal agent, he can never hope to gauge the result with mathematical accuracy; but having regulated his judgment in accordance with the rules of human prudence, he may rest secure that he has done his part, and that he is free at least from any fault. The words of the Angelic Doctor are particularly consoling. "*Faciet*," he writes, "*unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam credit esse faciendum.*"

Passing from the consideration of the circumstances wherein a confessor may feel called upon, as a matter of duty, to refuse absolution by reason of a serious doubt which he entertains regarding the sincerity of the dispositions of his penitent, a question will arise as to the utility of the practice of deferring it for a time, "*causa experimenti aut medicinae.*" "Non omnia quae licent expediunt;" and, although in a sense quite different from the sense in which the words are used by the Apostle, the expediency of deferring absolution for a time will sometimes suggest itself to a confessor. In the tribunal of penance, he is not merely in a judicial capacity, but discharges the duties of spiritual physician as well. As "*judex*" his duties oblige him to inquire into the sins and dispositions of his penitent, with the object of ascertaining if he be a fit subject for absolution. As "*medicus*" he has other, and, if possible, more important duties to discharge. He has to examine the nature of the spiritual maladies confessed, to inquire into the causes whence they arose, and to prescribe the remedies which, in his opinion, will be most efficacious for good, and act most effectively in preventing relapse. In this capacity the question will suggest itself to a confessor, Is it ever for the spiritual good of a penitent to withhold absolution for a time?

Amongst the older theologians, *teste* Ballerini, the question was scarcely considered at all, so much so, that in later times those who opposed the practice of deferring were disposed to regard it as Jansenistic in its origin. As the duties of a confessor became more clearly defined, and more liberal views came to be entertained, the question received an increased amount of attention. As usual, some theologians went to extremes. The Jansenists, and to some extent theologians of the more rigorous school, actuated by a false spirit of zeal, or perhaps by less worthy motives, went so far as to say that absolution ought to be deferred in every case for a time. Such a practice, it was argued, would have the effect of awakening in a penitent a greater horror of sin, a higher appreciation of the dignity of the sacred rite; while at the same time the very difficulty it would create for a penitent, would have the salutary effect of rendering him

more cautious, and possibly of preventing a relapse into sins already confessed. The authors of these views seem to have ignored the medicinal effects of the sacrament, and to have overlooked the fact that the grace it imparts may be much more effective in strengthening the soul in time of temptation than any moral restraint exercised by the withholding of absolution. The difficulty, too, of procuring absolution may be sometimes pushed too far. "Quod arduum est aliquando fit difficillimum;" and the worst evil of all may sometimes be feared, and a penitent, possibly through the mistaken zeal of a confessor, be deterred from ever, or rarely, availing himself of the grace of the sacrament "Maxime enim," as the Roman Catechism writes, "verendum est ne semel dimissi amplius non redeant."

In support of their teaching, so diametrically opposed to the merciful designs of the divine author of the sacred rite, those authors went so far as to invoke the authority of the fathers; and the names of St. Ambrose, St. Charles Borromeo, and a host of others, whose prudence in the guidance of souls can scarcely be questioned, were cited in support of a practice which was completely at variance with their merciful dealings with penitents. Into the arguments adduced from their writings, it would be simply a waste of time to enter; but, judging from the extracts supplied, these venerable names are very far from lending even the shadow of their authority to the rigorous teaching of the Jansenists. St. Charles Borromeo occasionally indeed recommends the deferring of absolution, "Est præterea," he writes, "consultum absolutionem differre;" but it is one thing to recommend it, "ad melius probandum," and quite a different thing to propound an obligation. Bellarmine deplores the facility with which some confessors give absolution; but he would equally reprobate the harsh and revolting theory of the Jansenists which would drive away penitents from the sacrament altogether, and convert what was designed to be a tribunal of mercy into one of tyrannical oppression.

On the other hand, many theologians, *magni nominis*, would never sanction the deferring of absolution, "ratione

experimenti aut medicinae." Some even go so far as to say that deferring with the hope of arousing better dispositions and securing a corresponding increase of sacramental grace, would be at once a violation of a penitent's rights and a fruitless effort to bring about what could be much more effectively accomplished by the infusion of sacramental grace itself. It would, moreover, it is argued, be utterly opposed to the merciful designs of the divine author of the sacrament. The Sacrament of Penance, besides giving grace whereby sins are remitted, supplies the soul with special helps against their recurrence; and the effect of withholding absolution for a time, however short, where a penitent is duly disposed, is to deprive him of those special helps which the sacrament is sure to confer. Sancius, a writer, described as "*ingenii acutissimi*," favours this opinion. "*Infertur*," he writes, "*non fore saluberrimum consilium interdum negare absolutionem habenti consuetudinem peccandi, quantumcunque id consulat Suarez, etc. Nam si confessarius possit licite absolvere poenitentem ad id tenebitur; habet namque jus penitens ut sibi non negetur absolutio, si dignus sit, nisi ex proprio consensu, cumque consilium de meliori bono debeat esse, sane non capio melius bonum esse poenitentis carere pro aliquo tempore gratia sacramenti quam illa vestiri.*"

The author of that admirable work, *Instructions for New Confessors*, while admitting that it may be sometimes useful to defer absolution, argues strongly against the practice; and undoubtedly the tendency of ascetic writers is to find a substitute in the better disposing and instructing of the penitents. All appear to be agreed that it is a practice surrounded with many difficulties, and one to which a confessor will have recourse only in exceptional circumstances, and where there are very strong reasons for believing that it will redound to the spiritual advantage of a penitent. "*Ceterum*," writes Lehmkuhl, "*id experimenti causa facere vel ad probandos poenitentes, ordinarie praxis erit contraria spiritui Christi et Ecclesiae.*" As a consequence, it is laid down that should any *incommodum* arise to a penitent, and there is no longer a hope entertained of a corresponding advantage,

absolution ought not to be deferred. The teaching of Gury may be taken as fairly well representing the teaching of theologians on the subject. "Nunquam," he writes, "differenda est (causa experimenti) quando dilatio magis obfutura praevidetur, nec si ex dilatione absolutionis poenitens notam infamiae subiret, raro differenda est nisi ipse dilationem acceptet."

Should no *incommodum* arise to a penitent in consequence, it is now the received opinion of theologians that absolution may be sometimes postponed with profit to a penitent. We shall cite the testimony of a few. "Si poenitens," writes Sanchez, "id non multum aegre ferat et speretur non ob id retrahatur a confessione, sed potius id fore medicinam, erit consilium differre absolutionem majori suavitate possibili adhibita, si autem oppositum speretur non erit consilium." Bonacina writes: "Non videtur denegari absolutio poenitenti qui firmum habet propositum abstinendi in futurum ab hujusmodi juramentis. Addo differi absolutionem posse, quoties confessarius judicaverit hoc expedire saluti poenitentis." "Denique," writes Lugo, "aliquando utile erit differre absolutionem per aliquot dies." And St. Liguori writes: "Certum est et commune apud omnes quod possit confessarius differre absolutionem poenitenti etiam disposito et etiam sine ejus consensu, semper ac prudenter judicat dilationem esse utilem ejus emendationi."

When such a spiritual gain may be hoped for as will justify the withholding of absolution, is a matter which the prudence of a confessor must decide. It will be his duty to protect the rights of the penitent, and at the same time to procure that he shall receive as large an amount of grace as possible from the sacred rite which he ministers. The penitent is in his hands. Coming into the tribunal of penance, he submits, so to speak, to the ruling of court, and acknowledges his willingness to accept whatever remedies the confessor, who is at once judge and physician, will consider most effectual in improving his spiritual condition. The penitent's rights are, therefore, in no way interfered with by the deferring of absolution; and if for a time he is deprived of the exceptional helps provided by the sacrament, he has consolation in the fact that, with further probation,

a more intense sorrow, and a more serious purpose of amendment, he may yet receive a larger share of sacramental grace. Besides, the very deferring of absolution is in itself a special help, and with the "monita paterna," which are sure to accompany it, one that will be most effective in arousing a penitent to a sense of his duty, to a higher appreciation of the dignity of the sacred rite, and deterring him from the commission of sins, the malice of which he may never have sufficiently realized.

To determine *in specie* where the practice of deferring may be attended with medicinal profit, would be a matter of extreme difficulty, and one regarding which no very definite rule can be laid down, "Expedire hic et nunc," write the Salmanticenses, "abstrahendo a circumstantiis certe determinare non possumus cum ex multis pendet." "Ceterum," writes St. Liguori, "unusquisque in hoc puncto impertiendae vel deferendae absolutionis, sese dirigere debet juxta lumen sibi a Deo datum." St. Liguori in discussing the absolution of the "recidivus" distinguishes between the cases where the cause of sin is something internal or intrinsic to a penitent, and where it is something outside him. Theologians generally, without formally committing themselves to his teaching, adopt the distinction. Where the cause of sin is intrinsic to a penitent—some weakness of nature which he carries about with him, St. Liguori would rely on the sacramental grace for help, and seek in it, rather than in the withholding of absolution, a remedy for the spiritual maladies of the "recidivus." Where the cause of sin is something outside a penitent, particularly if it be a proximate occasion of sin which may be easily avoided, the withholding of absolution, he maintains, may be even obligatory on a confessor, as being the only medicinal help which can exercise a salutary effect.

Salvatori, in his *Instruction for New Confessors*,¹ otherwise so lenient in the matter of giving absolution, mentions two cases in which he would always defer it:—

"Should a person [he writes] voluntarily keep in his house a proximate occasion of sin, or should he retain possession of

¹ Part ii., Sect. i., p. 214.

stolen property, I would always defer giving him absolution, even though he should manifest signs of true repentance. This I would do for two reasons—first, because it being in his power (as I have supposed) to rid himself of this voluntary proximate occasion, and to restore this stolen property, if he does not discharge this twofold duty at once, it is a clear sign that he is not sincere. Secondly, because the actual possession in one's house of a source of pleasure, or of another person's property, has too great power over the human heart in influencing it to forget its duties. Wherefore it is expedient that it should be placed, as it were, under the necessity of not allowing itself to be conquered."

Outside these cases—and they are perhaps the most pressing that can be made—the question of deferring absolution will arise, for the most part, in connection with those who have contracted a habit of sin, which now, as oftentimes before, they express their determination to correct, or who, by reason of their lengthened absence from confession, appear neither to realize its gravity, nor to estimate at their proper value the advantages to be derived from sacramental absolution. "*Differenda est absolutio,*" writes Reuter, "*si consideratis omnibus dilatio videatur poenitenti profutura, v.g., ut magnum capiat horrorem peccatorum, gravitatem eorum magis apprehendat, firmetur magis contra relapsus, concipiatur major dolor et firmitus propositum, astringatur magis ad utendum mediis prescriptis, rem alienam restituat damna compenset aliasque obligationes impleat.*"

In every community, amongst those who approach the tribunal of penance once only in the year, there will be found some who come there, it is to be feared, quite as much to keep up an appearance of religion, and to escape a stigma, as through a sense of their own destitute condition, or any real appreciation of the remedies supplied by sacramental absolution. The circumstances of their lives may protect them from the too frequent commission of the more serious crimes, and their confessions may not reveal as much wickedness as many of those who approach the sacraments more frequently; yet there is an indescribable something about them—a spiritual inactivity—which, although quite compatible with the "*probabilitas prudens de dispositionibus,*" makes you feel that giving absolution all at once would

be making the sacrament too cheap, and setting a seal on a very indifferent mode of life. Frequent confession would be, no doubt, for these, the most desirable of all remedies ; but of frequent confession, although oftentimes recommended, they will not avail themselves ; and year after year, under the very shadow of the censure of the Church, they present themselves for absolution. “Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet ;” but to the present writer it would appear that, in the circumstances described, the deferring of absolution may be sometimes attended with advantage. It will cause these people, otherwise so careless and indifferent, to think more seriously of their impoverished spiritual condition ; it will enhance, in their eyes, the dignity of the sacred rite ; and possibly, too, be the means of inducing them to have recourse to it more frequently. The very willingness—oftentimes expressed of their own accord—with which they accept the deferring of absolution goes to show that they feel a want in themselves which, in the meantime, by co-operating with the grace of God, they hope to supply, and thereby to secure a larger share of sacramental grace.

A most important duty of a confessor, “qua medicus,” is to prescribe such remedies for his penitent as will protect him from relapse, and it may sometimes happen that the confessor, while thoroughly satisfied with the present dispositions of a penitent, believes that the remedies prescribed will prove unavailing, and that he will again relapse into sins similar to those confessed. Theologians [not merely suppose such a case possible, but, furthermore, regard it as at least a probable opinion, that neither the “certo credit” of a confessor or a penitent, or both, as to relapse on the part of a penitent, is sufficient to discredit his present dispositions. The plain inference is, therefore, that a confessor may form the “judicium prudens,” and feel justified in pronouncing sentence of absolution, while believing that his penitent will again fall into sin, and that the future record of his life will be merely a repetition of the past. Examples of the kind will occur to every person who has to deal with those addicted to the sin usually designated as “malum consortium.” At present these penitents, under the influence

of divine grace, sincerely detest their sins, and promise to amend; but such is their weakness in time of temptation—well known to a confessor from experience—that there is reason to believe that a little time only will have elapsed when the same sinful habit will be renewed. Here, too, it is believed, deferring of absolution will be sometimes attended with advantage; for, while it will not be denied that the possession of sacramental grace for a time, however short, is a treasure of exceptional value, we should not lose sight of the terrible description given by our Blessed Saviour of the relapsing sinner, and of the awful punishment in store for those “*qui semel illuminati iterum prolapsi sunt.*” The very fear, which the deferring of absolution will infuse into their minds, together with the uncertainty of their present spiritual state—always powerful motives—will stimulate them in time of temptation, and render them more cautious in avoiding dangerous occasions. De Lugo appears to contemplate this class of cases where he writes: “*Similiter ergo, quando merito timet poenitentem nunc absolutum facile relapsurum statim in eadem crimina nisi ipsa difficultate et dilatione absolutionis territus melius agnoscat gravitatem peccati et necessitatem emendationis; potest differre absolutionem ut poenitens utiliter admonitus non remaneat in tanto periculo reincidentiae quantum alias certissime subiret.*”

There is another class of cases, and it is only one to which the present writer will refer, in which the deferring of absolution, in his opinion, may be attended with advantage. A salutary effect is to be found in those who have contracted a habit of cursing. Everybody must notice, with pain, the facility with which such a habit is contracted, and how frequently youths, who have scarcely yet learned the malice of more serious sins, will have no difficulty in invoking the name of God, and the Sacred Name on the most trivial occasions. So strong has the habit grown, and so natural has it become to them to indulge their impious imprecations, that rarely, if at all, have they sufficient advertence to make them responsible for individual acts. But then, there is the habit contracted

which they are bound by a grave obligation to correct, and it is scarcely possible but they have sometimes adverted to the necessity of correcting it. The habit of cursing is, as a rule, contracted by example, and people indulge in it, more, perhaps, from a desire of appearing grandiloquent, and giving emphasis to their ordinary conversation, than from any inherent tendency of human nature. To correct it there is required simply a certain amount of vigilance, which will oftentimes be best acquired by withholding absolution for a time. For, as Medina, quoted by Ballerini, observes, cursing is a fault of the tongue rather than of the heart, and is easily amended. "Quia," he writes, "*hoc peccatum magis est in lingua quam in corde et sic facile corrigitur si adsit mediocris attentio.*" And Ballerini, after analyzing the "dicta" of theologians on the subject, sums up by saying, "*Ejusmodi linguae vitia habent quaedam incommoda, non aliis vitiis communia; atque adeo dilatio absolutionis suadetur ob causam quae non est cuilibet consuetudini communis.*"

Whatever may be said of the truth of these views—and they are put forward with great diffidence—few will be found to question the practical wisdom of the recommendation embodied in the constitution of the illustrious Pontiff Leo XII. :—

"Quocunque [he writes] animo sint qui accedunt ad sacramentum Poenitentiae, nihil ei (confessario) magis cavendum est, quam ne . . . quisquam . . . sacramento reconciliationis infensus discedat. Quare si justa sit causa, cur differenda sit absolutio, verbis, quoad poterit . . . humanissimis persuadeat confessis, necesse est, id et munus officiumque suum et eorum ipsorum salutem omnino postulare, eosque ad redeundum quamprimum blandissime alliciat, ut iis fideliter peractis, quae salubriter praescripta fuerint, vinculis saluti peccatorum gratiae coelestis dulcedine reficiantur."

D. FLYNN, C.C.

PRIEST, POET, AND PREACHER

“ Oh, ye who bend above his grave,
 And deck it over with roses sweet,
 Make room for one whose heart doth crave
 To lay a tribute at his feet.
 Spurn not this offering of mine,
 Although, perchance, it may be least—
 A little spray of Northern pine
 From one who loved the poet-priest.”

AMONGST the many garlands that have been woven in honour of the memory of the Irish-American poet-priest of the Southern States, it may be fitting that one should appear from an Irish priest, of pure Celtic blood, in the pages of our national ecclesiastical magazine. The different incidents of the life of the late Rev. A. J. Ryan, and every scrap of his literary compositions, in poetry and prose, have been for many years noted and treasured up by the present writer. But, in order not to trespass on ground occupied by others, he proposes in this sketch to confine himself principally to the narration of some facts new, at least to the generality of readers, on this side of the Atlantic, and to a brief review of Father Ryan as a preacher and a religious poet.

One of the most baneful effects of the English domination in Ireland was the stunting of its intellectual development. The priceless mine of Irish talent had to remain long buried under a mountain of repression and neglect. But now, in this new era of freedom, our emerald gems of reasoning and poetry win the admiration of the world of letters by their freshness, fecundity, and brilliancy :—

“ Et gemma deterso luto,
 Nitore vincit sidera.”

J. B. O'Reilly, the late Brother Azarias (Father P. Mullany, of Killenaule, County Tipperary), Archbishops Ryan, Ireland, and Hennessy, and the subject of our present essay, Father Ryan, are striking examples of what the sparkling Celtic intellect is capable of under the fostering ægis of the Stars and Stripes.

Now, as to our poet-priest's name : he himself gave it, and signed it, "Abram Jefferson Ryan." He never used the form "Abraham" in his letters, or any other way. Father Ryan was born in Norfolk, Virginia, on the 15th August, 1837, and baptized in Hagertown Church, Maryland. His parents were Irish, and came from the County Limerick. Having early evinced a disposition for the priesthood, he was sent, after his classical studies, to The Barrens, the Vincentian seminary at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where he made his theological course, and was ordained in 1861. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Father Ryan sought for and obtained the position of chaplain in one of the Southern regiments (the 8th Tennessee), and in his ecclesiastical capacity he followed the fortunes of the stars and bars until their final eclipse at Appomatox Court-house.

One of his brothers, David Jefferson Ryan, was a captain in the Confederate service, and was killed in one of the early engagements, at the age of sixteen. The brother's death marks an era in the poet's own life, a strong influence on his career. As he said himself, "The war meant a little to me, studying theology in college, until David was killed, and then I was another man." This may cast a new light of grief and love on Father Ryan's strong war poems :—

"Thou art sleeping, brother, sleeping,
In thy lonely battle grave ;
Shadows o'er the past are creeping ;
Death, the reaper, still is reaping ;
Years have swept, and years are sweeping,
Many a memory from my keeping,
But I'm waiting still and weeping
For my beautiful and brave.

"Forth, like many a noble other,
Went he, whispering soft and low :
' Good-bye—pray for me, my mother ;
Sister, kiss me—farewell, brother ;'
And he strove his grief to smother,
Thus from all he loved to go."

His brother's death, and his sympathy for their mother,

furnished the poet-priest with the subject of another of his beautiful poems, the ode *In Memory of My Brother* :—

“ Young as the youngest who donned the grey,
 True as the truest that wore it,
 Brave as the bravest he marched away
 (Hot tears on the cheek of his mother lay);
 Triumphant waved our flag one day—
 He fell in the front before it.”

Mrs. M. E. Hery-Ruffin, in a communication to the *Mobile News*, writes :—

“ Of his mother he often spoke tenderly and reverently, saying that his separation from her was a daily sacrifice. She was living at the time of the publication of his poems, 1881, in St. Louis. I think Father Ryan one day remarked that he was puzzled about dedicating his book; and when I said, ‘Dedicate your book to your mother,’ he seemed greatly pleased that I should appreciate his devotion to her; and, as the volume itself shows, he followed the dictates of his own heart and my suggestion.”

The dedication is made in these words :—

THESE SIMPLE RHYMES
 ARE LAID AS A GARLAND OF LOVE
 AT THE FEET OF HIS MOTHER, BY
 HER CHILD,
 THE AUTHOR.

Another member of the family, of whom Father Ryan often spoke, was his young sister, an accomplished musician, who died suddenly while the poet was completing his theological studies.

The poem headed “Presentiment: My Sister,” has the following :—

“ And I knew the voice ; not a sweeter
 On earth or in heaven can be ;
 And never did shadow pass fleeter
 Than it, and its strange melody ;
 And I know I must hasten to meet her,
 ‘ Yea ! Sister ! Thou callest to me ! ’

.

And I saw the hand with the garland,
 Ethel's hand—holy and fair ;
 Who went long ago to the far land
 To weave me the wreath I shall wear ;
 And, to-night, I look up to the starland,
 And pray that I soon may be there."

Father Ryan was an enthusiastic Southerner—his heart's affections were wrapped up in the Southern cause, and some of his grandest lyrics were sung in eulogizing it. In fact, it may be said that it was that cause which made him a poet, for, although there is no question but that other songs which treat of religious subjects might have won him renown, it is as the poet of the "Lost Cause" that he will be most remembered.

His poem of "The Conquered Banner," is a song of surpassing sadness and tender sweetness—a wail of sorrow from the broken heart with which the South saw its hopes die out when that banner was furled. Here is the first stanza of that poetic Celtic wail:

"Furl that Banner, for 'tis weary ;
 Round its staff 'tis drooping dreary ;
 Furl it, fold it, it is best ;
 For there's not a man to wave it,
 And there's not a sword to save it,
 And there's not one left to lave it
 In the blood which heroes gave it ;
 And its foes now scorn and brave it ;
 Furl it, hide it—let it rest !"

Naturally, the Irish blood in his veins inspired Father Ryan to sing of Innisfail; and his magnificent address to "Erin's Flag" will be long remembered and quoted, together with the soul-stirring and more finished apostrophe to "The Sword of Lee":—

"Out of its scabbard ! Never hand
 Waved sword from stain as free,
 Nor purer sword led braver band,
 Nor braver bled for a brighter land,
 Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,
 Nor cause a chief like Lee."

In a beautiful poem, written for the *Boston Pilot*, and entitled "The Song of the Deathless Voice," his devotion

to Erin and love for the old Celtic race manifests itself in glowing imagery :—

“ Am I not in my blood as old as the race whence I sprang ?
 In the cells of my heart feel I not all its ebb and its flow ?
 And old as our race is, is it not still for ever young
 As the youngest of Celts in whose breast Erin's love is
 aglow ?
 Ah ! blood forgets not in its flowing its forefather's wrongs—
 They are the heart's trust from which we may ne'er be
 released ;
 Blood keeps in its throbs the echoes of all the old songs,
 And sings them the best when it flows thro' the heart of
 a priest.”

The above does not appear in the volume of Father Ryan's collected poems, first published by the firm of J. L. Rapier & Co., Mobile, at the instance of a young legal friend, Harmis Taylor, who in the Preface states that :
 “ These, his poems, have moved multitudes. They have thrilled the soldier on the eve of battle, and quickened the martial impulses of a chivalric race ; they have soothed the soul wounds of the suffering ; and they have raised the hearts of men in adoration and benediction to the great Father of all.”

Father Ryan, in his own Preface, informs us that :—

“ These verses [which some friends call by the higher title of Poems—to which appellation the Author objects] were written at random—off and on, here, there, anywhere—just when the mood came, with little of study, and less of art, and always in a hurry. Hence they are incomplete in finish, as the Author is, though he thinks they are true in tone. His feet know more of the humble steps that lead up to the Altar and its Mysteries, than of the steps that lead up to Parnassus and the Home of the Muses, and souls were always more to him than songs.”

From the *Louisville Courier Journal*, we learn that the Southern poet-priest was a musician as well as a poet. He would frequently go to the house of one of his parishioners, and, telling the servant not to call anyone, would take his seat at the piano. He would play and improvise for hours, and upon coming back to the things of this world would be surprised to find he had spent four or five hours in perfect

ignorance of his surroundings. He himself informs us, in his Lecture on "The Flower of Consent"¹ :—

"I went over to the piano, to sing a hymn in honour of holy Mary, and I wondered again how all the melodies of music rest on only seven notes. And I thought again, as often before, how in the nature that surrounds, and in its works, we find so many beautiful types and striking counterparts of the wonders of God's grace in the realms of revelation."

Shortly after the war, Father Ryan became attached to the diocese of Mobile, the bishop of which at that time, the late Right Rev. John Quinlan, whose heart was as big as his frame was massive, welcomed the sad singer to his see, and appointed him to an important trust, at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Prior to going to Mobile, Father Ryan had been located at Nashville and Clarksville in the diocese of Nashville, and he also did duty for a while at Natchez, Miss. During his stay at Mobile, Father Ryan became in a manner the preacher of the cathedral; and whenever it was known that he was to occupy the pulpit, the church proved insufficient to hold the vast audiences which always gathered to listen to his eloquence; and, for that matter, his lectures may be described as poetic discourses in prose form. The whole nature of the man seemed imbued with lofty thoughts, and whether he spoke in prose or wrote in verse, one could not help recognising that it was a true poet who was speaking.

After some years of duty in Mobile, Father Ryan, who was deeply engaged then in literary work, asked and obtained his superior's permission to retire from the more active ministry, in order that he might be able to give more time to his books, on one of which, *The Story Runneth Thus*, he was engaged at the time of his death. He first assumed pastoral charge of the Church of the Holy Redeemer, Eupaula, Ala; but finding even that too burdensome, he retired to Biloxi, Miss., where he made his residence for several years. As this place is only six miles from Beauvoir, where the ex-President of the Confederation, Jefferson Davis, had his home, the intimate friendship which existed

¹ *Crown for our Queen*, p. 120.

between the priest and the deposed President naturally led to frequent communication between them; and some of Father Ryan's pleasantest hours were spent at Beauvoir in talking with his host over the sad incidents of the war, and recalling the memories of mutual friends who fell in their efforts to build up a southern confederacy. Father Ryan was invited to visit Boston by the Jesuit Fathers. During his sojourn as guest at their college, he frequently preached at their Church of the Immaculate Conception, and delivered a certain number of lectures in the city and its vicinity.

Returning to the south-west, his time was mainly occupied in preaching missions and giving lectures. His last visit, previous to going to Louisville to die, appears to have been to Reading, Ohio, of which place the Rev. Charles M'Callion was pastor. It was Father Ryan's intention in visiting Louisville to make a spiritual retreat, after which he proposed to complete his book. But, shortly after his arrival, he was taken ill with an old complaint, organic heart disease. Although the good Franciscan friars did all they could for him, calling in the best physicians of the city, the distinguished patient rapidly grew worse, and passed away on the night of the 22nd April, 1886.

In his illness, the priestly poet's mind wandered pitifully back to the scenes of his earlier days. Anon he was with the troops on the battlefield, exhorting them to do their duty, and anon he was addressing vast congregations with all of his old-time eloquence. The end was near, however, and death came at last to claim the sufferer, and bring the weary spirit rest. The news of Father Ryan's demise caused universal sorrow in the South, where he was best known, and consequently most loved; and throughout the North there were many who grieved when they heard that the poet-priest's tuneful voice had been stilled for evermore.

Whilst the remains of the dead singer lay in state at the Franciscan convent, Louisville, they were viewed by a constant stream of friends. At 10.30 they were removed to St. Boniface's Church, where the funeral services were held. The ex-Confederate soldiers of Louisville attended the funeral in a body, and a committee of their number, amongst

whom were many distinguished ex-Confederate officers, judges of the United States and state courts, and prominent citizens acted as pall-bearers and a funeral escort. They carried with them a floral cross, an immense Passion cross of lilies, surmounted by a Neil rose crown, to which was attached a card inscribed, "Love and sympathy of the ex-Confederate soldiers of Louisville." This they placed upon his coffin as a tribute to his revered memory. Before removing the remains from the monastery the confederate veterans assembled at the bier, where General Alpheus Baker read resolutions expressive of the deep sorrow occasioned by Father Ryan's death, and of the love and veneration in which he was held by his old comrades. The body was borne to the depot, and shipped to Mobile, where it was interred with full military honours. These incidents are in a great measure copied from a notice appearing in the *Boston Republic*, May, 1886.

FATHER RYAN'S GRAVE

A Mobile (Ala.) correspondent of the New Orleans *Times Democrat* writes :—

"Just beyond Three-mile creek, and on top of the plateau which rises beyond the valley, is located the Catholic cemetery. No more beautiful spot could be found for the last resting-place of the dead—far away from the noise and turmoil of the city, surrounded by gardens, but shut in by the luxuriant growth of the Southern summer hedges of Osage orange, combined with the blackberry and wild Cherokee roses, that form a barrier stronger than walls of brick, in the sweet solitude of a summer afternoon. Hereabouts are the resting-places of many who had played prominent parts in the days gone by, but who now sleep the sleep of the just.

"In the eastern portion of the cemetery, where the rays of the morning sun first fall upon the hallowed precinct, rest the remains of Rev. A. J. Ryan—Father Ryan, as he was wont to be called by Protestants as well as Catholics, whom all Mobile loved for his gentle and earnest manner as man and priest—a man who sang the sweetest songs of the fair South, and her brave sons battling for a lost cause. Renowned as poet, priest, and patriot, the name of Father Ryan is known and honoured wherever the spirit of freedom lives. Here, undisturbed, rest the remains of Father Ryan, in the lot of the 'Children of Mary,' a church

organization composed of young ladies of the church for whom he was spiritual director.

"A large white marble slab covers the vault in the earth beneath. At the head of the slab, contained within a circle, surrounded by stars and clouds, is a reproduction of the Confederate banner, and emblematical of 'The warrior's banner takes its flight to greet the warrior's soul.' The head is marked by a large cross of white marble, five feet high, and resting on a brown-stone base that raises it one foot higher. The cross in its centre bears the insignia of his holy office, the cup and wafer."

The late poet-priest of the South frequently told the following anecdote of his stay in New Orleans:—It was during the war, when General Butler was in charge of the city. A Catholic soldier in the Union forces there died, and because some one blundered no religious rites were observed at the funeral. It was reported to Butler that Father Ryan had refused to read the burial service. In a towering rage Butler sent for the priest, and in the most peremptory and offensive way demanded to know why he had not given all the honours of the Church to the deceased. Father Ryan quietly explained the matter, showing that he was not to blame; that the fault was due to the comrades of the dead soldier, and added: "It is, therefore, not true that I refused to bury him. It is also not true that I have publicly and repeatedly refused to officiate at the funeral of any Federal soldier or officer. On the contrary, it is the reverse of the truth, for, General, it would give me great pleasure to bury the whole lot of you!" Butler's stern face relaxed into a grim smile, and from that day he and Father Ryan had no further trouble in common.

The following tribute, by A. A. Mosher, to the memory of Father Ryan, was published immediately after his death in *The Catholic Mirror*:—

"IN MEMORY OF FATHER RYAN."

"Dead! ah, say not so!

It is too harsh a word to speak of him,
Although the soul-light in his gentle eyes be dim.
And silent be the voice we loved, e'en though
Beneath the Southern flowers by the Alabama's flow
The pale face of the poet-priest is tenderly laid low,
His is not dead—ah, no!

“Soft! he sleeps, ’tis best—
The rest he longed for so hath come at last,
With Christ’s own passion hath his passion passed.
He died upon his cross, he chose it, ’twas his own;
He loved it best of all, yet oft his human heart made moan;
There sighs through all his melodies a minor undertone
That plead for rest.

“‘When?’ he used to say—
‘I wonder when. In spring? shall I die then?’
Ah, well! he knew it would be sweet, no matter when,
In balmy spring, when all the earth is gay,
Or summer morn, or autumn eve, or wintry day,
When in December’s ice-bound tomb sleeps beauteous May,
It would be sweet alway.

“Yes, it was in spring
That thou did’st kneel and kiss His sacred feet
In His own home in Heaven. Oh! it was meet
That thou shouldst go when loud hosannas ring,
When heaven and earth’s commingled voices sing,
Their Easter alleluias to the risen King;
Meet thou shouldst bring.

“Then the cross you bore,
And lay it down as thou, victorious from the strife,
Entered thy native land, thy home of peaceful life.
Thy cross-life now is ended, and thy crown-life is begun;
Thou hast seen our Father face to face, and heard Him say:
‘Well done;
I welcome thee, thou faithful heart, receive the crown, My
son,
Thy faith hath won.’

“Sleep! no cares molest
Thy quiet slumber on thy peaceful Southern shore,
Whose tender, gentlest zephyrs soft are whispering ever-
more
To fairest flowers that bloom above thy pulseless breast.
‘Alabama,’ and the river murmurs soft, so softly, lest
It wake thee—‘Alabama, Alabama, here we rest,
For ever rest.’”

N. MURPHY.

THE FORMATION OF THE PALESTINIAN CANON

1. HISTOIRE DU CANON DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT. Par A. Loisy. Paris, 1890.
2. INTRODUCTIO IN SACRAM SCRIPTURAM. Auctore Ubaldo Ubaldi. Vol. ii. Romae, 1882.
3. HISTOIRE DU PEUPLE D'ISRAEL. Par Ernest Renan. Tome Quatrième. Paris, 1893.
4. INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Edinburgh, 1891.

THE interest taken in the study of the Old Testament writings shows no signs of abating. Publications appear in vast numbers, year after year, from men of all shades of belief; some attacking the sacred books, others throwing fresh light upon problems still unsolved regarding them. Meanwhile the task of the Christian apologist continues to be one of great importance and of growing complexity. For he has now to deal with a solid phalanx of critical opinion which pretends, with more or less unanimity and consistency to explain the history of Israel, the prophetic teachings, and the growth of the Torah, together with the development of religion among the Israelites, upon principles certainly entirely different from—some would say inconsistent with—the tradition of the Christian Church on these subjects.

In the following pages we do not propose to discuss the value of the teaching of modern criticism. Our task is to examine into the way in which the collection of the books forming the Palestinian canon was made; to see how far the destructive criticism of these days is consistent with traditional teaching as to the Jewish canon; and whether our own views are altogether in conformity with the views of early ecclesiastical writers, and Jewish tradition on the subject.

The theory, which was almost universally held for fifteen centuries, and which still finds defenders among Catholic and Protestant writers, assigns the formation of the Jewish canon to Esdras, some associating with him in that work the men of the great synagogue. That such was the opinion of

St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, St. Basil, Theodoret, St. John Chrysostom, Venerable Bede, and a host of others, does not admit of a doubt. Indeed many of them go farther still, and assert that Esdras re-wrote all the books of the Old Testament from divine inspiration.

What evidence is there for this theory, so simple in itself, and, if true, at once disposing of the question of the Jewish canon? To put it plainly, when we look for positive historical proof, we find nothing of a satisfactory character, whilst there are many things that militate against the likelihood of such an explanation. In fact, ancient ecclesiastical witnesses seem to have been deceived by the author of the apocryphal fourth book of Esdras; and, combining what they found there with the words of Josephus, and certain expressions and chapters in the book of Esdras-Nehemias, to have constructed their theory as to formation of the Hebrew canon.

In the fourth book of Esdras,¹ the writer is represented (xiv.) as lamenting to God the destruction of the Law, and begging from Him power to re-write it; that, after his death, men might not be left destitute of divine instruction. God grants Esdras' request, and he prepares to write with five skilled scribes. Next day he hears a voice saying to him, "Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink;" after which we read (vv. 39-48):—

"Then opened I my mouth, and behold He reached me a full cup, which was full, as it were, with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk of it my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my heart, for my spirit strengthened my memory; and my mouth was opened, and shut no more. The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote by course, the things that were told them, in characters which they knew not,² and they sat forty days; they wrote in the day time, and at night they ate bread. As for me, I spake in the day, and by night I held not my tongue. In forty days they wrote ninety-four³ books. And it came to

¹ Written towards the close of the first century A.D. Cf. Schürer, ii. 656, f.: cf. Driver, pp. 30, 31.

² An allusion to the introduction of "square" characters by Esdras.

³ So the Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian. The Vulgate has two hundred and four. Ubaldi (vol. ii., p. 162) founds an argument on the number two hundred and four, without even mentioning what seems undoubtedly the correct reading.

pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written¹ publish openly : but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people ; for in them is the spring of understanding, the foundation of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge."

Here Esdras is represented as re-writing in their entirety the twenty-four books of the Jewish canon, and seventy more besides, which clearly represent the apocryphal books. It is undoubtedly this passage in pseudo-Esdras that chiefly influenced the early fathers in their account of the Jewish canon ; in fact, as M. Loisy says² : " All the ecclesiastical writers who have attributed to Esdras the formation of the canon depend more or less, directly or indirectly, on the apocryphal document of which we have been speaking." We do not deny that the account given in the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias regarding the part played by Esdras in the publication of the Law (Neh. viii.-x.), and the statement that he was " a ready scribe in the law of Moses " (Es. vii. 6), contributed to the same belief, or that the writers to whom we refer were influenced by the words of Josephus, in which he says that the succession of the prophets ceased with the reign of Artaxerxes.³ But we contend that the evidence which almost entirely decided the opinion of the early fathers on the Jewish canon was the pseudo-Esdras.

Now, that the words of the Fourth Book of Esdras cannot be received as serious, history requires no proof. The account it gives of the re-writing of the sacred works is deservedly rejected by all. As for the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias, it has not a word to say on the formation of the canon by Esdras ; whilst Josephus is also silent on the subject. But, surely, if Josephus, the great historian and antiquarian of the Jews, had anything to say as to the author of the Jewish canon, he would have said it when writing on the subject of the canonical books. Nor can we neglect to notice the fact that the name of Esdras is omitted in the book of Ecclesiasticus (xlix.) among the great men

¹ That is, the twenty-four canonical books.

² Page 20.

³ *C. Apionem*, i. 8.

that had illustrated Israel. Would this have been possible, if the rôle attributed to him by later writers were not derived from legend rather than history? ¹ As far as we can see, therefore, there is no evidence for the ancient view which considers Esdras as the author of the Old Testament canon.

We proceed next to set forth the conclusions of modern Biblical science regarding the canon of the Palestinian Jews. First, then, as to the canonization of the law. Modern critics are pretty well unanimous in assigning the composition of the twofold document which they discover running through the Hexateuch, and which they call the prophetic narrative, to a date certainly not later than B.C. 750. Deuteronomy, they say, and the kindred legislation, was first published in B.C. 621, when, in the reign of King Josias, the book of the Law was discovered in the temple.² Up to that time the Priestly Code had not been committed to writing. But during the captivity, when the temple was destroyed, and worship at an end, the priests were at work writing down the liturgic customs of the past. They did not, however, confine themselves to merely rescuing from oblivion their ancient traditions; they aimed at reformation;³ and when Esdras, the priest, returned to Jerusalem, in the year 458 B.C., he carried with him the Priestly Code, or last part of the Hexateuch.

In the second book of Esdras (viii.) a circumstantial account is given of how the priest Esdras read the Law, in the presence of the whole people of Israel, in what was, in all probability, the year 444 B.C. Of that Law Wellhausen says: "There is no doubt that the law of Ezra was the whole Pentateuch;"⁴ and, speaking of the part that Esdras had in completing the Law, Driver says⁵: "It would not be inconsistent with the terms in which he is spoken of in the Old Testament to suppose that the final redaction and completion of the Priest's Code, or even of the

¹ Notice that the names of Zorobabel, Jesus, son of Josedech, and Nehemias, occur in that chapter.

² 4 Kings, xxii.

³ Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 404, &c.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 408.

⁵ *Lit. of the Old Testament*, p. 32.

Pentateuch generally, was his work." Renan, too, whose *History of Israel* resumes the very latest teaching of the "higher criticism," thinks it "not only possible, but even probable, that Esdras had a hand in the redaction of the final ritual and levitical additions"¹ to the Hexateuch.

Renan then asks, was Esdras the promulgator of the Law?² And he adds that probably the second book of Esdras represents, in a general way, the truth in that matter. It may, indeed, be taken to be the general teaching of later critical scholars, that the Law referred to in the second book of Esdras was, for all practical purposes, our Pentateuch, and that Esdras was the man who laid the foundation of the Jewish canon by promulgating the Law.³

We reproduce here a passage from the most eminent of German critics, with a view to making clear the opinion held by men of that school as to the part taken by Esdras in the formation of the Jewish canon:—

"Ezra and Nehemias [writes Wellhausen]⁴ and the eighty-five men of the great assembly [Neh. viii. *et seq.*], who are named as signatories of the covenant, are regarded by later tradition as the founders of the canon. And not without reason: only King Josiah has a still stronger claim to this place of honour. The introduction of the Law, first Deuteronomy, and then the whole Pentateuch, was, in fact, the decisive step by which the written took the place of the spoken word, and the people of the word became a 'people of the book.' To the book were added, in course of time *the books*; the former was formally and solemnly introduced in two successive acts, the latter acquired imperceptibly a similar public authority for the Jewish Church. The notion of the canon proceeds entirely from that of the written Torah; the prophets and the hagiographa are also called Torah by the Jews, though not Torah of Moses."

Esdras, therefore, having canonized the Pentateuch, it is easy to account for the presence of the book of Josue in the

¹ Vol. iv., p. 108.

² Page 118.

³ Kuenen, whilst holding that the different parts of the Hexateuch had been written when Esdras published his Torah, in 444 B.C., maintains that what he published was only the Priestly Code. The work of writing the Priestly Code with the remaining portions of the Hexateuch was, however, quickly taken in hand by the *Sopherim*, and before the end of the fifth century they had produced the Hexateuch. (Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, p. 314.)

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 409.

sacred volume ; for modern criticism regards that book as an integral part of the Hexateuch. It was only, according to Renan,¹ because people regarded the law of Moses as the great object of the Hexateuch that the part following the death of Moses came to be looked upon as a distinct work, and so, in course of time, was separated from the Pentateuch.

When the Hexateuch had once received its final form "it became customary, without doubt," says Renan,² "to transcribe after it the book of Judges, and the books named after Samuel, such as they had been drawn up under Ezechias, and interpolated under Josias. The books of Kings were placed after them." So the former prophets found their way into the canon. Already, before the exile, the same writer thinks, a collection of the prophets had been made, especially of those anterior to Isaias, which contained the prophecies of such men as Osee and Amos. For Renan regards the volume of the Minor Prophets as nothing more than an anthology, culled from a larger volume, comprising chiefly passages favourable to the union between the kingdoms of Israel and Juda, and what we should now call "Messianic prophecies."

The collection of the prophets was finished about the same time as the publication of the Law, so that there was now in existence a second volume side by side with the book of Moses. This second collection was not, however, yet closed. The writings of a certain unknown prophet, who flourished in the days of Nehemias, were yet to be added. But when the prophecies of Malachias had found a place in the sacred volume, nothing more was inserted. The canon of the prophets was closed. Accordingly, the result of the resuscitation of prophecy which took place in the times of the Maccabees—Renan refers to the book of Daniel—had to rest content with a place among the *Ketoubim* or hagiographa. Even writings to which a very high degree of inspiration was attributed, could not force an entry among the canonical books, and had to remain outside, in the last pages of the

¹Page 114.

Loc. cit.

sacred volume. In fact, besides the Torah, and the Former and Latter Prophets, no books ever formed part of the Jewish canon strictly so called. Such is the history of the Jewish canon, according to modern criticism. In the following pages we propose to discuss the evidence upon which that history is based; then we shall be in a position to say how far we agree with the conclusions of modern critics, and in what we differ from them. As Ubaldi remarks,¹ it seems clear that no *canon* or authentic collection of the sacred books existed before the Babylonian captivity. And, indeed, from one point of view, it would be more satisfactory to begin the examination of the history of the canon from the time of Esdras; for all are agreed that the Law existed, practically in its present form, at that time. Still, for completeness sake, it will be necessary to enter briefly into the question of the state of the sacred writings before the captivity, though, in doing so, we shall be obliged to postulate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. As, however, the results of this preliminary inquiry in no way affect the history of the canon from the time of Esdras, no confusion can possibly arise from it.

It seems to have been customary with all ancient peoples to preserve their sacred writings in the temples. It is not surprising, therefore, to read that Moses ordered the Pentateuch, when completed, to be placed by the ark (Deut. xxxi. 25); and that, later on, the book of Josue was added to it, as forming a kind of supplement to it (Jos. xxiv. 26). The Hexateuch was thus, in a way, canonized from the very earliest times. Still, it must not be imagined that from the time of Moses the Law enjoyed undisputed supremacy. Far from it. It was constantly resisted and neglected. Indeed in the eighteenth year of Josias, in practice it seems almost to have been unknown.² Nor did it ever reign supreme till after the captivity.

That collections of the Psalms existed before the exile, there can be no doubt. But whether they possessed anything more than a liturgical character, is not clear. Certainly

¹ Vol. ii., p. 137.

² Cf. Loisy, p. 34.

the Psalter, as we have it now, was not completed before the time of Esdras.¹ So, too, we know that collections of Proverbs existed in very early times. Thus there is no reason to doubt that such a collection was made in the time of Solomon; and we read of another in the days of Ezechias (Prov. xxv. 1). Still it seems to us unlikely that the book of Proverbs in its entirety existed, or that the collection of Proverbs was regarded as canonical before the exile.² Renan, as we have seen above, is of opinion—nor is there any reason to suppose him mistaken—that already before the captivity a volume of the prophetical writings existed, from which what we still possess of the Minor Prophets was taken. There are many indications of the existence of such a volume. Thus, Jeremias seems to have been familiar with the writings of his predecessors; Zacharias, who flourished during the exile, refers (vii. 12) to “the Law” and “the Former Prophets,” as being two complete works; and Daniel seems to have had at hand a collection of the prophetical writings which he made the subject of study, for he alludes in one place³ to “the Books,” as to a work containing, among other things, the prophecies of Jeremias. These facts go to show that collections of the writings of the prophets existed before the exile, and were preserved with care. There is no evidence, however, that any official or canonical collection had been made before that date.

Moses and Josue committed to writing the leading events of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. So, too, chroniclers were not wanting to write down the events of the later history of the people of Israel. The book of Judges is largely based upon contemporary documents;⁴ the facts narrated in the books of Samuel were recorded by the prophets Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1 Para. xxix. 19); and that the history of the later kings was written down by contemporary annalists, is clear from the sources quoted by

¹ Cornely, vol. ii. (2), p. 108.

² Cf. Cornely, vol. ii. (2), p. 142, *et seq.*

³ ix. 2. The Douay version has “books,” but the Septuagint and Hebrew have both the article.

⁴ Cornely, vol. ii. (1), p. 215.

the author of the book of Kings.¹ If we compare these references with the corresponding ones in the books of Chronicles, it becomes evident that the annals of both kingdoms were kept regularly by the prophets, such as Ahias, Addo, Semeias, and Hosai.²

Thus it appears that the history of Israel from the time of Moses to the captivity was written down regularly by the prophets. When and by whom our canonical books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, were first compiled from these sources, is a matter not at all so easy to decide. "The kind of bond," says M. Loisy,³ "that exists between them does not prove that they were originally composed to be placed one after the other; the bond does not come assuredly from the original authors, but rather from him or from those who united them at a period necessarily posterior to the composition of the latest among them, the book of Kings. This book having been compiled from more ancient documents in the latter part of the exile, we may admit, that towards the end of the captivity, or shortly after the return, the books which were known later on by the name of the Former Prophets existed in collection."

It seems, indeed, not only likely, but practically certain, that the collection of the historical books was not made before the exile. It may, indeed, be regarded as established, that with the exception of the Law and the book of Josue, no canon of Scripture existed up to that date. In whatever reverence other collections were held, they existed merely as private collections; even the Law itself still awaited its final and formal canonization.

From what we have been saying, it follows that the history of the Old Testament canon, properly speaking, begins only with the Babylonian captivity. We proceed now to take the question up from that date. And first, as is but right, we turn to see what light, if any, Jewish tradition can throw upon the matter.

¹Cf. The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Israel, eighteen times; those of Juda, fifteen times.

²Cf. Cornely, vol. ii. (1), p. 295, *et seq.*

³Page 37.

Whatever tradition the Jews possess on the subject of their canon is contained in the Talmud and in the writings of Josephus. We begin with a quotation from the Talmud, which will enable us to see the opinions of the Jewish rabbis on the question, towards the end of the second and in the beginning of the third century of our era. After naming the books of the Old Testament, the passage runs as follows:—

“And who wrote them? Moses wrote his own book and the section concerning Balaam¹ and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and eight verses of the Law.² Samuel wrote his own book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms, at the direction of ten elders, viz., Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthan, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own book and the book of Kings and Lamentations. Hezechiah and his college wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, The Twelve, Daniel and Esther. Ezra his own book and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as far as himself.”³

With regard to this passage, Dr. Driver remarks:⁴ “The entire passage is manifestly destitute of historical value.” We cannot here enter into a discussion of its contents, which certainly contain some very crude notions as to the authorship of the sacred books. It will be sufficient to note that very little reliance can be placed in it, and that it seems merely to reflect the views of the Jewish schools, about the year 300 A.D., derived entirely, or nearly so, from the internal evidence afforded by the books themselves.⁵ One thing, however, is clear from the passage, that the author held that all the canonical books had been written by the time of Esdras, no doubt because he looked on Esdras as the author of the Jewish canon.

We next go back to the first century of our era, and see what view Josephus held as to the Palestinian canon:—

“We have not [he says⁶] an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another [as the

¹ Num. xxii. 2, xxv. 29.

² Deut. xxxiv. 5-12.

³ Baba Bâthra, 14 b.

⁴ Page 33.

⁵ Loisy, p. 22, *et seq.*

⁶ C. Apionem, i. 8.

Greeks have, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time after the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their time in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes, very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. And how firmly we have given credit to those books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for, during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, or take anything from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them."

Here we have, from a zealous Jew, who lived in the first century, and who had made a special study of the antiquities of his country, an account of the sacred books of the Jews. It is perfectly plain from his words, that, in his time, the Jews regarded the canon of twenty-two¹ books as definitely closed; and, in fact, closed so long that the twenty-two books of the canon had come to be regarded as on an incomparably higher level than all other books. There is, however, no mention of Esdras; and, furthermore, no allusion to any formal closure of the canon. All that we can glean from Josephus is, that no canonical books were written after the time of Artaxerxes, because after his time no prophet was raised up in Israel.

The two passages we have quoted contain whatever tradition the Jews possess regarding the collection of their sacred books; and it does not seem to go beyond pointing in a general way to the reign of Artaxerxes and Esdras as being concerned with the fixing of their canon.

¹ Josephus' twenty-two books are equivalent to the twenty-four of the Talmud; for he probably numbers Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremias.

What part, then, had Esdras in the formation of the canon? When we look for positive evidence on this point, we find that the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias supplies the only reliable information we have. It is there said of Esdras that he was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses" (1 Es. vii. 6 : cf. vv. 11, 21) ; and it is clear also that he was a prime mover in the solemn publication of the Pentateuch (Neh. viii.-x.), in the year 444 B.C. What he did in the way of amending the text of the law, it is impossible to say ; but it is certainly not unlikely that many explanatory notes and sentences were introduced by him. Nor does it seem to us unnatural to suppose that he played an important part in the work of collecting the prophetic writings, and in the final editing of the historical books ; since it is clear that he was distinguished for his learning in regard to sacred literature. However that may be, there is a practical unanimity among writers of all schools that Esdras promulgated and canonized the Pentateuch ; and that, too, in the form we now have it. On the other hand, it is clear that when the apocryphal book of Esdras was written, towards the year 100 A.D., legend had grown up around the name of Esdras, and assigned to him a rôle for which there is no warrant in history.¹

The second book of Maccabees opens with two letters sent by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt, in the year B.C. 144. In the second of these letters the following words occur :—"The same things were also reported in the

¹ Some writers maintain that Esdras, together with the men of the great synagogue, which, "according to Jewish tradition, was a permanent Council established by Ezra, which continued to exercise authority in religious matters till about B.C. 200" (Driver, xxxiii.), formed the Palestinian canon. For such a theory there is no reliable evidence. Indeed, though many think the existence of such a body as the great synagogue "in every way consistent with the history of Judaism, and with the internal evidence of the books themselves" (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. i., p. 251), we are compelled to say that we do not at all believe in the existence of that body in the time of Esdras. The idea seems to have grown from the account of the convocation that assembled at Jerusalem, and subscribed the covenant to observe the Law (Neh. viii.-x.). As for the evidence of the Talmud, it is full of myth and extravagance, and no reliance can be placed on it. (Ubaldi, p. 142, *et seq.*; Loisy, p. 27.) Indeed, there is no trustworthy historical testimony to the existence of such a body in the time of Esdras.

public archives and in the records relating to Nehemias; and how, founding a library, he gathered together the things concerning the kings and prophets, and the (writings) of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts"¹ (ii. 13). Does this passage refer to an increase of the canon effected by the labours of Nehemias? It certainly seems so to us.

It will have been noted that no mention is made of the Pentateuch among the writings collected by Nehemias. Why? Because, as we say, that book had been already placed in the canon. If, as some maintain, Nehemias was founding a library in the ordinary sense, surely the Law would have found a place in his collection. Again, by the words *τὰ τοῦ Δαυείδ*, which we render, "the writings of David," it is obvious that the Psalms are meant. But in gathering together the Psalms, Nehemias was not procuring volumes for a library; he was making a collection of sacred hymns; he was editing a psalter, probably ours, since the existence of Maccabean psalms has not been established.²

If we are right in thus explaining the meaning of the gathering together of the "writings of David" by Nehemias, by analogy, it would seem that we ought to explain in a similar manner the collection that he made of "the things concerning the kings and prophets" (*τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν*). In other words, this phrase would seem to refer to a formal canonical collection of the histories of the kings and the prophetic writings. This is the more likely, because all writers agree that the final work of editing and arranging the historical and prophetic works had gone on during the latter years of the exile, and the early years after the return; and because the most trustworthy tradition which we possess assigns the formation of the canon of the Former and Latter Prophets to this period.

The third part of the quotation is not so easy to explain: *καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων*, which we have

¹ We follow the Greek, which seems undoubtedly the right reading. The Douay Bible follows the Vulgate, which has, "Congregavit de regionibus libros" for *ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων*.

² Loisy, p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*

translated: "and letters of kings about sacred gifts." Cornely¹ takes the words to refer to the book of Esdras-Nehemias; but, surely, the description is quite unsuited to the book. It is more natural to say that the phrase points to a collection of royal letters, made, no doubt, with a view to sacred history, and from which, perhaps, the epistles introduced into the book of Esdras-Nehemias were taken.²

The words we have quoted from the book of Maccabees make no claim for Nehemias, beyond that of collecting the Former and Latter Prophets together with the book of Psalms. There is no mention of any formal promulgation of these books. Nor is there any reason to suppose that any such took place. The books were already held in reverence at this time; and now that they were brought together as a select body of writings, apart, they grew in public esteem every day.

The next evidence we have bearing on the canon belongs to the year B.C. 180, when the son of Sirach wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus.³ In the prologue to the Greek translation of that book, the writer says of the son of Sirach, who was his grandfather, that "he had given himself to a diligent reading" of the sacred books. The result of that reading is clearly contained in the chapters xlv.-xlix. of Ecclesiasticus, in which Siracides closely follows and analyses the Old Testament writings, and passes encomiums upon the great men of Israel. Chapters xlv. and xlv. are taken up with the Pentateuch; xlv. 1-12, with Josue; xlv. 13-15, with Judges; xlv. 16-xlv. 13, with the book of Samuel; xlv. 9-12, refers to the Psalms of David; xlv. 14-xlix. 9, to the book of Kings; xlv., to Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and perhaps Ecclesiastes. The prophecy of Isaias is referred to in xlv. 23-28; that of Jeremias in xlix. 9 (the preceding verse seems to point to Lamentations); verses 9-11 concern Ezechial; verse 12, the Minor Prophets; and verses 13-15, the book of Esdras-Nehemias.⁴

¹ Vol. i., p. 46.

² Loisy, p. 45.

³ The last we hear of Nehemias is in the year 433 B.C. Driver assigns the date of Ecclesiasticus at 200 B.C.

⁴ Cf. Loisy, 42, *et seq.* Some find an allusion to Job in xlix. 9; some suspect xlix. 12.

The chapters of Ecclesiasticus we have just analysed undoubtedly throw much light on the growth of the collection of the sacred books, since the time of Nehemias, two centuries and a half before. The books that had been "diligently read" by Siracides evidently included among them the Law, the Former and Latter Prophets, and the Psalms. But his library of sacred writings contained besides, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, Lamentations, Esdras-Nehemias, and probably Job and Ecclesiastes. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the book of Chronicles was there. For the fact of no direct allusion being made to it, is satisfactorily accounted for by reason of its similarity with the book of Kings.

But special interest attaches to the names omitted by Siracides in his enumeration. There is no mention of Daniel, Esther, or Esdras, in the catalogue. With regard to Daniel, Ubaldi quotes, without disapproval, the following suggestion of Quatremère :¹—"Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel, though written by their author, under the inspiration of God, partly during the captivity and partly after the liberation and return of the people to Judea, were not collected into one book till after the author's death, when the books of the prophets had been already arranged in the canon ; or, perhaps, it was only then that the book of Daniel was brought to Jerusalem ; whence it came to pass, that it was added to the canon, "among the latter books, after the others." Ubaldi is of opinion that the want of order to be discerned among the prophecies of Daniel, and the fact that some parts are wanting in the Hebrew, lend support to this view.

The practically unanimous verdict of modern critics assigns the book of Daniel to the age of the Maccabees, one argument in support of such a date being the absence to Daniel's name from the book of Ecclesiasticus. Does not the explanation suggested by Ubaldi answer this difficulty? May we not say that the prophecies of Daniel, coming to Jerusalem in an unconnected state after the canon of the

¹ *Journal de Savants*, Oct., 1845.

prophets had been closed, remained outside the sacred volume ; and, perhaps, even at the time of Siracides, though looked upon with reverence, had not yet taken their place among the sacred writings.

The same reasoning applies to Esther, which is similar to Daniel, not only in being excluded from the book of Ecclesiasticus, but also in containing certain Deuterocanonical parts not to be found in the Hebrew version. As for the omission of the name of Esdras, we have already noticed that fact. Esdras and Nehemias laboured together in regard to the sacred books. The one was the learned scribe, the other the civil governor ; the one worked more or less in private, the other was always before the public. So it came to pass that much of the credit due to Esdras did not appear before men, whilst the name of Nehemias was handed down to posterity in the public records.

We pass on now to consider certain words which appear in the second book of Maccabees, and which are, in fact, a continuation of the passage already quoted from that book in reference to Nehemias. They refer to Judas Maccabeus, and, in our opinion, to the third and final definite enlargement of the Palestinian canon. "In like manner," the words run (ii. 14, 15), "Judas gathered together for us all the writings that had been cattered (*τὰ διαπεπτώκοντα*) by reason of the war that we had ; and they remain with us. If, therefore, ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them to you." The war referred to is the war of Antiochus, and the persecution that followed it (B.C. 168), when, by order of the King, the sacred books of the Jews were searched out and burned (1 Macc. 56, 59, 60), and those in whose possession they were found put to death.

Such a persecution would naturally inspire the people with an increased love for their sacred books ; and so we are not surprised to learn that, when the crisis had passed, the national leader, Judas¹ Maccabeus, who lived till B.C. 161, devoted his attention to the collection of the scattered books.

¹Some identify the Judas of the text with Judas Essenius, so as to include the books of the Maccabees in his collection ; but without grounds.

It will be observed that Judas is not said to have brought together a number of writings that had never been united before; his labours were devoted to gathering together what had been scattered (*τὰ διαπεπτωκότα*). No doubt he endeavoured to obtain a number of copies of the sacred books; but the words of the text mean more than that. They certainly seem to refer to some sort of formal collection, such as that which existed in the time of Siracides, and probably more extensive still. We take this to be the case—firstly, because this account of Judas Maccabeus is placed in conjunction with a passage narrating the labours of Nehemias in regard to the canon of the sacred books; and, secondly, because the writer invites the Alexandrian Jews: “If, therefore, ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them to you.” Now, at this time, the sacred books had long been translated into Greek, and it was the Greek text which the Alexandrian Jews used. Moreover, the Jews of Egypt were unaffected by the persecution of Antiochus. Why, then, should they be invited to send to the persecuted and impoverished Jews of Palestine for copies of the Hebrew books? Could they not procure their own copies? If, however, we suppose that Judas had been devoting his attention to some kind of formal collection of the sacred writings, especially the hagiographa, the invitation is natural enough. For, in that case, it is not unlikely that the collection of Judas contained one or two books which, though esteemed highly before, had not yet been admitted among the hagiographa. Shall we suggest as instances Daniel and Esther? In that case it is natural to suppose that the Alexandrian Jews would have been anxious to secure copies of the newly-canonized books, with a view to having them translated into the Greek language.

The same conclusion is rendered still more likely by the language of Josephus in regard to the canon. For Josephus speaks of the twenty-two canonical books as if they had been held sacred by the Jews for centuries; and certainly the two centuries or so that elapsed between his time and that of Judas Maccabeus are little enough to allow of the growth of such a tradition. Nor do we find any evidence

at a later date of any collection of the sacred books having been made; whereas, as we have seen, most of the hagiographa had been already collected in the time of Siracides; and so the action of Judas would have been confined to re-uniting the scattered writings, and inserting in the canon one or two works that were already on the verge of canonization.

It must be remembered, moreover, in regard to the collection of Judas Maccabeus, that we have no evidence of any formal promulgation on his part of the writings he received into the canon. His labours were confined to receiving certain books into the volume of the hagiographa; and, no doubt, it required time before these writings were considered on a footing of equality with the older members of the canon.

Thirty years after the death of Judas Maccabeus, the grandson of Siracides translated the book of his grandfather into Greek, and prefixed to it a prologue, which goes to confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived in regard to the collection of the hagiographa. For, from the words of the prologue it is plain that in the time of the writer, the three-fold division of the sacred books was already a thoroughly established fact. Indeed, though the prologue is very short, the writer three times refers to the three classes of writings contained in the canon. Thus he speaks of the many and great things they have learnt from the "Law, the Prophets, and the others that have followed them" (*καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτούς*). And he says of his grandfather, how he had been a diligent reader of "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers" (*καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πατρια βιβλία*). That the allusion is not here to the national literature in general, follows from the fact that the writer adds that his grandfather "had a mind *also* to write something himself, pertaining to wisdom and doctrine," showing the character of the books he had been speaking of. Finally, further on, the author of the prologue refers to "the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the books" (*καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*), as a collection of writings standing apart from all others.

From these words there can be no doubt that in the year

B.C. 130, the division of the books of the Hebrew canon into three classes was already *un fait accompli*. Taken in conjunction with the facts that, fifty years previously, Siracides had at hand a collection of the sacred books containing nearly all the hagiographa, and that thirty years before Judas Maccabeus had devoted his attention to another collection of Jewish Biblical literature, this new evidence certainly seem to show that the canon of Judas Maccabeus contained the complete catalogue of the sacred writings. It is true, Driver says,¹ of the preface to Ecclesiasticus, that "it does not show that the hagiographa was already completed, as we now have it; it would be entirely consistent with the terms used; for instance, if particular books, as Esther or Daniel, or Ecclesiastes, were only added to the collection subsequently." No doubt, if the words of the prologue are taken alone they throw no light on the extent of the hagiographa. But, taken with the other facts we have mentioned, and with the words of Josephus on the sacred books of the Jews, they certainly seem to show that at this time the canon existed just as it did in the days of Jesus Christ.

Having now reviewed the evidence available in regard to the Jewish canon, the following conclusions seem to us to follow from it. All agree in regarding Esdras as the promulgator of the Torah of Moses, the Pentateuch. It seems to us that, not many years later, Nehemias added to the canon the Former and Latter Prophets, together with the book of Psalms. The final collection of the hagiographical writings was of slower growth. Already before the book of Ecclesiasticus was written, however, most of them had been received; and the third part of the canon was finally closed by Judas Maccabeus, about the year B.C. 165.

J. A. HOWLETT.

¹ Page xxviii.

Theological Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

IMPEDIMENTUM AETATIS.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you for your opinion on the following question:—

Would the circumstance of abduction, or where the girl has voluntarily absconded with a man, and the certain ruin of the girl's character, for she has cohabited with him in a public hotel for seventeen days, justify her marriage at the age of thirteen years and four months. Coupled with these circumstances is the fact, which to a pastor of souls is a very important one, that the girl has either to go on the streets, or live with the seducer. He is twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, and was, and is, willing and anxious to marry the girl, and by so doing make her and her family all the reparation in his power. The parents of both parties were and are anxious to have the marriage take place, and for this purpose have worried the pastor. Lehmkuhl says, and he has been quoted against me, that before the age of fourteen the marriage of females *rarissime licebit*.

But, surely, these words plainly imply and clearly signify that there are circumstances which justify marriage before fourteen; and, if any, I make bold to say those of the case I have just stated justify the marriage. The Church declares the marriage of females to be valid at the age of twelve; and of males, at the age of fourteen; and unless there be some circumstance or combination of circumstances that would justify marriage at these ages, the law of the Church is the quintessence of absurdity. The law of the land is in perfect accord in this country with the law of the Church in that particular. A Catholic judge, who has just tried the case, stated it as his own opinion, and had consulted, he said, an eminent "clergyman who could inform him on such subjects, that there could be no difficulty to the marriage of the girl."

I may mention, by way of sequel to the strange solution of this strange case, that the judge has bound the young man to give bail in a very large amount, in order that he should do what he was, and is, willing and anxious to do, viz., to marry the girl. I may add, by way of conclusion, that the girl of whom I write,

would, in size, strength, and appearance, pass for a girl of eighteen or twenty.

Thanking you in anticipation for your opinion, and its insertion in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD.

PAROCHUS LIMERICENSIS.

We have to distinguish three classes of persons in connection with the impediment of age: those who have not yet come to the use of reason; those who have attained the use of reason, but have not reached the canonical age of fourteen years for boys, and twelve for girls; and, finally, those who have completed the statutable number of years.

1. Persons, who have not yet come to the use of reason, are incapable, *de jure naturali*, of contracting marriage. This is true even if one of the parties should have attained the use of reason.

2. When the full use of reason is attained, the impediment from the natural law ceases; but the Church, following the old Roman law, declares void all marriages contracted before the age of fourteen in the case of boys, and twelve in the case of girls. Consequently, we call the impediment of age a *diriment impediment*. To this *diriment* law, independently of dispensation, there is one recognised exception, viz., *nisi malitia suppleat aetatem*; "hoc est, nisi ante aetatem statutam a lege personae intelligant quid agant, cum matrimonium contrahunt, et simul ad copulam habendam potentes sint."¹

In all cases of this class, as the reason of the *diriment* law does not apply to them, a marriage contracted even without a dispensation would be certainly valid. But for its liceity some theologians would require the permission of the bishop, or rather, usually, of the Pope, as the circumstances in which a bishop can give this permission rarely occur. Thus Mazzotta, to whom Lehmkuhl refers, writes:—"Si vero habeat potentiam expeditam ad copulam; si contrahat sine licentia Episcopi graviter peccat: quia hoc, quod certe in se grave est, prohibetur graviter in jure . . . at si contrahat cum licentia Episcopi, nihil peccat. Cavetur autem (in jure)

¹ *De Angelis*, l. iv., tit. ii., 4.

ne Episcopus, nisi ex urgentissima causa, eam concedat; et quia vix solet haec causa intervenire, ideo omnes Episcopi hanc dispensationem remittunt ad Pontificem.”¹ On the other hand, De Angelis, in continuation of the passage already quoted, writes:—“Quae si verificantur, ad contrahendum matrimonium ante annos pubertatis non est necessaria venia superioris, cum haec limitatio regulae a jure expresse ponatur; judex proinde intervenire tantum debet, quando dubium est, an verificetur exceptio necne, et non cum de exceptione constat, ut in hypothesisi.”

3. With regard to those who have passed the statutable age, the impediment of age no longer exists. But of these again we have to distinguish two classes:—(a) Persons may have reached the age of puberty, but still be *inhabiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. Even for these the impediment of age no longer continues. But there may be the impediment of *impotentia*; and, consequently, of this class of persons Lehmkuhl writes: “Verum antequam proxima potentia exsistat, rarissime *licebit* matrimonium contrahere.”

(b) Persons who have reached the age of puberty, and are, moreover, *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*, are not forbidden by any direct law, whether *diriment* or simply *prohibitive*, from immediately contracting marriage. But reverence for the matrimonial contract and the religious feelings of a country may require that marriage should ordinarily be deferred until the contracting parties attain a more mature age. Hence Lehmkuhl writes: “Aetas illa ab Ecclesia statuta ubique quidem valoris matrimonii norma est, at non ubique norma licite et convenienter matrimonium contrahendi. Ecclesia enim debuit regiones etiam meridionales respicere, ubi natura maturius completur: in frigidioribus autem regionibus sane non expedit, imo vix licebit ad nuptias transire, quum primum canonica aetas adfuerit. Raro videtur ibi convenire, ut puella ante decimum octavum aetatis annum, juvenis ante vigesimum matrimonium ineat; saepe etiam ulterius expectandum erit, ne ante aetatem robustiorem vires debilitentur.”²

¹ Tr. vii. D. i. 2, ii., cap. xii., § i.

² Vol. ii., p. 533, note 1.

Similarly, the *Mechlin Theology*: "Notandum insuper quod, licet statim post adeptam pubertatem matrimonium valide contrahi possit, ordinarie tamen maturior aetas sit expectanda, ut sponsi rem gravissimam maturiori iudicio peragant, et obligationibus conjugalibus adimplendis sint aptiores."¹

To apply these principles to our correspondent's question, we have to bear in mind that both the contracting parties have passed the canonical age; and, as the sad and sinful incident narrated by our correspondent supposes, that they are *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. Why, then, should our correspondent's view, that they can and ought to be married, be controverted? The words of Lehmkühl, quoted against our correspondent: "Verum antequam proxima potentia exsistat, rarissime *licebit* matrimonium contrahere," regard persons who, though of canonical age, are still *inhabiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. There is no law forbidding persons, who have attained the canonical age, and who are *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*, from immediately contracting marriage. No doubt, as we have seen in the quotations from the *Mechlin Theology* and Lehmkühl, persons ought ordinarily to defer marriage until they have attained a more mature age. But it is not quite evident that this is necessary under pain of sin: "Sane non expedit," Lehmkühl says, "imo vix *licebit* ad nuptias transire, quum primum aetas canonica adfuerit." And, even if it were certainly obligatory under pain of sin, the circumstances described by our correspondent—the sinful career of these unhappy young people, the wreck of the girl's character, the danger for her future, her maturity in size, strength, and appearance—all go to prove that this is an exceptional case, and that these young people ought be allowed to get married.

DE SIGILLO CONFESSIONIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A confessor receives restitution money from his penitent, and undertakes, at the penitent's request, to hand it to Paul, to whom it is due. Before the confessor hands

¹ No. 72.

the money to Paul, the penitent asks another priest to make the restitution. This other priest comes to the confessor and addresses him thus :—" Father, the penitent who asked you to make that restitution wants me, and not you, to give it to Paul. He has asked me to see you, and to tell you so. Do not make the restitution ; I will do it myself. When convenient, you will give me the money you have received from your penitent for restitution to Paul."

Thus addressed, can the confessor, under these circumstances, keep silent until he consults the penitent? Would silence be construed into a violation of the *sigillum*? Should the confessor say: " Speak not to me about confession. I know not what you speak about. I can make no reply in regard to anything that may have passed between the penitent and myself." Or can the confessor act on a verbal message; or even a written message from his penitent? How should the confessor act under the circumstances?

SACERDOS.

Theologians distinguish two ways in which a confessor may get permission to use the knowledge of the confessional. First, the penitent may say to the confessor, either at confession, or after confession :—" I give you permission to use this knowledge as if you got it outside confession." And secondly, the penitent may say formally or equivalently :—" I give you permission to use this knowledge—which, however, will remain sacramental knowledge—for this special purpose and no further." All theologians agree that permission can be given in the first way described ; though some would require a detailed extra-sacramental communication of the knowledge which the penitent wishes to release from the seal of sacramental secrecy. This knowledge is, of course, no longer sacramental knowledge. It may be, from its own nature, a *secretum naturale*. And from this natural obligation of secrecy the priest can be released by the penitent, either orally or by letter, *per se* or *per alium*.

Scotus and Scotist theologians deny that permission can be given in the second manner above described. Amongst many other arguments, they argue from the case of a cleric who would consent to cede his right to the *privilegium canonis* or *fori*. As a cleric, they say, cannot cede his

right, for example, to the *privilegium canonis*, because it is ordained not in favour of an individual, but to safeguard the dignity of the clerical order; so also a penitent cannot release a confessor from the obligation of confessional secrecy, because the sacramental seal was primarily imposed and commanded, not in the interest of the individual penitent, but as a protection for the sacrament itself, to secure and maintain the reverence due to the sacrament, *ne odiosum redderetur sacramentum*. Hence, according to these theologians, a penitent cannot, in any possible way, give permission to his confessor to use his *sacramental* knowledge.

Though we admire the elevated and reverential doctrine of the Subtle Doctor, and though it deserves our serious attention, if only as an admonition and a standard of what should be our scrupulous care for the inviolability of our confessional secrets, and for the reverence due to the sacrament itself, still we have no doubt about the truth of the contrary teaching of St. Thomas, Suarez, De Lugo, &c.; viz., that a penitent can give the confessor permission to use his *sacramental* knowledge: "*Nihilominus*," writes Suarez, "*contraria sententia et communis et vera est. . . . Ratio est quia hæc sigillum, quamvis sit sacrum, continetur, tamen sub genere secreti, et ejus naturam ac rationem participat. Est autem hæc natura secreti, ut ejus usus pendeat ex voluntate committentis, sicut depositum ex voluntate deponentis, vel sicut promissio ex voluntate ejus, cui est facta.*"¹ These theologians reply to the argument of the Scotists, that not alone is the penitent's personal right ceded, but that the penitent's permission effectually shields the reverence due to the sacrament. For how could this power of giving permission to use the confessional knowledge deter people from confession, or make the sacrament *odiosum*? Do penitents not know that it is in their power to give or refuse their permission, and that the priest cannot use his sacramental knowledge without their *spontaneous* permission? Moreover, so far from rendering the sacrament generally odious, this doctrine ought to enhance its value still more in the estimation of the faithful. For surely it is a great

¹ Disp. xxxiii., sec. v.

comfort for penitents to know that, in extreme cases, where a grave obligation, *e. g.* of restitution, cannot be discharged by themselves without grave danger to their character, they may safely rely on the services of their confessor; and that by a partial and temporary relaxation of the sacramental *sigillum*, and without revealing their own identity to a third party, the duty can be discharged through a priest, who, when his commission is accomplished, will be again absolutely, and in regard to all persons, bound by the seal of confession. This is confirmed by the ordinary practice of the faithful, and by the teaching of theologians in regard to those who are *secondarily* bound to sacramental secrecy. If, for example, a confessor, with the permission of his penitent, applied to the Bishop for faculties to absolve from reserved cases, the Bishop would be bound by the *sigillum*. If he were to reveal that such a confessor had applied to him for faculties for reserved cases, he would not only violate a natural secret, and do an injustice to the penitents who had recently been at confession with that priest, but he would violate the *sacramental sigillum*. We, therefore, hold that a penitent can give permission to his confessor to use his *sacramental* knowledge; and, accordingly, that the person to whom this knowledge is communicated, is similarly bound by the *sigillum*.

How must this permission be given? 1. It must be formally and expressly given; and hence the confessor cannot act on the penitent's presumed permission. 2. This formal and express permission may be given orally, or in writing, by sign, or, as they say, by fact; "*Perinde autem est sive verbo, sive scripto, sive nutu aut facto licentia detur.*"¹ Permission is given *by fact*, for example, when the penitent after confession commences to speak to the priest about something told in confession. This permission cannot however be extended to other sins mentioned in confession, and to which the penitent does not refer outside confession. 3. The permission must be given for some good purpose. 4. It must be freely given by the penitent; "*Ut sit libera ac*

¹ *Mechlin Theol.*, n. iii.

spontanea, non vi, injuria, dolo, vel etiam per metum reverentialem ipsius confessarii obtenta."¹ 5. Finally, permission given by the penitent may be afterwards revoked.

Now to apply these principles to our correspondent's questions, we would say:—1. The confessor's silence in the circumstances described by our correspondent could not reasonably be regarded as a violation of the *sigillum*. There is very little difference between remaining silent and saying: "I can make no statement in regard to a past confession." Silence should be regarded not as a violation of the *sigillum*, but as a priest's habitual demeanour, when interrogated in reference to the confessions of his penitents. 2. A confessor can act on the *certain* permission of his penitent, whether granted orally, or conveyed by letter, or through a third person. This is not stated expressly by the theologians, but it clearly follows from the principles which they lay down. Thus De Lugo writes: "Obligatio hujus secreti sequitur naturam et conditionem secreti naturalis, ut semper maneat sub potestate committentis illud;"² and Suarez, as already quoted: "Hoc sigillum, quamvis sit sacrum, continetur tamen sub genere secreti, et ejus naturam ac rationem participat. Est autem haec natura secreti, ut ejus usus pendeat ex voluntate committentis, sicut promissio ex voluntate ejus, cui est facta." And hence, as in the cases quoted by these theologians, we think a penitent can give permission to use the sacramental knowledge either orally, or by letter, *per se*, or *per alium*.

"How should the confessor act under the circumstances?" We think that, though mediate verbal permission is *per se* sufficient, a confessor should not, as a rule, accept it. It is manifestly liable to abuse, and may, if practised generally, expose the sacrament to danger of irreverence. With regard to the particular case mentioned by our correspondent, we think the confessor could lawfully accept this mediate permission through a brother priest. This priest does not ask that the money be given to him immediately; he makes the restitution himself; and he says to the confessor: "When convenient you will give me the money you have

S. Lig., n. 651.

² Disp. xxiii., sect. v., § iv.

received from your penitent." This, even independently of his priestly character, is sufficient evidence that he has been sent by the penitent. We should, however, much prefer to deal directly with the penitent. The confessor might say: "I am perfectly satisfied that you have been commissioned to speak to me; but I have an objection to speak to any other than a penitent on matters relating to confession. A penitent has sent you to me in reference to a certain obligation of restitution. I say nothing about the subject; but as the penitent has sent you to me, I will later on speak to himself on the subject."

Finally, we may draw attention to the different position of the two priests, in case the confessor accepted this mediate verbal permission. The confessor remains bound by the *sigillum*. He cannot afterwards speak even to the other priest about this confessional matter, just as two persons who have the same confessional knowledge cannot speak to each other on the subject. But the other priest has not got his knowledge in the confessional—at least the case does not necessarily suppose this; consequently, he is bound only by the natural law of secrecy; and hence, if he speaks to the confessor again on the subject of the penitent's injustice and restitution, he is not violating the *sigillum*; but he would seem to be violating a natural secret, by communicating extra-sacramental knowledge to a person who previously had only sacramental knowledge of this secret.

MAY A HONORARIUM BE TAKEN WHEN A PRIEST SAYS
A SECOND MASS ON SUNDAYS OR HOLIDAYS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you a question in connection with the answer given to "Ignorans" in the July number of the I. E. RECORD?

In Section III. of his reply, Dr. Coghlan says: "The common law of the Church, as interpreted by various decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, forbids a second *honorarium* to be taken when a priest says a second Mass on Sundays or holidays."

I have heard a less strict view of the law maintained. That view is expressed by Professor Haine of Louvain thus: "Nulla

exstat *lex generalis*, quæ hoc stipendium [i.e. pro secunda Missa] prohibeat. Quare declarationes Romanæ an. 1845, 1858 et 1862 stipendium accipere vetantes, . . . cum non fuerunt promulgatæ sub forma *legum generalium*, non obligant nisi in diocesis pro quibus fuerunt latæ vel in quibus episcopi eas declararunt obligatorias."¹ As this opinion seems contrary to the teaching of such well-known authorities as Gury and Lehmkuhl, I should be glad to know whether Haine's opinion may be safely followed, so that a priest in a diocese where the prohibition against a second *honorarium* has not been published, may consider himself at liberty to receive two *stipendia* on the same day. A. J. M.

Though we owe an apology to many correspondents, whose communications we have unavoidably held over for some time, we desire in a special manner to offer an explanation to our present correspondent for our delay in replying to his letter.

This question arises out of an answer given to a correspondent in the July number of the I. E. RECORD (1893). And we regret very much that this reply did not appear in the August number. Moreover, our correspondent's question could easily have been answered by a reference to a past number of the I. E. RECORD; but we were then on vacation, and it was impossible to find out the proper reference. Since that time we have not laid hands on our correspondent's question until the present time; and hence the delay in replying.

In the July number of the I. E. RECORD (1893), we laid down that a priest may not take a *honorarium* for his second Mass on Sundays or holidays, when he has already received a *honorarium* for his first Mass. Our correspondent quotes Haine to prove that there is no general law forbidding the taking a second *honorarium* on Sundays and holidays; that it is forbidden only by certain Roman declarations, which bind only in the dioceses, to which they were addressed. We received a similar question in April, 1890; and our correspondent will find the answer, which is also a full answer to the present question, in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, 1890.²

DANIEL COGHLAN.

¹ Haine, *Theol. Moral. Elem.*, tom. iii., p. 97.

² I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xi., page 440.

Liturgical Notes

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY

SOME months ago¹ we gave in these pages an analysis of the rules for establishing and carrying on the Association of the Holy Family; and in the course of our remarks we raised a few important questions, for the solution of which there did not appear to us to be sufficient data given. What was then desired has since been supplied by the President of the Association, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome. Several questions were proposed to him from time to time, and these, together with the replies of his Eminence, will be found in another place.² Here we intend to give a summary of them, and to point out their practical bearing on the working of the Association.

1. In case the father of a family refuses or neglects to have the family enrolled, the mother can have it done validly; and if both father and mother neglect, or even refuse to let their family be enrolled, the eldest child, or a grand-parent, if living with the family, can likewise have it done. This is clearly conveyed by the third of the replies given by the Cardinal-President on December 12, 1893:—

“Quær. Utrum negligente vel invito patrefamilias, possit mater vel aliqua ex præcipuis familiae personis v. gr. avus familiam adscribere Piae Associationi? Resp. Affirmative.”

2. But should all the principal members of the family neglect or refuse to perform their duty, then the younger children can have themselves enrolled individually. This is an exception to the rule, that individuals, as such, cannot be members of the Association. Another very important exception to this same rule regards the case of unmarried servants, soldiers, and, of course, all others similarly circumstanced. They, too, it would seem, should, if possible, have themselves enrolled along with their own families at home; but, in case of negligence or unwillingness on the part of their

¹ June, 1893. Vol. xiv., p. 555.

² See “Documents,” pp. 186, 7, 8, 9.

own families, they can, like the younger children of a family, have themselves enrolled individually in the parish in which they reside. The fourth of the recent replies of the President of the Association is our authority for these statements :—

“*Quaer. Utrum possit filii familias, servi, milites sese adscribere Piae Associationi seorsim a propria familia? Resp. Negative et ad mentem. Mens vero est ut singuli cum suis adscribantur, quibus negligentibus vel recusantibus poterunt seorsim sese adscribere.*”

Although in this question express mention is made of three classes of persons, and of three classes only, we are not bound to conclude that the privilege of being enrolled individually is necessarily restricted to these three classes. The motive which induced the Cardinal-President to grant the privilege was, that, otherwise, these persons could not be enrolled at all. Now this motive is quite general, and, consequently, we are free to conclude that everyone, who, for any reason whatsoever, is permanently, or even for a long time, prevented from getting enrolled with his or her own family, can be enrolled as an individual. This, as a little reflection will make evident, affects a large class of persons, who are not included in any of the three classes mentioned in the question.

With regard to servants, something still remains to be said. As we have just shown, servants are to get enrolled along with their own families, where this is possible ; otherwise they are to be enrolled individually. But when a servant gives up the parental domicile he, or she, can no longer get enrolled with the family at home. For, according to the fifth of the replies, from which we have been quoting, no one can be enrolled in a parish other than his own ; though, as laid down by the eighth, a quasi-domicile in a parish suffices to make that parish one's own for the purpose of enrolment.

“*V. Quaer. Utrum aliquis possit sese valide adscribere in aliena paroecia? Resp. Negative. Nec proinde potest parochus valide alienos adscribere, et qui taliter fuerunt adscripti debent denuo in propria paroecia adscribi.*

“*VIII. Sufficitne quasi domicilium pro valida adscriptione? Resp. Affirmative.*”

Hence servants and others who have given up the parental domicile, and have not yet contracted family

relations for themselves can only be enrolled as individuals, and that in the parish in which they have their domicile or quasi-domicile.

3. One of the questions which perplexed us most when we first attempted to study the rules of this Association, regarded the place and manner of making the act of consecration. We were unable to determine whether each family might make it at home, or should come to the parish church and make it there; similarly, in the hypothesis which seemed to us to be very probable, that each family could consecrate themselves at home, a further doubt arose as to whether the parish priest or his representative should be present on the occasion. Both these doubts have been removed, not explicitly indeed, by the replies we are now examining, but implicitly by them, and by the practice in Rome itself, and throughout the Continent generally. It is quite certain, then, that each family can at home consecrate itself to the Holy Family, without the presence of any priest, by merely reciting before a picture or image of the Holy Family the act of consecration approved of by the Pope.

4. Another point which has given rise to considerable discussion regards the registration of the members of the Association. The Association being essentially an Association of families, not of individuals, the question naturally arose as to whether it would suffice to enter the name of the family, that is, of the head of the family, in the parochial register, or whether the full name of every member of the family should also be entered. The Cardinal President was asked by two parties at different times to settle this point. But unfortunately the two replies given were seemingly contradictory. For, whereas one stated that it would suffice to enter in the register the name of the head of the family, the other stated, apparently as explicitly and as clearly, that the names of all the members should be entered. Both replies will be found in the letter published in this number from the Very Rev. M. O'Callaghan, C.M.,¹ by whom the first one was elicited, and who has been indefatigable in establishing the Association, and in explaining and

¹ See page 188.

elucidating the rules. For convenience sake, however, we will give them here :—

“(1) Se sia sufficiente d’registrare il nome del Capo della Famiglia, e se in questo caso i membri partecipino a tutte le indulgenze? Affirmat: ‘Il Capo di Famiglia pero diebiari il numero dei membri componenti la famiglia.

“[Is it enough to register the name of the head of the family; and, in that case, do the members share in all the indulgences? It is enough: the head of the family, is, however, to declare the number of members composing the family.]

“(2) An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis Sacrae Familiae referat vel singula familiae membra adscribere debeat? *Resp.* Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundum.”

This latter decree first appeared in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* for October last, and as soon as Father O’Callaghan saw it he called the attention of the Roman Vicariate to the apparent contradiction between it and the reply he had himself received.

The following reply which reconciles the apparent contradiction, was sent to him on the 15th December last :—

“Singula familiae membra, non singula familiae nomina; ideoque concordat cum alia responsione, nempe sufficit ut caput familiae declaret numerum, e. gr. N. N. cum quinque membris.”

The editor of the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* also inquired of the Cardinal President what was the precise meaning of the words, *singula familiae membra*, used in the second of the two questions given above.

“Nunc quaeritur quid sit intelligendum per *singula familia membra*? *Resp.* Intelligi debet pro *numero totali* membrorum, non autem pro *singulis eorundem nominibus*.”

The reply in this case is to the same effect as that sent to Father O’Callaghan. Hence it is now certain that it is not necessary to enter in the parochial register the name of every member of the families to be enrolled, and that it suffices to enter the *name* of the head of the family, and to write after this name the *number* of members in the family; that is, as the family actually exists at the time of enrolling.

5. Some difficulty was caused about the form of certificate of enrolment, which should be given by the parish

priest to the families enrolled. From a reply of the Cardinal President, dated April 7th, 1893, it would seem that each bishop should get from him a copy of the certificate used in Rome, and should have as many copies printed from this as would suffice for all the parishes in his diocese. This complicated matters very much. For many bishops had already given instructions to their priests to establish the Association, together with directions as to how they were to proceed. And many of the parish priests, too, following their bishop's instructions, had enrolled their people, without, of course, even knowing what was the form of the Roman certificate. Yet if a certificate precisely the same in form as the Roman one was necessary for valid membership, their people could gain no indulgence until such certificate was procured, filled up, and given to each family. Happily, however, this difficulty was only apparent, and arose entirely from a misinterpretation—but a pardonable one—of the meaning of the reply, which gave rise to the difficulty. It now seems that this reply was merely *directive*, and therefore imposed no obligation. It was intended as a direction to bishops regarding one means of securing that uniformity in the working of the Association, which the Holy Father so much desires. The following questions and replies relating to this point sufficiently explain each other. The former question about which the latter is asked was answered on April 7th, 1893, and the reply to the latter was issued on the 12th December last:—

“Ad Dubium iii., n. 1, relatum in Ephem. *Analecta Ecclesiastica* p. 413 :—‘An pro lucrandis indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta uti innuere videntur Regulae (ii., a.) ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?’ responsum est ‘*Affirmative, et ad mentem.* Mens vero est ut Episcopus uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet.’ Nunc autem quaeritur utrum haec responsio sit *imperativa* vel *directiva* tantum? *Resp.—Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullo modo indigeant Episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quae frequentationa fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprimè definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit ad unitatem scilicet a Summo Pontifice commendatam, magis, magisque servandam.”

6. The remaining replies of the Cardinal President are not of so much practical importance. From them we learn that parish priests can establish the Association in their parishes without applying to the Ordinary for a rescript, such as is required for the canonical erection of a confraternity. Hence the parish priest, and not the bishop, is primarily responsible for enabling his people to share in the benefits of this pious Association. What if the parish priest neglects his duty, and fails to establish the Association in his parish? Are his people, through his neglect, to be deprived of the many advantages to be derived from membership of this Association? Not necessarily, we think. If each or any family in the parish procures a suitable picture of the Holy Family, makes before it the Act of Consecration, and, through the head of the family, transmits his or her name, together with the number of members in the family, to the parish priest, we are of opinion that such family will enjoy all the privileges of membership, even before the parish priest has procured a register, and entered their names in it. We should not be so confident of this, could the diocesan director, in default of the parish priest, inscribe the names of families over whom he has not parochial jurisdiction. But this he cannot do, as we learn from the seventh of the recent replies:—

“Potestne saltem Director Diocesanus independentem a parochis indiscriminatim Diocesanos adscribere? *Resp.—Negative, quia ex Brevi Apostolico adscriptio solis parochis committitur.*”

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

LEGAL DECISION CONCERNING BEQUESTS FOR MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Many of your readers, I have no doubt, will be interested in a judicial decision lately made in the Wisconsin Courts, for, if the judgment given be good in law, there is nothing to prevent a similar judgment to be delivered, under similar circumstances, at this side of the Atlantic. I find the case briefly reported in the *Catholic News* of January 13, 1894. The *Catholic News* is a weekly paper, well conducted, and very true to its name, published at Preston. Here is the extract I make :—

“A curious case has just been decided in the Wisconsin Courts, bearing on the question of Masses for the dead, and bequests with reference to these. Owen M’Hugh, who died some time ago, made just before his death, bequests of his entire estate, with the exception of one thousand dollars to one daughter, and six hundred dollars to another, to the Bishop of Green Bay, to be used for Masses. The children of the deceased filed a contest, alleging undue influence. The judge, in his decision, held that the bequest was void because it was not a gift, but established a trust ; that such trust was too indefinite and uncertain for any court to enforce, and there was no ascertainable beneficiary. In his decision the Court said :—‘If it had been a gift to the Bishop, coupled with a request that he use it in saying the Masses, no one would have questioned its validity, but when the testator undertook to create a trust which the courts might be called upon to enforce, then it must comply with the statutes and rules of law in order to be valid.’ Very much the better plan is to use the money for the same or any other good purpose during life ; then no court or relatives can come between a man and the disposition of his own possessions.”

SACERDOS SAECULARIS.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE—(continued)

Iam postulat a Nobis instituti consilii ratio, ut quae his de studiis recte ordinandis videantur optima, ea vobiscum communicemus, Venerabiles Fratres. Sed principio quale adversetur et instet hominum genus, quibus vel artibus vel armis confidant, interest utique hoc loco recognoscere.

Scilicet, ut antea cum iis praecipue res fuit qui privato iudicio freti, divinis traditionibus et magisterio Ecclesiae repudiatis, Scripturam statuerant unicum revelationis fontem supremumque iudicem fidei; ita nunc est cum Rationalists, qui eorum quasi filii et heredes, item sententia innixi sua, vel has ipsas a patribus acceptas christianae fidei reliquias prorsus abiecerunt. Divinam enim vel revelationem vel inspirationem vel Scripturam sacram, omnino ullam negant, neque alia prorsus ea esse dicunt, nisi hominum artificia et commenta: illas nimirum, non veras gestarum rerum narrationes, sed aut ineptas fabulas aut historias mendaces: ea, non vaticinia et oracula, sed aut confictas post eventus praedictiones aut ex naturali vi praesensiones; ea, non veri nominis miracula virtutisque divinae ostenta, sed admirabilia quaedam, nequaquam naturae viribus maiora, aut praestigias et mythos quosdam: evangelia et scripta apostolica aliis plane auctoribus tribuenda.

Hujusmodi portenta errorum, quibus sacrosanctam divinorum Librorum veritatem putant convelli, tamquam decretoria pronuntiata novae cuiusdam *scientiae liberae*, obtrudunt: quae tamen adeo incerta ipsimet habent, ut eisdem in rebus crebrius immutent et suppleant. Quum vero tam impie de Deo, de Christo, de Evangelio et reliqua Scriptura sentiant et praedicent non desunt ex iis qui theologi et christiani et evangelici haberi velint, et honestissimo nomine obtendant insolentis ingeni temeritatem. His addunt sese consiliorum participes adiutoresque e ceteris disciplinis non pauci, quos eadem revelatarum rerum intolerantia ad oppugnationem Bibliorum similiter trahit. Satis autem deplorare non possumus, quam latius in dies acriusque haec oppugnatio geratur. Geritur in eruditos et graves homines, quamquam illi non ita difficulter sibi possunt cavere

at maxime contra indoctorum vulgus omni consilio et arte infensi hostes nituntur. Libris, libellis, diariis exitiale virus infundunt; id concionibus, id sermonibus insinuant; omnia iam pervasere, et multas tenent, abstractas ab Ecclesiae tutela, adolescentium scholas, ubi credulas mollesque mentes ad contemptum Scripturae, per ludibrium etiam et scurriles iocos, depravant misere. Ista sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae commune pastorale studium permoveant, incendiant; ita ut huic novae *falsi nominis scientiae*¹ antiqua illa et vera opponatur, quam a Christo per Apostolos accepit Ecclesia, atque in dimicatione tanta idonei defensores Scripturae sacrae exurgant.

Itaque ea prima sit cura, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae, quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent. Cuius rei causâ, nihil profecto debet esse antiquius magistrorum delectione prudenti: ad hoc enim munus non homines quidem de multis, sed tales assumi oportet, quos magnus amor et diuturna consuetudo Bibliorum, atque opportunus doctrinae ornatus commendabiles faciat, pares officio. Neque minus prospiciendum mature est, horum postea locum qui sint excepturi. Iuverit ideo, ubi commodum sit, ex alumnis optimaе spei, theologiae spatium laudate emensis, nonnullos divinis Libris totos addici, facta eisdem plenioris cuiusdam studii aliquandiu facultate. Ita delecti institutique doctores, commissum munus adeant fidenter: in quo ut versentur optime et consentaneos fructus educant, aliqua ipsis documenta paulo explicatius impertire placet.

Ergo ingenii tironum in ipso studii limine sic propiciant, ut iudicium in eis, aptum pariter Libris divinis tuendis atque arripiendae ex ipsis sententiae, conforment sedulo et excolant. Huc pertinet tractatus *de introductione* ut loquuntur *biblica*, ex quo alumnus commodam habet opem ad integritatem auctoritatemque Bibliorum convincendam, ad legitimum in illis sensum investigandum et assequendum, ad occupanda captiosa et radicitus evellenda. Quae quanti momenti sit disposite scienterque, comite et adiutrice theologia, esse initio disputata, vix attinet dicere, quum tota continenter tractatio Scripturae reliqua hisce vel fundamentis nitatur vel luminibus clarescat.

Exinde in fructuosiore hujus doctrinae partem, quae de interpretatione est, perstudiose incumbet praeceptoris opera; unde sit auditoribus, quo dein modo divini verbi divitas in profectum

¹Tim. vi. 20.

religionis et pietatis convertant. Intelligimus equidem, enarrari in scholis Scripturas omnes, nec per amplitudinem rei, nec per tempus licere. Verumtamen, quoniam certa opus est via interpretationis utiliter expediendae, utrumque magister prudens devitet incommodum, vel eorum qui de singulis libris cursim delibandum praebeant, vel eorum qui in certa unius parte immoderatus consistunt. Si enim in plerisque scholis adeo non poterit obtineri, quod in Academiis majoribus, ut unus aut alter liber continuatione quadam et ubertate exponatur, at magnopere efficiendum est, ut librorum partes ad interpretandum selectae tractationem habeant convenienter plenam: quo veluti specimine allekti discipuli et edocti, cetera ipsi perlegant adamantque in omni vita. Is porro, retinens instituta majorum, exemplar in hoc sumet versionem vulgatam; quam Concilium Tridentinum in *publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habendam decrevit*,¹ atque etiam commendat quotidiana Ecclesia consuetudo. Neque tamen non sua habenda erit ratio reliquarum versionum, quas christiana laudavit usurpavitque antiquitas, maxime codicum primigeniorum. Quamvis enim, ad summam rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatae hebraea et graeca bene cluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, "inspectio praecedentis linguae," suasore Augustino, proficiet.² Jamvero per se liquet, quam multum navitatis ad hanc adhiberi oporteat, quum demum sit "commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere."³ Post expensam, ubi opus sit, omni industria lectionem, tum locus erit scrutandae et proponendae sententiae. Primum autem consilium est, ut probata communiter interpretandi praescripta tanto experrectiore observentur cura quanto morosior ab adversariis urget contentio. Propterea cum studio perpendendi quid ipsa verba valeant, quid consecutio rerum velit, quid locorum similitudo aut talia cetera, externa quoque appositae eruditionis illustratio societur: cauto tamen, ne istiusmodi quaestionibus plus temporis tribuatur et operae quam pernoscendis divinis Libris, neve corrogata multiplex rerum cognitio mentibus juvenum plus incommodi afferat quam adiumenti.

Ex hoc, tutus erit gradus ad usum divinae Scripturae in re

¹ *Sess. iv. decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

² *De doct. chr., iii. 4.*

³ *S. Hier. ad Pammach.*

theologica. Quo in genere animadvertisse oportet, ad ceteras difficultatis causas, quae in quibusvis antiquorum libris intelligendis fere occurrunt, proprias aliquas in Libris sacris accedere. Eorum enim verbis, auctore Spiritu Sancto, res multae subiiciuntur quae humanae vim aciemque rationis longissime vincunt, divina scilicet mysteria et quaecum illis continentur alia multa; idque nonnunquam ampliore quadam et reconditiore sententia, quam exprimere littera et hermeneuticae leges indicare videantur: alios praeterea sensus, vel ad dogmata illustranda vel ad commendanda praecepta vitae ipse litteralis sensus profecto adsciscit. Quamobrem diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros Libros involvi, ut ad eos, nisi aliquo viae duce, nemo ingredi possit.¹ Deo quidem sic providente (quae vulgata est opinio Ss. Patrum), ut homines maiore cum desiderio et studio illos perscrutarentur, resque inde operose perceptas mentibus animisque altius infigerent; intelligerentque praecipue, Scripturas Deum tradidisse Ecclesiae, qua scilicet duce et magistra in legendis tractandisque eloquiis suis certissima uterentur. Ubi enim charismata Domini posita sint, ibi discendam esse veritatem, atque ab illis, apud quos sit successio apostolica, Scripturas nullo cum periculo exponi, iam sanctus docuit Irenaeus:² cuius quidem ceterorumque Patrum doctrinam Synodus Vaticana amplexa est, quando Tridentinum decretum de divini verbi scripti interpretatione renovans, *hanc illius mentem esse declaravit, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.*³

Qua plena sapientiae lege nequaquam Ecclesia pervestigationem scientiae biblicae retardat aut coërcet; sed eam potius ab errore integram praestat, plurimumque ad veram adiuvat progressionem. Nam privato cuique doctori magnus patet campus, in quo, tutis vestigiis, sua interpretandi industria praeclare certet Ecclesiaeque utiliter. In locis quidem divinae Scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita

¹ S. Hier ad Paulin. *de studio Script. ep.* liii. 4.

² *C. haer.* iv. 26, 5.

³ *Sess. iii., c. ii., de Revel. : cf. Conc. Trid., sess. iv., decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur; in locis vero iam definitis potest privatus doctor aequè prodesse, si eos vel enucleatius apud fidelium plebem et ingeniosius apud doctos edisserat, vel insignius evincat ab adversariis. Quapropter praecipuum sanctumque sit catholico interpreti, ut illa Scripturae testimonia, quorum sensus authentice declaratus est, aut per sacros auctores, Spiritu Sancto afflante, uti multis in locis novi Testamenti, aut per Ecclesiam, eodem Sancto adsistente Spiritu, *sive solenni iudicio, sive ordinario et universali magisterio*,¹ eâdem ipse ratione interpretetur; atque ex adiumentis disciplinae suae convincat, eam solam interpretationem, ad sanae hermeneuticae leges, posse recte probari. In ceteris analogia fidei sequenda est, et doctrina catholica, qualis ex auctoritate Ecclesiae accepta, tamquam summa norma est adhibenda: nam, quum et sacrorum Librorum et doctrinae apud Ecclesiam depositae idem sit auctor Deus, profecto fieri nequit, ut sensus ex illis, qui ab hac quoquo modo discrepet, legitima interpretatione eruatur. Ex quo apparet, eam interpretationem ut ineptam et falsam reiiciendam, quae, vel inspiratos auctores inter se quodammodo pugnantes faciat, vel doctrinae Ecclesiae adversetur.

Huius igitur disciplinae magister hac etiam laude floreat oportet, ut omnem theologiam egregie teneat, atque in commentariis versatus sit Ss. Patrum Doctorumque et interpretum optimorum. Id sane inculcat Hieronymus,² multumque Augustinus, qui, iusta cum querela, "Si unaquaeque disciplina, inquit, quamquam vilis et facilis, ut percipi possit, doctorem aut magistrum requirit, quid temerariae superbiae plenius, quam divinorum sacramentorum libros ab interpretibus suis nolle cognoscere!"³ Id ipsum sensere et exemplo confirmavere ceteri Patres, qui "divinarum Scripturarum intelligentiam, non ex propria praesumptione, sed ex maiorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur, quos et ipsos ex apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat."⁴

Iamvero Ss. Patrum, quibus "post Apostolos, sancta Ecclesia plantatoribus, rigatoribus, aedificatoribus, pastoribus, nutritoribus crevit,"⁵ summa auctoritas est, quotiescumque testimonium

¹ Conc. Vat. sess. iii., cap. iii., *de fide*.

² *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

³ Ad Honorat. *de utilit. cred.*, xvii. 35.

⁴ Rufin. *Hist. eccl.*, ii. 9.

⁵ S. Aug. c. Iulian. ii., 10, 37.

aliquod biblicum, ut ad fidei pertinens morumve doctrinam, uno eodemque modo explicant omnes: nam ex ipsa eorum consensione, ita ab Apostolis secundum catholicam fidem traditum esse nitide eminet. Eorumdem vero Patrum sententia tunc etiam magni aestimanda est, quum hisce de rebus munere doctorum quasi privatim funguntur; quippe quos, non modo scientia revelatae doctrinae et multarum notitia rerum, ad apostolicos libros cognoscendos utilium, valde commendet, verum Deus ipse, viros sanctimonia vitae et veritatis studio insignes, amplioribus luminis sui praesidiis adjuverit. Quare interpretes suum esse noverit, eorum et vestigia reverenter persequi et laboribus frui intelligenti delectu.

Neque ideo tamen viam sibi putet obstructam, quo minus, ubi justa causa adfuerit, inquirendo et exponendo vel ultra procedat, modo praeceptioni illi, ab Augustino sapienter propositae, religiose obsequatur, videlicet a litterali et veluti obvio sensu minime discedendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere:¹ quae praeceptio eo tenenda est firmitus, quo magis, in tanta novitatum cupidine et opinionum licentia, periculum imminet aberrandi. Caveat idem ne illa negligat quae ab eisdem Patribus ad allegoricam similemve sententiam translata sunt, maxime quum ex litterali descendant et multorum auctoritate fulciantur. Talem enim interpretandi rationem ab Apostolis Ecclesia accepit, suoque ipsa exemplo, ut e re patet liturgica, comprobavit; non quod Patres ex ea contenderent dogmata fidei per se demonstrare, sed quia bene frugiferam virtuti et pietati alendae nossent experti.

Ceterorum interpretum catholicorum est minor quidem auctoritas, attamen, quoniam Bibliorum studia continuum quemdam progressum in Ecclesia habuerunt, istorum pariter commentariis suus tribuendus est honor, ex quibus multa opportune peti liceat ad refellenda contraria, ad difficiliora enodanda. At vero id nimium dedecet, ut quis, egregiis operibus, quae nostri abunde reliquerunt, ignoratis aut despectis, heterodoxorum libros praeoptet, ab eisque cum praesenti sanae doctrinae periculo et non raro cum detrimento fidei, explicationem locorum quaerat, in quibus catholici ingenia et labores suos iamdudum optimeque collocarint. Licet enim heterodoxorum studiis, prudenter adhibitis, invari interdum possit interpretes catholicus, meminerit

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, l. viii., c. 7, 13.

tamen, ex crebris quoque veterum documentis,¹ incorruptum sacrarum Litterarum sensum extra Ecclesiam neutiquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse, qui, verae fidei expertes, Scripturae, non medullam attingunt, sed corticem rodunt.²

(*To be continued.*)

DECISIONS REGARDING VARIOUS POINTS IN CONNECTION
WITH THE "PIOUS ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY"

E VICARIATU URBIS.

DUBIA DE ERECTIONE CONFRATERNITATUM SACRAE FAMILIAE.

I.

Rme Domine :

Emus Card. Parocchi, Archiconfrat. S. Familiae Praeses, per me infrascriptum propositis dubiis respondet :

I. An requiratur in singulis paroeciis erectio canonica ab Episcopo ad instar Confraternitatum proprie dictarum ?—Resp. *Negative* ; fit per diploma quod Emus Praeses mittet.

II. An requiratur declaratio authentica, per diploma in scriptis vel alio modo ab Episcopo vel moderatore de erectione consociationis in singulis paroeciis ?—Resp. *Negative* ; sed moderator servet quae in Regulis habentur (III. b).

III. An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochiis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta, uti innuere videntur regulae (II. a), ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum ?—Resp. *Affirmative et ad mentem*. Mens vero est, ut Episcopus, uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet.

IV. An festum S. Familiae associationis primum, die Dominica infra Oct. Epiph., etiam iis in dioecibus recolere debeat, in quibus ea die fit in choro solemnitas Epiphaniae ?—Resp. *Affirmative* ; sed Episcopus aliam festivitatem seligere potest pro sua prudentia.

Romae, ex Aedibus Vicariatus, die 7 Aprilis 1893.

RAPHAEL CHIMENTI,

Pro-Secret. Conf. S. Fam.

(*Rmo Dno Karst, Vic. gen. Dioec. Meten.*)

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii., 16 ; Orig., *de princ.* iv. 8 ; in *Levit. hom.* 4, 8 ; Tertull. *de praescr.* 15, *seqq.* ; S. Hilar. *Pict. in Matt.* 13, 1.

² St. Greg., *M. Moral.*, xx. 9 (al. 11).

II.

Dub. I. An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis Sacrae Familiae referat, vel singula familiae membra inscribere debeat?—*Resp.* Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Dub. II. An parochus pro inscriptione familiarum alterum sacerdotem delegare possit?—*Resp.* Nil vetat quominus parochus in familiarum inscriptione sacerdotem adhibeat adiutorem.

Dub. III. An sufficiat ut familiae in sociorum numerum adscisci cupientes hoc suum desiderium per litteras vel interpositas personas parochi intiment, vel omnino requiratur ut caput familiae vel eiusdem membrum quoddam coram parochi eum in finem personaliter compareat?—*Resp.* Omnino decet ut caput familiae se personaliter sistat apud parochum.

E VICARIATU URBIS.

DUBIA CIRCA PIAM ASSOCIATIONEM A SACRA FAMILIA.

Emus Card. Parocchi Piae Associationis a S. Familia Praeses. per me infrascriptum responso dimittit nonnulla Dubia proposita a R.mo DD. F. Cadène, Directore Ephemeridis *Analecta Ecclesiastica*.

I. Ad Dubium III. n. 1, relatum in Eph. *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, p. 413:—"An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card Praeside subscripta uti innuere videntur Regulae (II a) ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?" Responsum est "*Affirmative et ad mentem.* Mens vero est, ut Episcopus, uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet." Nunc autem quaeritur utrum haec responsio sit *imperativa*, vel *directiva* tantum?—*Resp. Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullomodo indigeant episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quae frequentiora fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprime definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit, ad unitatem scilicet a Summo Pontifice commendatam magis magisque servandam.

II Ad 2^{am} Dubium in eadem Ephemeride relatum p. 413:—"An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis S. Familiae referat vel singula familiae membra inscribere debeat?"—Responsum est *Negative* ad 1^{am} partem, *affirmative* ad 2^{am}—Nunc quaeritur quid sit intel-

ligendum per *singula familiae membra*?—Resp. Intelligi debet pro *numero totali* membrorum, non autem pro *singulis eorumdem nominibus*.

III. Utrum negligente vel invito patrefamilias, possit mater vel aliqua ex praecipuis familiae personis v. gr. avus, familiam adscribere P. A.?—Resp. *Affirmative*.

IV. Utrum possint *filiifamilias, servi, milites*, sese ascribere P. A. seorsim a propria familia?—Resp. *Negative et ad mentem*. Mens vero est ut singuli cum suis simul adscribantur, quibus negligentibus vel recusantibus, poterunt seorsim sese adscribere.

V. Utrum aliquis possit sese *valide* adscribere in aliena paroecia?—Resp. *Negative*. Nec proinde potest parochus *valide alienos* adscribere, et qui taliter fuerunt adscripti, debent denuo propria paroecia adscribi.

VI. An saltem possit parochus adscribere suos propinquos usque ad quartum Consanguinitatis gradum, qui alibi domicilium habent?—Resp. *Negative*.

VII. Potestne saltem Director Dioecesanus, independenter a parochis indiscriminatim Dioecesanos adscribere?—Resp. *Negative*, quia ex Brevi Apostolico, adscriptio *solis* parochis committitur.

VIII. Sufficitne quasi-domicilium pro valida adscriptione?—Resp. *Affirmative*.

IX. An parochi vel Directores Dioecesani, in Rituali Romano possint apponere formulas et orationes assignatas pro Consecratione et renovatione Consecrationis?—Resp. *Negative*, usquedum S. Rituum Congr. ipsa per se provideat.

X. Utrum in tabulis (images) vel statuis S. Familiam repraesentantibus possint exhiberi ante pectus Corda D. Infantis, B. V. M. et S. Josephi?—Resp. *Non expedire* quoad Corda D. Infantis et B. Matris. Quoad S. Josephum, *non licere*.

Romae, ex Aedibus Vicariatus, die 12 Decembris 1893.

RAPHAEL CHIMENTI,
Pro-Secret. Conf. S. Familiae.

PIOUS ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I venture to call attention to some decisions from His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar in Rome, viz. :—

1. "An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochiis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta,

uti innuere videntur regulæ ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum? Resp. Affirmative et ad mentem. Mens vero est ut episcopus, uno accepto ab Em. Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius et singulis familiis consociatis tradet." (7th April, 1893.)

On the 12th December, 1893, the Cardinal Vicar was asked if the foregoing reply was imperative or directive, and he answered: "*Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullo modo indigeant episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quæ frequentiora fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprime definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit, ad unitatem scilicet a S. Pontifice commendatam magis magisque servandam."

Another decision was given also on 7th April, 1893, which runs thus:—

2. "An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familie in tabulas consociationis sacrae familie referat vel singula familie membra inscribere debeat? Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam."

On the 24th July, 1893, another from the Cardinal-Vicar appears to contradict this No. 2 decision; it runs thus:—"Se sia sufficiente d'registrare," &c., as given in the I. E. RECORD of September, 1893; which in English reads: "Is it enough to register the name of the head of the family; and in that case do the members share in all the Indulgences? It is enough: the head of the family, however, is to declare the number of members composing it."

On the apparent contradiction between these two decisions being brought before the Roman Vicariate, the following reply was elicited on the 15th December, 1893:—"Singula familie membra, non singula familie nomina, ideoque concordat cum alia responsione, nempe sufficit ut caput familie declaret numerum ex gr. N. N. cum quinque membris."

Believe me, Rev. Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

M. O'CALLAGHAN, C.M.

ST. VINCENT'S, CORK,
January 13th, 1894.

Notices of Books

LET US GO TO THE HOLY TABLE. By Péré Lambert. Translated by Rev. W. Whitty, M.S.S., House of Missions, Enniscorthy. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

WE have read this little book with great pleasure, and we think a debt of gratitude is due to the Rev. translator for the care and trouble he has taken to present it to the public in an English dress. It is a book we should gladly see in the hands of every Catholic; and we have no hesitation in saying that those who peruse its pages carefully, will draw therefrom both pleasure and profit. Unlike so many books of its kind, it is remarkable, as well for the solid instruction it conveys, as for the earnest zeal of the author to impress it upon the minds of his readers. Cardinal Parocchi, when giving approbation to the work, alludes to these qualities:—"Your expositions of doctrine, so perfectly in accordance with the principles of sound theology, impart a vivid light to the mind; while the warmth of your appeals sets the heart on fire."

In the first part of the work, consisting of four chapters, are given the reasons for frequenting the Holy Table, viz., because—first, Jesus Christ desires it; second, the Church invites to it; third, the saints counsel it; and fourth, our own needs demand it. In the second part, the question, "How often should we go to the Holy Table?" is answered. And here, having just touched upon what is of strict duty, &c., he proceeds to show what is the mind of the Church, and what the teaching of her saints and doctors on the very important question of frequent communion; at the same time answering briefly, but fully and convincingly, the many objections so often urged against this salutary practice. The object he has in view is (to quote the words of his Lordship the Bishop of Evreux) "to root out the remnants of a detestable Jansenism; to make known to ignorant, and to recall to careless souls the immense love of Jesus in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar; to induce as many as possible to approach the Holy Table; and thereby to lay open to Christians of every age and condition the fountains of the true life."

We fear there are still remaining, even here in Ireland, some relics of the old rigorism in regard to this matter of frequent communion; and that souls are sometimes debarred from receiving

this life-giving food as often as our loving Lord would wish, and their own dispositions entitle them to eat of it. If this little book gets the wide circulation and attentive study it deserves, it will, assuredly, be the means of bringing more guests to this heavenly banquet, and the end of the translator will have been attained. We may add, that it will be found that, in its English dress, it loses nothing of the simplicity and force of the original; and, moreover, that, as regards paper and printing, &c., it has been brought out in a way well worthy of the eminent firm to whom the work of publication was entrusted.

R. P. BERNARDINI A PICONIO ORD. CAP. TRIPLEX EXPOSITIO.
BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI EPISTOLÆ AD ROMANOS.
Emendata et aucta per P. Michaellem Hetzenauer ord.
cap.

BERNARDUS A PICONIO was born at Piconium in A.D.]1633. Piconium—more usually called Picquigny—is situated in that district of France which used to be known as Picardy, and is, as far as we know, not very remarkable for anything besides being thus associated with the name of the celebrated commentator on St. Paul's Epistles. His family name is unknown. He took that of Bernard on the occasion of his receiving the habit of the Capuchin Order, which he entered at an early age. After his ordination to the priesthood he was appointed professor of theology in the principal house of the Order in Paris. He excelled as much in humility as in learning, and succeeded in declining the offices of honour and responsibility with which his brethren were anxious to entrust him. In the solitude of his cell, with his books, Bernard was most at home. In 1701 he sent a message to the outer world in the shape of a book, entitled *Pratique efficace pour bien vivre et pour bien mourir*, which, spoken to himself in the stillness of his retreat, he thought too momentous to keep secret. He is best known, however, by his *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, which was published in 1703.

Posterity has confirmed the favourable judgment pronounced upon the *Triples Expositio* by the author's contemporaries, and which the *Journal des Savants* of the day expressed in the following terms:—"Triplitem expositionem esse sacrum ciborum penarium et aquarum viventium puteum—esse accommodatum non tantum usui theoretico sed etiam usui practico; continere claram analysisin,

classicam periphrasin, et eximium commentarium." Biblical criticism has advanced considerably since Bernard's time; and to amend his great work, according to the needs of the subject, is the laudable undertaking of Father Hetzenauer in giving us this new edition. The main features of the original arrangement are retained. The *Commentary* is considerably enlarged, and the Greek text is added, each verse being given in Latin and Greek. There is also added to the work a special index, which will be of use to those who wish to know the Apostles' views on particular subjects. The different styles of type are agreeably contrasted, and the publishers have left nothing undone to help the success of a publication which deserves a popular reception.

T. P. G.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SACRED HEART. A Manual of Prayers compiled from various approved sources. London : Burns and Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

NOWADAYS we have so many prayer-books and manuals of devotion, that it is difficult to introduce much variety into any new publication of the same class. However, we think that the compiler of this manual has succeeded in performing this feat. In addition to the ordinary devotions, common to most prayer-books, we find others, which we have not seen elsewhere, and which seem well calculated to foster the piety and devotion of the faithful. Many of the devotions and prayers have been approved by the bishops of England for public use in the Church. The manual has received the *imprimatur* of his Eminence the late Cardinal Manning. The print is large and legible, and the general arrangement of the book is very neat, and reflects great credit on its publishers.

W. F. B

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

MARCH, 1894

THE DANGERS OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

OF late years we have had many signs of increasing literary activity among the Catholics of England, especially in one branch of theology. The controversialist is abroad. The children of Holy Church were never less disposed to submit in silence to the charges and criticisms of Protestant writers and preachers. Like the animal of a famous French definition, the English Catholic is now a creature so ferocious, that he defends himself when he is attacked. The answers thus offered to our assailants are both many and various. We have had enough and to spare of controversial sermons and lectures, and papers read at conferences, books and pamphlets, tracts and leaflets, and letters to the press. And the tone and character of these controversial answers is fully as varied as their outward form. All the titles of Touchstone are worthily represented. We have the "retort courteous," and the "quip modest," and in too many cases the "reply churlish," the "reproof valiant," the "countercheck quarrelsome," the "lie circumstantial," and even the "lie direct." The controversy, moreover, is by no means confined to tactics of defence, and our writings and speeches are sometimes offensive in every sense of the word.

In all this we may surely find some reason for encouragement and thankfulness. Some of these controversialists have done good service to the cause of truth; and all have

given a pleasing and unmistakable proof of their faith and zeal. With the sole object of winning men to the one true fold, they give themselves to what is too often a toilsome and thankless task, and enter a field where they may expect many hard knocks, with but little chance of fame or fortune. But while we readily and gladly acknowledge these merits, we cannot regard the spread of controversy with feelings of unmixed satisfaction. There are even some reasons for viewing it with grave alarm. A good cause often suffers as much from the misguided zeal of its supporters as it does from the attacks of avowed opponents. This is especially the case with discussions on religion. Mr. Cotter Morrison was surely right when he said that "it is one of the commonest of occurrences for controversialists to produce exactly the opposite result to that which they intend; and that as many an apology for Christianity has sown the first seeds of infidelity, so an attack upon it might well intensify faith."¹ Now that so many among us are rushing eagerly into this field, it may not be amiss to remind ourselves of some of the dangers of religious controversy.

In the opening chapters of his *Summa Contra Gentiles*, St. Thomas lays down some general principles which are of great value to the champion of orthodoxy. He touches on the importance of a true knowledge of the errors of our opponents, and the necessity of some common source of argument in which they must needs agree with us. In dealing with heretics we may appeal to any part of the Scripture; with Jews we must keep to the Old Testament; while in the case of those who admit neither we must betake ourselves to natural reason. But the most striking passage is that in which the saint speaks of the use of arguments from reason in supporting the mysteries of revelation. These, he says, may serve as an exercise and solace for believers; but for the purpose of convincing heretics they are worse than useless. Such reasons cannot be conclusive, and their very insufficiency would confirm the errors of our opponents, who might think that we believed on such worthless grounds.

¹ *Life of Gibbon*, chap. i., p. 12.

"Sunt tamen ad hujusmodi veritatem manifestandam rationes aliquæ verisimiles inducendæ, ad fidelium quidem exercitium, et solatium, non autem ad adversarios convin-
cendos: *quia ipsa rationum insufficientia eos magis in suo errore confirmaret*, dum aestimarent, nos propter tam debiles rationes veritati fidei consentire." St. Thomas, it is true, is only speaking of one class of arguments; but his words have obviously a wider application. It is only when we seek to prove the revealed mysteries by mere natural reason that our arguments are necessarily weak and inconclusive. But it is quite possible to use weak and worthless witnesses, in cases where excellent reasons are available. And whenever we do this, we incur that danger against which the saint has warned us. The insufficiency of our reasoning will only serve to confirm our opponent in his error.

It is well to add, that the reasons from which St. Thomas anticipates this unfortunate result are neither false nor futile. They are true, as far as they go, and have a real value of their own. But they do harm because they are applied to a purpose for which they are insufficient. What then must be the danger arising from the use of arguments which are altogether false and baseless? If our opponents are confirmed in their errors because they think we believe on weak grounds, what must be the case when they are led to suppose that we have no reasons at all? A suspicion of folly is bad enough, but it is far worse to have our honesty called in question. And this is only too likely to be the case, if our cause be supported by statements at variance with established facts, and quotations from doubtful or spurious documents. There is no need to press the point that blunders of this kind will bear evil fruits and go far to strengthen Protestant prejudice. We may differ in our estimate of the use and advantage of controversy in religion, and the tactics which commend themselves to some will be roundly condemned by others. But no one will be found to palliate such offences or to question the harm they do. Yet if all are agreed in principle, it is only too clear that all are

not sufficiently aware of the facts. To judge by some Catholic writers, one would suppose that our Anglican friends enjoyed a monopoly in misquotation and fallacious arguments. It is easy to see how this happy illusion has arisen. With so many genuine authorities and valid reasons ready to hand, it might well be hoped that Catholic controversialists would keep clear of all weak and worthless weapons. But if we give our friends the benefit of that searching criticism which is too often reserved for our opponents, we shall find that this is by no means the case. And the reason of this is not far to seek. To study the fathers and councils in their native folios, is a work that needs time and patience; hence many are fain to take refuge in the ready resource of quoting at second-hand. In this way the errors of the past are apt to become stereotyped, and a slip made in all honesty and good faith by some writer in a less critical age is repeated again and again in spite of correction and exposure. To take an extreme case, a French theologian of the sixteenth century had the temerity to supply the lost books of one of the early fathers by some of his own work. He had no intention of deceiving his readers, but it was only natural that some of the less cautious should fall into the pit, and some words of his were soon cited as those of a father of the fifth century. The blunder was exposed by Suarez nearly three hundred years ago; yet it is perpetuated in a popular manual of the present day! There is surely room for more care and criticism in these matters. It is too much to ask for perfect accuracy, for no endeavours can enable us to escape all errors; but we should be spared not a few painful and dangerous blunders if our champions would only take the trouble to verify all their quotations, instead of trusting to second-rate authorities and second-hand learning.

2. Religious controversialists are thus in some danger of injuring their own cause by blunders and fallacies. But this is by no means the greatest of our dangers. If we run the risk of doing harm by weak arguments, we may do far more by the use of strong language. Criticism is much to be desired; but courtesy and charity, and let us add justice, are yet

more necessary. It is true indeed that plain speaking is sometimes a duty. The unscrupulous and dishonest writer who brings lying charges against the Church has no right to complain of the lash. And we should have no sickly tenderness for such offenders. *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*. But before the critic assumes this responsible office, he must be well assured that the chastisement is really deserved, else his severity will only engender needless bitterness, and will injure no cause so much as his own. We all know what some Anglicans are wont to say of "Roman methods of controversy." But is there not a little too much of the same language on our side of the wall? Thus, we find a recent writer on "Anglican Orders" saying that the work of his opponent is an attempt to pervert the "plain facts" of English history. "It is to be regretted," he adds, "that such replies are called for by the decline in the moral tone of modern Anglican controversy, owing to the demoralizing influence of the late Dr. Littledale. In the days of the old Tractarians, Anglican controversy was a model for gentleness of manner and honesty of purpose. But some of their modern successors are no longer humble searchers after truth, but defenders of a cause, mere advocates with a gallery to play to, and who do not disdain the tactics of an Old Bailey lawyer." We need not notice the very obvious retort which this passage might suggest to an Anglican. But is not this severe critic writing somewhat at random when he speaks of the Tractarian controversy as a model for "gentleness of manner"? Modern Anglicans have said many hard things about us. But they can scarcely beat the bitter language of the great Tractarian chief, against whose "cursing and swearing" Hurrell Froude was fain to protest. And did not some zealous Catholics of that day roundly deny the "honesty of purpose" of the Oxford leaders? These critics, as we now know, were strangely mistaken. But while we deplore their blunder, let us take good care that we do not imitate them. What warrant have we for making this charge of dishonesty against these modern Anglican controversialists? It may be urged that a garbled extract or a false authority has been given, or a

fallacy repeatedly exposed unblushingly brought forward as a valid argument. But how do we know that the writer was aware of this at the time? It may be that the misquotation was made at second-hand, and the previous answers and exposures passed by in sheer ignorance. Such carelessness is, no doubt, deplorable enough, but it is not dishonesty. And, as we have seen, our own writers are not always free from blame on this score. By all means let us have a high standard of accuracy, and clear the field of all stock misquotations and time-honoured blunders; but it is neither just nor charitable to adopt a Lesbian rule that will make the same slip in the Catholic but a careless word, and in the Anglican rank dishonesty. If we make any difference at all, it should rather be the other way. *Ceteris paribus*, a Catholic writer who makes a blunder in quoting the fathers or schoolmen is more to blame than a non-Catholic who falls into the same error.

This danger is in many ways more serious than the last. After all, it is only the ignorant and inexperienced that are likely to damage our cause by weak and worthless arguments. But the use of strong language is an infirmity of nobler minds. The true scholar who is familiar with the books which are being misquoted, and sees through the sophistry of a false argument, may too readily judge by his own case, and take it for granted that his opponent is well aware of the falsity and fallacy of his reasoning. At the same time, the critic's denunciation of the supposed dishonesty will be vehement in proportion to his own love of truth and zeal for religion. And what is the natural result when the castigation thus administered is undeserved? Stung by the injustice of the charge and the violence of the attack, and scandalized by the apparent want of charity, the Protestant is only too likely to be strengthened in his original belief. He is not in a fit state to be convinced of his error. And the reasons and statements which come to him accompanied by a false charge of dishonesty are naturally viewed with some suspicion. In this way the apologist, instead of leading his opponent towards the truth, only succeeds in irritating him, and driving him to the opposite extreme. It may be well to

add that this can even happen in the case of heresiarchs and others who unhappily fall away from the faith. These, indeed, must bear their own burden ; but the blame of their fall is not always all their own. Others may help to bring it about by the scandal of an evil life or the insidious influence of loose and dangerous teaching. And others, again, may hasten the catastrophe by the injudicious violence of their attacks. Catholic champions may well take warning by the wise words with which Cardinal Pallavicino laments the bitterness of Luther's first opponents. "The answer," he gently says, "might well have been less bitter, that it might help rather as a light to the wanderer than as a sword against an enemy." "And it may be," he adds, "that his assailants by declaring him a heretic before the time made him to become one."¹

3. Closely akin to this use or abuse of strong language is the danger arising from the employment of sarcasm and ridicule. The two very commonly go together ; and scathing condemnation is too often seasoned with gibes and flouts and sneers. But there is this difference between them, that severity is sometimes, if rarely, necessary ; whereas the same can hardly be said of sarcasm and ridicule. What good can they possibly do ? A writer with a keen sense of the ludicrous may often be tempted to indulge in raillery and satire in order to give fresh piquancy to his paper, and make a hit ; but if he expects to convert his opponent by the help of this cheap wit, he is verily living in a fool's paradise. If such unworthy weapons have any real effect, it is far more likely to be for evil. Here it would be well to recall the weighty words of Cardinal Manning in his Inaugural Address to the Catholic Academia in 1866 : "Every year the doctrine of invincible ignorance has a narrower application to the people of England ; and for that reason we

¹"E questa (contradizione) forse dall' Echio sarebbesi potuta fare meno acerba, affinche giovasse non tanto d' arme contro à nemico, quanto di fiaccolo verso ad errante. Può essere che i contraddittori col dichiararlo Eretico prima del tempo, lo facessero diventare." (*Istoria del S. Concilio di Trento*, lib. i., c. 6). He says, however, that perhaps the opponents being on the spot knew better what was necessary. And he does full justice to the learning and authority of Eck.

have need to be all the more patient, tender, and considerate. Thousands around us are in a crisis of life and death. If anything on our part ruffle or disturb the calmness of heart on which candour depends, we should have much to answer for. Sarcasm and ridicule are dangerous tools; they may make us feared, and win a literary name, but they do not draw souls to the truth. Jesus and His disciples never used these weapons. Let the use of them together with all personalities be with your adversaries."¹

This earnest and eloquent protest against the use of sarcasm and ridicule finds a strange comment in some recent exhibitions of theological buffoonery. When will our well-meaning jesters learn the fatal folly of their course? By throwing ridicule on the practices of Ritualists, we shall only make ourselves contemptible. It has been urged indeed, by one amiable apologist, that the laughable element is in the facts themselves, and the critics do but warn our opponents that they are doing what is ridiculous. But if we weigh the matter well, we shall hardly come to this conclusion. Ceremonies may be new and original, and excite our mirth by their strangeness. But it does not follow that they are intrinsically absurd. If in any case there is something really ridiculous in the blunders of our Anglican friends, it is obvious that the joke, such as it is, can only be seen by those who know that they are blunders. Thus the persons for whose benefit the satire is presumably written, will miss the point; and it will only minister to the amusement of a certain class of Catholics. Whether it is likely to increase their charity and their reverence for holy things, is another

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, Second Series, p. 16. To this we may add the following passages from the same writer's *England and Christendom*: "The Catholic Church bears the heart of Him 'Who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.' No one who has a love for souls can look upon this rising of the Spirit of Life in the Anglican system without a tender and loving care" (p. xliii.). "But I have written, some say, hard things of the Church of England. Are they hard truths or hard epithets? If they are hard epithets, show them to me, and I will erase them with a prompt and public expression of regret; but if they be hard facts, I cannot change them" (p. 128). In the same spirit he says, in one of his latest published letters, "charity unites; controversy repels."

question. To some of us, at least, it will always seem that there is something sacred in the religious rites of all men, no matter how mistaken they may be in their belief; and to make such things the subject of mockery, comes perilously near to making a jest of religion itself.

4. So far we have seen some of the dangers that beset the controversialist. He runs the risk of defeating his own object, whether by the weakness of his arguments, or by the indiscreet violence of his method of war. But it is well to remember that there is a danger in success as well as a danger of failure. A writer who confines himself to attacking the Anglican position, may keep clear of all worthless arguments and all offensive words; he may make out a masterly case, and thoroughly convince his opponent; and yet do far more harm than the veriest bungler in theology. This is no paradox, but the plain truth. It is quite possible to shake or overthrow an imperfect belief without putting anything better in its place. And the controversialist who achieves this negative result has little cause for rejoicing in his success. No Catholic can wish to rob our separated brethren of the broken light that is still left them, and turn them into the dreary darkness of doubt and scepticism. Yet this is the natural outcome of certain methods of controversy. And it is much to be feared that some of us are not sufficiently aware of this danger of spreading unbelief by curious questioning and destructive criticism.

5. In these, and in other ways, the Catholic controversialist may unwittingly do harm to his readers, strengthening their prejudice by his blunders, irritating them by his hard words, or upsetting their belief by merely negative and destructive tactics. But besides all this, he is in some danger of doing harm to himself. By employing arguments which he does not fairly test, and quotations which he does not verify, he may unconsciously impair his own candour and sincerity. In like manner, his charity may suffer by his too severe or sarcastic treatment of his opponents; and here, again, the danger of success is greater than the danger of failure. The ready writer, or lecturer, who has become a master of his art, and has a smart answer for every question

or objection, may easily acquire a controversial temper of mind, and trust over much to his own arguments; and so long as he only meets with difficulties which he knows how to solve, he may be unconscious of the fact that his own religion rests on syllogisms rather than on simple faith. This danger is by no means a new one, yet there are circumstances that make it specially to be feared at the present day. The controversy with Protestants is comparatively easy; and weapons fashioned by master hands are ready for our use. If a man of ordinary ability will only devote himself to this field—and look no farther or deeper—he may soon become a formidable antagonist; hence come those confident cock-sure controversialists, who talk as though the weary labyrinth of history were a plain turnpike road, and all who differed from their conclusions must needs be knaves and fools. What must be the danger that awaits such shallow thinkers, when once they are forced out of their own narrow field, and brought face to face with the deeper problems of biblical criticism and religious philosophy?

It remains to ask how these dangers can be avoided. Some of us may incline to think that formal controversy, however well it may be conducted, will generally do more harm than good; and these will long for an “end of controversy” shorter and simpler than Milner’s; but those who despair of attaining to this desirable end, and those who look upon religious controversy as a good and useful work, may at least agree in seeking to improve its methods and mitigate its dangers. The following may be suggested as among the surest means of effecting this reform:—(1) A searching criticism which shall rigorously exclude all false and doubtful arguments and unverified quotations, together with all misstatements of our opponents’ teaching, and all unproved charges of dishonesty. It is all very well to correct the mistakes made on the other side. But criticism, like charity, should begin at home. (2) A spirit of charity which shall make our writings, in Pallavicino’s noble words, a light to the wanderers rather than a weapon of war; which shall make us mindful of the difficulties that beset our

separated brethren, of the force of education, and early associations, and the strength of honest unconscious prejudice. This will make us shun all harsh judgments and hard names, and words that wound, and lead us to say with the greatest of all our champions: "Illi in vos saeviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores . . . Illi in vos saeviant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis, ut possit intueri solem suum."¹

If we do thus, we may haply lessen, if we cannot altogether avoid, the dangers of religious controversy.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ST. PATRICK—II

"In Burgo Duno tumulto tumultantur in uno
Patritius, Brigida, et Columba pius."

WE have seen in our last paper,² that there is very conclusive evidence that St. Patrick was buried, not at Saul or at Armagh, but at Downpatrick. And there is a very ancient and general tradition, that the relics of St. Columcille and of St. Brigid were also enclosed in the same tomb with those of our national apostle. So now we come to examine what historical evidence can be adduced in favour of this wide-spread tradition.

First of all, it is perfectly certain that St. Columba died in his monastery at Iona, about the year 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and that he was buried by his devoted disciples in the monastery where he died. The testimony of his biographer Adamnan, a holy and learned man, with reference to those facts, cannot for a moment be called in question by any competent scholar. His blessed body, rolled up in clean linen, was placed in a *busta* or *ratabusta*, according to the common text, and was then buried

¹ St. Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, c. 2.

² See I. E. RECORD (Third Series), page 1, January, 1894.

with all due veneration.¹ Lower down in the same chapter this *humatio* is described as a *sepultio*, and in the next section as a *sepultura*; so that the writer clearly meant that the remains of the saint were enclosed in a coffin, and then buried in the earth; but he nowhere indicates the exact spot where the grave was made. The word *ratabusta* is not found in *Du Cange*, nor anywhere else, so far as we know. It is probably an error of the scribe, who wrote "in *ratabusta*" for "intra *busta*," the latter phrase according to its classical usage meaning a grave rather than a coffin. It matters little, indeed, because the meaning is in either case that the body of the saint was buried in an ordinary grave.

Adamnan, however, though so explicit as to the burial, makes no reference to any enshrining, or translation, or disturbance of Columba's relics; so that it is only natural to assume that up to the period when he wrote, Columba's grave was undisturbed. Adamnan became abbot in 679; and the *Life of Columba* was certainly written during his tenure of office as abbot; but in all probability not before the year 690. After that period he spent most of his time in Ireland; whereas certain references to Iona indicate that the life was written during his abbacy in that island.

Now, although Tirechan expressly declares that his *Annotations* were derived from the oral information, or from the book of Bishop Ultan, who died about 657, we need not assume that they were written during the lifetime of his master, and perhaps not even until many years after his death. Tirechan himself most probably lived on to the end of the seventh century: and he might well have composed his *Annotations* during the last ten years of his life. The statement, which he makes, that there was a "*conductio martirum, id est, ossuum Columcille de Britannia*," to Downpatrick, appears to be an explanation given by Tirechan himself to identify the "church very near to the sea," as that to which the bones of Columcille were carried from Britain. Bishop Reeves, indeed, thought these words were

¹"Venerabile corpus mundis involutum sindonibus, et preparate positum in *ratabusta*, debita humatur cum veneratione." (Book iii., c. 23.)

at first a gloss on Tirechan's text, which was afterwards inserted in the text by the copyist; but even in that case the gloss must have been there before 807, when the *Book of Armagh* was copied. Our own opinion is, that the words were an explanation, given either by Tirechan or his copyist; that they cannot have been written before 690; and possibly may have been added by some copyist during the eighth century, but not later. Hence we infer that the bones of Columcille, or some notable portion of them, were actually transferred to Downpatrick at some time during the eighth century; and most probably about the beginning of that century.

But here several difficulties crop up, which it is necessary to explain.

The question occurs at once, if the relics of Columcille were transferred to Downpatrick so early as the beginning of the eighth century, or perhaps even earlier, how are we to explain certain entries in our national annals of a later date? For instance, when the Danes desolated Iona, in 824, we are told by Walafridus Strabo, who probably got his information from one of the companions of the martyred abbot, that when Blathmac refused to surrender the hidden treasure—

“ Pretiosa metalla
Reddere cogentes, queis Sanctae Columbae
Ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam
Tottentes tumulo terra posuere cavato,
Cespitem sub denso, guarum jam pestis iniquae;
Hanc praedam cupiere Dani ”—

the saint was most cruelly martyred by the greedy pirates. But how reconcile this story with an earlier translation to Downpatrick?

The answer appears to be that a portion of the saint's relics were retained at Iona, when the rest were carried to Downpatrick; that this portion was enshrined, as might have been expected, during the eighth century, in a precious shrine—*preciosa metalla*—an expression that could hardly be used of the plain *busta*, or wooden coffin, in which they were first interred. In other words, it was the *shrine* of the

relics of St. Columba that was hidden away; a shrine richly adorned, as we know was then the custom, with gold and precious stones, but which at the same time did not contain all the relics of the saint, but only that portion of them preserved at Iona, when the rest were transferred to Downpatrick about the beginning of the eighth, or the close of the seventh century.

It is stated in the *Annals of Ulster* that some four years later, in A.D. 828, "Diarmait, Abbot of Ia, went to Alba with the reliquaries of Columcille." This seems to imply that they were carried from Ireland, to which they had been brought in 824, back again to Alba, or Scotland, by the newly-elected Abbot of Iona. Now the word *minna*, which is used by the annalist, so far as we know, is not applied to designate the corporeal relics of a saint; but it usually designates what may be called the extrinsic relics of the saint; that is, things intimately connected with him during life, but at the same time quite distinct from his bones or ashes. The late learned Bishop Reeves adopted this view as to the meaning of the word *minna*,¹ as used in the *Annals*; and if this be true, the conveyance of the *minna* of Columcille from Erin to Alba and back again, more than once, does not mean that his blessed bones, or any part of them—the "martira" of the saint—were taken from Downpatrick, but that certain extrinsic relics of Columba—his bell, his psalter, his cowl, or his staff, it may be—were carried hither and thither by the abbots of Iona. We venture to think that this is the true view of the various translations of the *minna* of St. Columba reported in the *Annals*; and it will go far to reconcile the apparently conflicting statements of Tirechan and of the writers who come after him.

All these subsequent writers of the *Annals* are, in our opinion, to be understood in the same sense. For example, in A.D. 830, the *minna* of Columcille were again brought back to Ireland; and once more, in 848, the *minna* of the saint were carried to Ireland, which shows that they must

¹ See Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, page 316, note.

have returned to Iona in the meantime. Again, in 877, the "shrine of Columcille, with all his *minna*, arrived in Ireland to escape the foreigners."¹ In all these cases we have reference to a *scrin*, or shrine, of the saint, containing, it may be, some small portion of the relics of his sacred body; but it is quite evident that its chief contents were the *minna*, which according to the usage of the *Annals* must not be understood as *martra*, or *martira* in Latin, that is corporeal relics, but rather of extrinsic relics connected with the saint during life, of the character which we have already explained. It is quite obvious that all those translations of the *minna* of Columcille would, in that case, be quite compatible with the quiet rest of his corporeal relics in Downpatrick.

With regard to St. Brigid's remains, there is somewhat more doubt and uncertainty. That she was at first interred in her own church at Kildare, on the left-hand side of the high altar, is beyond question. This is expressly stated in her Life by Cogitosus.² He declares that in that church "the glorious bodies of both, that is, of Bishop Conleath and of this virgin Saint Brigid, repose on the right and left hand of the decorated altar, placed within tombs richly adorned with various decorations of gold and silver, and gems and precious stones, with crowns of gold and silver pendant from above." As this passage is very important, and has in our opinion been greatly misunderstood, we have translated it literally, and subjoin the Latin text in the note.³

From this passage Petrie makes a very strange deduction. He assumes that the "monuments" which are here described were *shrines*, in which the bodies of the saints, or rather their relics, were enshrined according to the custom that certainly became very general during the course of the eighth century. And as the *Annals of Ulster*, under date of

¹ *Annals of Ulster*.

² See *Vita S. Brigidæ*, chap. xiv.

³ "Nec de miraculo in reparatione Ecclesiae tacendum est, in qua gloriosa anborum, hoc est episcopi Conleath et hujus virginis S. Brigidæ corpora a dextris et a sinistris altaris decorati, in monumentis posita ornatis vario cultu auri, et argenti, et gemmarum, et pretiosi lapidis, atque coronis aureis et argenteis desuper pendentibus, requiescunt." (Messingham's *Florilegium*.)

A.D. 799, tell us that the relics of St. Conlaeth were placed in a shrine (*scrin*) in that year, he infers that the *Life of Brigid*, by Cogitosus, must have been written *after* that year, but before 835; when, as we know from the same *Annals of Ulster*, Kildare was plundered by Gentiles from Inver-Dea, and half the church burned. It is clear that the beautiful tombs would not be left intact in that raid, if they existed at the time.

But "monumenta" are not shrines at all. The word, both in classical and mediæval Latin, when used in this connection, means a tomb, monument, or grave, in which the dead were buried. On the other hand, the *shrine* or *scrinium*, or *scrin*, as it is called in Irish, was a small and highly ornamental metal case for containing the relics or some memorial of a saint, of which we have several examples still existing. But they cannot with propriety be called "monumenta," and we do not recollect that the word has ever been applied to any of them. Then, again, Cogitosus describes the *bodies* of the saints as resting within the monuments; whereas whenever there is question of enshrining the word always used is *relics*; that is, *reliquiae* in Latin, and *matra* (a loan word) in the Irish, to express corporeal relics.

In our opinion, therefore, Cogitosus in this passage describes the tombs in which the saints were buried—where, as he says, their bodies reposed in his time; whence we infer that he must have written *before* any enshrining took place, and therefore in all probability long before the enshrining of St. Conlaeth's relics in 799, as described in the *Ulster Annals*. It is much more likely that Cogitosus died, as Dr. Graves thinks, about the year A.D. 670, or perhaps somewhat later. It is certain, however, that in his time the body of St. Brigid was reposing in a splendid monument within her own church at Kildare.

But the next, that is the eighth century, was the great period for enshrining the relics of the saints. We find no less than twelve instances expressly recorded in the *Annals* during that century. Doubtless, there would be great reluctance to disturb the bodies of the two saints that lay

within their splendid tombs on either side of the high altar of the great Church of Kildare—tombs at which wonderful miracles frequently took place—"quas nos virtutes non solum audivimus, sed etiam oculis nostris vidimus"—says Cogitosus, speaking of his own time.

That reluctance, however, would be overcome at the approach of the Danes. They had been hovering round the Irish coasts for some years. Rechra was burned by the Gentiles in 794; Sci was pillaged and wasted in the same year; Inis-Patraic was burned in 797; the shrine of Dachonna was also broken by them (the Gentiles), and they committed other great devastations both in Erin and in Alba.¹ It was high time, therefore, to put the relics of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth, as well as the gold, and silver, and precious stones, which adorned their tombs in a more portable form, to save them from the plunderers. So we are told that in 799 "the relics of Conlaeth were placed in a shrine of gold and silver."² But, strange to say, there is no reference here to the enshrining of the relics of St. Brigid. Surely they did not leave her body in the tomb, when they took up and for greater security enshrined the remains of her companion saint in a shrine of gold and silver.

We think the only probable explanation of this omission is the fact that the relics of St. Brigid must at that time, or perhaps a very short time previously, have been taken up from the grave and carried for greater security to Downpatrick. At this time, as we know, Patrick, Brigid, and Columcille, were recognised as the national patrons of the Irish Church, and of the Irish people. The remains of Patrick and Columcille were already reposing together in Downpatrick—what more natural than that, if they were to be disturbed at all, the remains of the third great patron of Ireland should also be carried thither to repose in the same grave. This, however, would be done as quietly as possible, not only for fear of the Danes, but also for fear of the people, who certainly would not readily permit the transfer. So we have no reference to the date of this translation in our

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 797.

² "Positio reliquiarum Conlaid hi scrin oir agus argait."

annals, as it was not a public fact; but afterwards we find it expressly stated by those who must have known that it was true.

The principal authority for this translation to Downpatrick is the author of the *Fourth Life of St. Brigid*, as published by Colgan. Colgan himself attributes the authorship of the *Life* to a certain Animchad, Latinized Animosus, who appears to have been first a monk and afterwards Bishop of Kildare, and whose death is assigned in the *Chronicon Scotorum* to the year A.D. 979. The author of the *Life* was manifestly, as may be gathered from his prologue, a monk of Kildare, and therefore must have been well acquainted with the tradition of the translation of the saint's relics then current amongst his community.

In one passage of this *Life* it is expressly stated that St. Patrick was buried in Down, and that St. Brigid also, and the relics of the Blessed Columcille were many years afterwards placed in the same tomb.¹ This passage, however, is suspiciously like an interpolation in the text of Animosus, and as such has been printed between brackets in the *Fourth Life of St. Brigid*. But in the same chapter there is given an alleged prediction of St. Brigid that she herself with Patrick and Columcille would arise from the *same* tomb on the day of judgment; which proves that at the time of the writer, the bodies of those three saints were supposed to be within the same tomb in Downpatrick. The evidence, indeed, is not quite satisfactory; but still it goes far to show the existence of this belief in Kildare so early as the middle of the tenth century.

It will be observed that we place the translation of the remains, both of Brigid and Columcille, to Downpatrick at an earlier date than that commonly assigned. However, we have given our reasons, which will doubtless be estimated at their proper value. There is one fact which goes far to show that the remains of St. Brigid were not transferred to Downpatrick until a somewhat later period. It is this, that

¹ "Ubi sepultus est (in arce Leath-glaisce) ipse Sanctus Patritius, Beata Brigida et reliquiae beatissimae Abbatis Columbae post multos annos collectae in sepulchro."

we find the same ecclesiastic, Ceallach, son of Ailill,¹ was abbot both of Iona and Kildare at the very time that the ravages of the Danes were most severely felt at Kildare. What more natural than that this eminent man should transfer the holy remains to Downpatrick, a place of comparative security, where, as he well knew, the remains of the great apostle of the Picts had already been transferred? There is much plausibility in this view; and the only thing that makes us hesitate to accept it is, that there is no mention of the enshrining of St. Brigid's relics in 799, when the relics of St. Conleath were certainly enshrined. This, in our opinion, goes far to show that the remains of St. Brigid had been already carried elsewhere, although for prudential reasons their destination was not made public at the time.

This brings us to the alleged invention and translation of the relics of our three great national patrons towards the close of the twelfth century.

It is remarkable that our native annalists make no reference to this discovery of the relics of the three saints in Downpatrick. The *Four Masters*, for instance, although careful to give an account of the visit of Cardinal Papiron, in 1151, and the Synod over which he presided in 1152, and also of Cardinal Vivian's visit in 1177, make no reference at all to the visit of Cardinal Vivian in 1186. Gerald Barry, however, a contemporary writer, and at that very time in Ireland with Prince John, expressly declares that the bodies of the three saints, Patrick, Brigid, and Columcille, were found in his time in the city of Down—in the very year that Prince John first came to Ireland—hidden, as it were, in a triple hole or cave—Patrick lying in the middle, with the other two on either side. Thereupon, under the direction of John de Courcy, then ruling in Ulster, these three noble treasures were by a divine revelation made known and translated.²

¹ He died A.D. 865.

² "Apud Ultoniam in eadem civitate Dunensi scilicet ipsorum tria corpora sunt recondita. Ubi et his nostris temporibus, anno scilicet quo Dominus Joannes primo in Hiberniam venit, quasi in spelunca triplici, Patricio in medio jacente, aliis duobus hinc inde, Joannes vero de Curci tunc ibi praesidente, et hoc procurante, tres nobiles thesauri, divina revelatione inventa sunt et translata." (*Top. Hib.*, ch. xviii., Rolls Edition.)

Cardinal Vivian came to Ireland as Papal Legate in the beginning of the year 1177, and met John De Courcy in Down. He afterwards held a Synod in Dublin, on the 13th of March, the first Sunday of Lent, to which the *Four Masters* refer; but the Masters make no subsequent reference to his reappearance in Ireland in 1186; nor does any other Irish annalist so far as we are aware. This invention and translation of the relics of the three saints is narrated in minute detail by several modern writers. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the contemporary evidence is very unsatisfactory as to these circumstantial details. Usher quotes John Brompton, Ralph of Chester, and others; but these were English and later writers, who knew very little about Ireland. Gerald Barry's testimony as to the substantial fact is most valuable; but he gives no details; and the verses usually given as quoted by him are not found in the best MSS. of the *Topographia*; that is:—

“ In Burgo Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno
Brigida, Patritius, atque Columba pius.”

Messingham, who has collected so many other important documents in his *Florilegium* gives us also the Lessons for the Feast of this Invention and Translation, which was first celebrated on the 9th of June, 1186. They furnish, perhaps, the weightiest evidence in favour of the truth of the details connected with this remarkable event. Here is the substance of these historical Lessons:—

“ It is said [*fertur*] that at the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English, there was a certain Malachias, a man of great merit, and of holy life and conversation, who was Bishop of Down, where the bodies of the aforesaid saints were buried. This bishop being instant in prayer, almost daily besought the Lord that He would deign to make known to him, in His own time, where that precious treasure, the relics of the aforesaid saints, was hidden. One night whilst he was thus most earnestly praying in the Church of Down, he saw as it were a ray of sunlight beaming through the church up to the place of burial of the bodies of the aforesaid saint. The bishop, greatly rejoicing in this vision, prayed still more earnestly that the ray of light might not depart until he should find the hidden relics. Thereupon rising up he took quickly the necessary tools, and going to that bright spot he dug there until he found the bones of the three

aforesaid bodies. Then on the spot where the light was shining he enclosed the bones separately in wooden shells [*illa in tabulis separatim inserebat*] and thus enclosed [*tabulata*] replaced them under ground in the same spot."

Then the Bishop narrates his vision to John de Courcy, the Conqueror of Ulster, "a man much given to the service of God," by whose advice and assistance supplication was made to the Pope for the translation of the relics. The Pope graciously assented, and sent over John a Cardinal Priest, under the title of St. Stephen on the Caelian Mount, as Apostolic Legate in Ireland, who, on the 9th day of June, with all due reverence and devotion, transferred the holy relics from the spot in which they were laid by Malachias, the Bishop, to an honourable place, specially prepared for them in the church. There were present at this translation, besides the Legate, fifteen bishops, with very many abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons, priors, and other orthodox men, who, in solemn assembly, decreed that the festival of this Translation was thenceforward to be observed on the 9th of June, the feast of St. Columba, which latter was to be transferred to the day after the octave of the Feast of the Translation.

It has been frequently insinuated that this invention and translation was a political device, arranged by John de Courcy and the bishop, to reconcile the Ultonians to the conquest, by giving it a kind of heavenly sanction in their eyes. But John de Courcy was not a schemer; and the Bishop Malachias was a native Irishman, who was no friend of the conquest or the conquerors. Indeed if the bishop were an Anglo-Norman the entire business would look very suspicious; but, as it stands, the narrative is entirely trustworthy, for the revelation is made to this Celtic bishop, and as we Catholics know often happened before, in answer to humble and fervent prayer.

It has been said also that if the remains of Columba and St. Brigid were carried to Down in the eighth or ninth century, and were enclosed in the grave of St. Patrick, a spot so sacred could not be utterly forgotten even by the clergy of the Church. There is an obvious answer to this

that during the depredations of the Danes, the churches were burnt, sometimes frequently burned to ashes, and the clergy were often all slaughtered. What grave of our early saints is known outside the Aran Islands? Hardly a single one. The same motive, too, that led to bringing the remains to Down would lead to the place where they were buried being kept a profound secret, except from a very few. Thus, in the course of generations, the knowledge of the place might be utterly lost, although it was well known that the sacred remains were hidden somewhere within the Church of Down. Similar events have led, even in more recent times, to the same uncertainty as of old. Although the relics of St. Patrick, Brigid, and Columba were then buried in Down, no one now can tell the exact spot where these holy relics repose.

There is, indeed, in the cemetery attached to the Protestant Cathedral, or the abbey, as it is still called by the people, an ancient grave, which is commonly reputed to be the grave of St. Patrick. It is now hollowed out by the excavations of pious Catholics, who, when about to emigrate, always carry away with them a small portion of "the clay from St. Patrick's grave." It is said that over this grave there was formerly erected a granite cross to mark the sacred spot, but it was carried off and broken in pieces by certain bigots amongst the Orangemen of Downpatrick, who afterwards, as might be expected, all came to a bad end. No one can regret if St. Patrick showed his power on men like these. This grave, however, could not have been the original grave of St. Patrick, nor that into which the remains of the Trias Thaumaturga were enclosed in 1186; for in both cases, the grave was within the cathedral, and no church ever stood over the present grave.

But a certain writer in the *Ulster Examiner*, under date of Feb. 9th, 1870, declared that, thirty years before, a man of the name of Millar told him that he remembered the time when the cathedral was restored (in 1790); that three stone coffins were discovered near the high altar; that these holy remains, supposed to be those of the three saints, were transferred to a new grave in the churchyard, and to mark

the spot an ancient market cross was carried there and placed over the grave—that very cross, we must assume, that was afterwards broken to pieces by the Orangemen. It is a point that deserves further investigation, which we must leave to the zeal of the local antiquarians.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

THE LIFE OF DR. PUSEY¹

THE *Life of Dr. Pusey* is published under exceptional and melancholy circumstances. He died in 1886, and the task of writing his biography was unanimously assigned to the friend of his later years, Dr. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, the man who, above all others, had been associated with him in the labours and interests of the period of his life immediately preceding his death. The work, which he did not live long enough to complete, was a labour of love to Dr. Liddon; and from the moment he undertook the task he seems to have looked on it as of paramount importance, and on all other occupations as a mere hindrance to the main business of his life. Pusey, in Liddon's eyes, was evidently one of the foremost figures of his generation. Nothing he did or thought, no letter he wrote, and no word he spoke, was too trivial or too slight to be noted. The result is, that the *Life* has swollen to undue proportions, and that, although Dr. Liddon lived far into ten years after the subject of his biography died, he yet left it unfinished at his own death; and it has fallen to his literary executors to place the book in the hands of the public.

It has taken the last three years to prepare the work for the press; and even now we have but an instalment of the whole in two volumes, which only carry us to the forty-fifth of Pusey's long life of eighty-two years. Two more will be required to finish the work, and we shall then be in

¹ *The Life of Edward B. Pusey, D.D.* By H. P. Liddon, D.D. Second Edition, vols. i. and ii. London: Longmans. 1893.

possession of a biography which must be classed amongst some of the longest in English literature. The length of the book is, we cannot but think, out of proportion to the interest of the person; and the editors would be wise if they listened to a caution, and remembered that they are in danger of exhausting the patience of their readers by a too detailed account of Pusey's career and work. We say this the more emphatically from the fact, that it is hardly possible that what is to follow should be equally interesting with the two volumes before us; and this for a reason which we feel sure will be appreciated by our readers, viz., that a fascinating and deeply interesting personality plays a considerable part in these, and that in those that are to follow this personality must necessarily be absent.

"Now, you are a Puseyite," said Sheffield to Reding, in the inimitable picture of Oxford life, some fifty years ago, in *Loss and Gain*, by Cardinal Newman. "You give me the name of a very good man, whom I hardly know by sight," answers Reding. As we read the volumes before us, we cannot fail to wonder how it came about that Pusey should have given his name to a movement in which the main interest certainly did not centre in himself. We believe it was the result of a trivial accident, which we shall mention later on; for in no sense was Pusey either the originator, the guide, or the inspiring genius, of what in time became known as "Puseyism." We must add, that he never aspired to fill a prominent position at Oxford; and, as a matter of fact, neither his disposition, nor his powers, nor his characteristics, whether mental or moral, were those of a born leader of men. He was by nature a retiring student, genuinely modest and humble, of a keenly affectionate and unselfish disposition, and with much natural piety and religious feeling, and a model in every relation of domestic life, a steadfast and true friend—indeed, so good a friend, in one prominent instance, as to allow his love for Newman so to colour his vision as to force him to approve and sanction a step in his friend, when this last was received into the Catholic Church, which, when taken by others, he viewed as absolutely sinful.

On the other hand, though deeply learned in books, he was, we should say, the very reverse of quick or ready in his reading of men and events. He neither easily grasped the meaning of facts, nor correctly gauged their relative importance to one another. The result of this want of perceptiveness was that, on more than one occasion, he committed himself to views and utterances on important questions of the day which maturer thought and intercourse with others showed him were, to say the least, premature, and often the reverse of what he eventually would wish to have spoken. His subsequent action was thus hampered by immature words—words which, had he quickly or intuitively understood the matter in hand, would never have been uttered. This, we may note in passing, was specially the case on the occasion of the appointment of an Anglican bishop to Jerusalem—an appointment which the bulk of Pusey's party looked on as the final and mortal blow struck at the Catholicity of the English Establishment by those in authority over her, but which Pusey, before he had taken counsel with others, publicly approved, much to his own embarrassment later on. Such a want was in itself alone sufficient to prevent Pusey's being a great or a leading influence in stirring times.

Speaking plainly, Pusey was in no sense a particularly interesting or important man. He possessed not one spark of genius. His personality was dull and neutral tinted, and although of a saintly and lovable disposition, and of extraordinary literary industry, it was mostly owing to circumstances that he became so prominent a man in the Church of England. We read of his early years, spent meritoriously in the innocent enjoyments of a high-toned and worthy family circle, he himself a dutiful son, a studious boy, and an affectionate brother and friend; but, beyond a great power of application and a love of serious study, which naturally resulted in his being a satisfactory schoolboy and undergraduate youth, there is nothing very remarkable to recount of him. His education finished, he goes to Germany, and there he studies German rationalism and Hebrew with his accustomed and all but phenomenal assiduity. He returns to England, and, fortunately for him, living in an age when

high family connections were still of great and practical utility to a young man, he is at an early age appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and is shortly after made a Canon of Christ Church Cathedral. At Oxford, however, he is brought into connection with an influence which changes the whole course of the biography, and the work before us assumes an interest not intrinsically its own. A personality appears on the stage with a unique power of imparting a radiance and fascination to all with whom he comes in contact. Newman and Pusey become intimate friends; and for the rest of the book the latter is invested with a borrowed attraction which before was wanting, and which helps to lend a charm to the latter portion of these volumes which is not to be found in the earlier. As we follow again the oft-told, though not wearisome story of Newman's conversion to the Church, we feel thankful even to Pusey for causing new light to be thrown on a subject of such paramount importance and never-failing interest.

We must, however, give our readers in greater detail, some outline of the life and character of a man whose name was, perhaps, of even greater influence for many years in England than was the man himself. We preface our account by saying, that we have no intention of again following the history of the Oxford movement; but rather, purpose to tell our readers something of Pusey himself, independently of his share in Tractarianism. The fact is, that the story of the "Movement" has been too much and too recently before our readers, to make it desirable again to repeat the oft-told tale. Mozeley's *Recollections*, Dr. Ward's *Life*, Dean Church's *Reminiscences*, and Cardinal Newman's *Letters*, have sufficiently done their work; and all who care to study the phase of thought which certainly has had a lasting influence on the English Protestant Church, can find ample material to do so. Were we to attempt to recount all the efforts, all the opposition, all that succeeded, and all that failed, in Pusey's attempts to enforce his views on the Establishment, we should find ourselves involved in a mass of minute detail, which, in our limited space, it would be a difficult task to render intelligible to our readers, and which,

even did they master all the intricacies of the case, are hardly at this date worth the trouble of studying. Pusey himself, however, is, though merely "one of the common people of the skies," a specimen of a pious English gentleman of a type not now commonly met; and as such, we may hope our readers will consider him worthy of their notice.

Born of parents who were both nearly connected with the aristocracy, Edward Bouverie Pusey's youth was spent much like that of other boys of his position. The son of high-minded and genuinely religious parents, Pusey's early home was calculated to prepare him for the earnest and serious life which was before him. Of his father we hear little. He was already past middle life when he married, and the unusually great difference between his own age and that of his children, joined to the habit of his generation, in which an excessive and rather chilling reserve and reverence was the correct attitude for a son to assume towards a father, caused a constraint to exist in the manner of one to the other. In spite of this, his children appear to have regarded Mr. Pusey with very real affection, and in the case of both his elder sons, his wishes were deferred to in a matter closely touching their happiness, and neither ventured to marry in opposition to their father's wish.

Pusey's training as a child was left to his mother, who is described as an all but perfect example of an English Christian gentlewoman, and whose love must have sweetened Pusey's whole life. Her type is, if not extinct, very uncommon in these days, and during her declining years, she was even then spoken of as a specimen of the ladies in the days of Fox and Pitt. Tall and slim, with long hands and tapering fingers, betokening a long line of gentle ancestors, she was remarkable for a sweetness which was touched, though not neutralized, by severity. This severity she exercised more on herself than on others. Soft couches and easy chairs she scouted as signs of a degenerate age; and so great was her unselfishness that, even when well advanced in years, she willingly, when necessary, resigned her own bed-room, and slept herself in the passage in order that her

guest might be more comfortable. To his mother's teaching and influence Pusey ascribed the direction which his religious views eventually took: "All that I know about religious truth, I learnt, at least in principle, from my dear mother," he would say; and her teaching was mainly gathered from the study of our Lord's words and acts, and from the Catechism of the English Church.

Edward Pusey's chief companion as a child was his elder brother Philip; and as the boys grew up, they enjoyed the sports and amusements of their class, and Edward soon became a proficient shot, and both drove and rode well. At the age of seven he was sent to school, preparatory to going to Eton; and here Pusey was placed under a master whose ideas, as were those of his father, were hardly in harmony with the gentler manners of to-day; and we read of Pusey's being flogged for cutting a lead pencil at both ends, and being severely punished for dropping a pen-knife. The teaching, however, was very efficient; and Pusey was heard to say that both he and his brother could have passed the "Little go" examination before they went to Eton, where, as a matter of course, they took high places. From Eton, after a short time spent with a private tutor, Pusey passed on to Christ Church, Oxford.

Although only eighteen, an event occurred before he entered the university which was of great moment to his future life. He fell in love with his future wife, Miss M. C. Barker, and although he had to wait nine years before circumstances allowed him to marry her, yet from the day of his first making her acquaintance "he carried a new interest which made life unlike anything it had ever been before to him." No sooner did his parents learn of his attachment, than they seriously opposed it, and forbade their son having any intercourse with the lady. We must remember Pusey's youth, and his parents probably looked on his feeling as the passing whim of a mere boy. The effects of being thwarted were for a while alarming. Pusey sank into a deep melancholy from which his health suffered, and he sought and found his only consolation in severe study. Indeed, he probably worked injudiciously hard. We read

of his "suicidal practice of reading some sixteen or seventeen hours a day," and he himself tells us that at Christ Church he was simply "a reading automaton." His labours were fortunately amply rewarded, and when the degree lists appeared in 1822, Pusey's name was in the first class.

Shortly after leaving College, Pusey seems for the first time to have come across scepticism. His introduction to serious unbelief was made in the person of an Eton friend, a young man of considerable attainments and reading; and with him Pusey entered into a lengthy controversy in the hopes of restoring his friend's faith. With characteristic sanguineness, Pusey believed that he was likely to be of greater service than was at all probable; but one result of his being brought into contact with modern rationalism, was a determination which he took to devote his whole life to the defence of the Old Testament, as he felt that that was the point in the attack on orthodoxy "which would be most easily breached." Another result of his correspondence with his friend, was the discovery that scepticism was a larger subject than he had hitherto imagined, and that in order to combat it with any chance of success, he must know a great deal more of the matter than his Oxford studies had taught him.

With the object of really mastering modern unbelief, Pusey went to Germany, that land where Protestantism has had its fullest and most unchecked development, and where the seed sown at the Reformation may to-day be seen flowering into undisguised rationalism and far from rare atheism. A word from his bishop added to Pusey's wish to master this subject. At this time, the German tongue was all but unknown in England; even at Oxford, it was believed that only two persons spoke the language, though the subject of German theology and biblical criticism excited interest. "One day," says Pusey, "Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of Oxford, said to me 'I wish you would learn something about these German critics!' In the spirit of obedience, I set myself at once to learn German, and I went to Göttingen at once to study both the language and the theology. My life turned on that hint of Lloyd's."

On two different occasions Pusey spent some time in

Germany, but into the details of his visits it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice it to say that during his stay he worked with assiduity, industry, and persistence, both at mastering the theological schools of thought in the German universities, and subsequently at the study of Hebrew, which was worthy of the German professors who were his masters. Not content with studying Hebrew alone, he laboured at other oriental languages. We read of his devoting from fourteen to sixteen hours a-day to Arabic, and any spare time was given to Syriac and Chaldee, and when he finally left Germany, he was one of the first Semitic scholars of his time. This and an enlarged acquaintance with men of various religious schools of thought, and a greater knowledge of the vastness of theological inquiry may be said to be the net gain of the years he spent abroad. From the time he settled down to his English life, his main work was greatly influenced by his studies in Germany, and he was principally occupied in commenting on the English Authorized Version of the Old Testament.

The opposition to his engagement to Miss Barker ceased soon after his return home, and after a short interval they were married. The result of his marriage was eleven years of unalloyed domestic happiness; and when the Tracts were commenced and the Oxford Movement first took shape, Pusey was already established as a man of importance in the University, with a status as Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.

As we have already remarked, it is unnecessary again to repeat the oft-told tale of the origin and early days of the High Church revival. The meetings between Newman, Keble and Hurrell Froude, and their decision to issue the Tracts—the efforts made by them and their friends to stem the tide of Liberalism already triumphant in politics, and ready to assail the Church of England at the first opportunity—have already been detailed in the works we have mentioned, and need not again be recorded here. Pusey at first, though in no sense hostile to the movement, did not actually join it. Not many months, however, elapsed before he contributed a Tract (number eighteen) to the series,

and signed it with his initials. This is the slight circumstance to which we referred above, and which we believe caused the Oxford Movement to be popularly known as Puseyism. The previously issued Tracts had been anonymous, and the public had no means of knowing authentically who were the propagators of the new views. The well-known initials E. B. P., therefore, supplied a want, and the Oxford world learnt that the Professor of Hebrew was the author at any rate of one Tract; and for the future Pusey's name assumed an unmerited and an unreal importance, which, so long as Newman was at Oxford, was strangely out of place. As a fact, Pusey only contributed seven Tracts out of the series of ninety that appeared, and could in no sense claim to be the leader of the party. Not that we have any right or wish to insinuate that he was desirous of assuming the position which in reality belonged to Newman. His humility was too genuine and at the same time his admiration for and loyalty to his great friend were too absolute, to allow of his wishing to play a more prominent part than fell to his share; nevertheless, to the English world he and Newman were generally considered as co-leaders in the Oxford Movement.

Perhaps it is in his family life that Pusey is seen at his best, and we cannot but feel interested in one who suffered so keenly in the loss of those nearest and dearest to him. His long and trying engagement to his wife was the prelude to a too short spell of married happiness. Mrs. Pusey, in all ways, was a worthy helpmate to her husband. She sympathized with all his labours, and her intelligence and zeal caused her in many ways to be a real help to Pusey in his researches. A curious fact is mentioned in connection with Mrs. Pusey's baptism. When Pusey first realized that in a Church which he was anxious to consider an integral part of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the sacramental system must be of paramount importance, he was naturally driven to look on baptism as the first and most necessary of all the sacraments, and he contributed a Tract to the series on the subject. The considerations which occupied both Pusey and his wife whilst he was writing this,

caused some uneasiness to both, for it transpired, when their attention was turned in that direction, that Mrs. Pusey had never been regularly baptized at all. She had been subjected to some ceremony at the hands of a dissenter, which, we suppose must have satisfied the standard of Anglican theology in the pre-Tractarian days, but which was not sufficient to content Pusey's newly-aroused appreciation of the sacrament and the necessity of its valid administration. After some delay and consideration, Mrs. Pusey and her husband decided that a repetition of some ceremony, or of what we should call a conditional baptism, was desirable; and Mrs. Pusey had the privilege of being baptized by her husband's greatest friend, Newman. We mention this in the hope that Anglicans may take note of it, for a common complaint against the Church is, that, unless fully assured of the validity of a convert's baptism, she insists on securing his salvation by a conditional re-baptism, by no means because she denies the validity of lay-baptism, but because the laxity in the administration of the sacrament amongst Protestants is notorious. Our practice is often severely criticized; but here, in the person of the wife of a leader of the High Church party, we find our principle not only admitted but acted on.

After his wife, Pusey's three children claimed the larger share of his affections. Although he owns that "he does not find it in him," to join in their romps and games, they are never wholly absent from his thoughts, and when their mother is from home they spend their days in his study, he hears them say their prayers, and in his gentle tenderness supplies the place of both parents. The picture of Pusey's family life is full of charm, and might well be imitated by all. Those were the days when a Canon of Christ Church was in the receipt of a liberal income, and usually lived in a style of luxury which was supposed to add to the dignity of the Establishment. A handsome house fell to each canon's share; they kept showy men-servants and well-appointed carriages, and not a few of their evenings were devoted to sumptuous dinners at each other's houses. Not long after his marriage, Pusey determined to change his manner of life

altogether, and so simplify it considerably. In the spring of 1837 he sold his carriage and horses, a step necessitated by his liberal donation of five thousand pounds to the fund for building London churches, an object which was then much before English churchmen; and in other ways he endeavoured to curtail all unnecessary expenses, in order to have a larger amount of money to give in charity. In all his liberal designs he was fully seconded, and sometimes even anticipated, by Mrs. Pusey, and she, in her turn, sold all her jewellery, and willingly devoted the result to the same building fund in London. Pusey was constantly preaching the necessity of self-denial and unworldliness, and was anxious that his own practice should not fall behind his preaching. On this head he had assuredly little with which to reproach himself. When separated for a short time from her about this date, he writes to his wife: "When we meet again, we must try and live more like pilgrims journeying heavenwards. I am much perplexed by my own sermon; for I know not how I can act up to it, with our heads'-of-houses dinners. And it has come across me, had one not better give them up altogether?"

The life thus forecast, was not destined to be long enjoyed by Pusey and his wife. Mrs. Pusey's health showed early signs of failing, and an affecting picture is given in these volumes of the last months of her life. At first various wanderings are suggested in search of health, and we read of visits to Weymouth and the Isle of Wight; but all is useless, and after a consultation with a London specialist, the hopelessness of her illness is ascertained, and the end approaches rapidly. The account of her last days and death are touchingly told, and a special charm is added to the picture of Pusey's tenderness and sorrow, by Newman's sympathy and friendship. Short notes indicating the deep affection existing between the two friends are constantly passing from one to the other, during the darkest days of Pusey's life; and when all is over, and the bereft husband is alone, his mother, with a true instinct as to what is most likely to comfort her son in the first hours of his overwhelming grief, sends for Newman. His visit, though at

first opposed to Pusey's wish, was of infinite comfort. "God has been very merciful to me in this dispensation," Pusey writes to Keble, "and carried me on, step by step, in a way I dared not hope. He sent Newman to me (whom I saw at my mother's wish, against my inclination) in the first hour of sorrow, and it was like the visit of an angel."

His wife's death cast a dark cloud over the remainder of Pusey's life, and the void caused by her loss was an abiding sorrow. A slight circumstance indicates how he never ceased to feel acute pain when any accident brought back the loss to his memory. She was buried at Christ Church, and "years after people observed that in walking across the great quadrangle to the Cathedral, more than elsewhere he kept his eyes fixed on the pavement. Many mysterious reasons were given for this; but he himself said more than once, that he never could forget the pall of his wife's coffin fluttering in the wind as he followed her body to its last resting-place; and he did not look up lest a vision of that hour of agony should pass before him and be too much for him."

Some years later, Pusey experienced a sorrow only one degree less severe than the loss of his wife. In 1844 his eldest daughter died, and on this occasion we again read of Newman's consoling and comforting powers. Since Mrs. Pusey's death, her husband's deepest affection and interest had centred in his daughter Lucy. Her health was a source of constant anxiety. This, joined to great similarity in their tastes, and the fact that from her early years she had been in sympathy with his religious hopes and efforts, caused her to be specially beloved by her father. On the occasion of her first communion, Pusey writes to a friend: "Every wish of my heart was fulfilled in dear Lucy's deep silent devotion and awe and thankfulness on Saturday and especially Sunday. Every anxiety was removed, and her dear mother's unwearied pains have been richly blest."

It was shortly after her first communion that Lucy decided on dedicating herself to a single life of devotion to the poor and to the sick. It had long been Pusey's wish to revive an order of Sisters of Charity in England, and in his child's intention he saw the beginning of the fulfilment of

his hopes. "She was the one being," he writes to Newman, "around whom my thoughts of the future here had wound;" and again, "I cannot tell you how her simplicity and devotion and love wound round my heart, and how I loved her, or how I longed that she should be, and join with others in being, what she longed to be." No wonder she was dear to Pusey, as our author tells us. Three things specially near his heart, centred in his eldest daughter: she specially seemed to represent her mother; all her views and aspirations were the fruit of Newman's, his dearest friend's, teaching; and thirdly, in her he foresaw the fulfilment of one of his most earnest hopes of religious restoration in England.

This last wish, however, was not destined to be fulfilled. After a short illness, Pusey was called on to resign his child into God's hands. The account of her last days are so touchingly given in his letters to Newman, that, although they are long, we cannot refrain from giving them in full, as well as Newman's replies; and we do so the more readily, as we believe that it is principally by gaining an insight into the spiritual feelings and the inner religious life of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, that we can best understand its powerful effect on the Church of England. The struggles and contentions which make up the outside history of Tractarianism are trivial and wearisome—the high toned religious feeling and moral altitude of the Tractarians are of perennial interest.

"E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,—All is peace here, with the certain prospect how it will end, though not how soon. It was hurrying on with a terrific rapidity when I wrote, though I knew it not. On Easter eve came a solemn pause; and in this I suppose we are still. She said to me last night, 'Now I am so near death, it seems that my love of God is not what it should be;' so we are now praying for it, and this pause seems to be given us to obtain some deeper measure of it before she parts. She is a child of your writings; in looking over her books, I find the date of a volume of your sermons, on her birthday, nearly eight years ago, and I asked you for them, as her dear mother had been some time forming her mind in them . . . I wished to tell you how we are, and what we long for. I suppose St. François de Sales is the best *book*; Dalgairns will like to know that the translation he

has corrected so nicely is of great use and comfort . . . I asked her whether she had any message for you. She said, 'Give him my respectful love, and thank him for all his kindness to me.'

"God reward you, my dear friend; this is now the second of mine at whose parting I have felt what a blessing your sermons and your love have been to them.

"Ever your very affectionate friend,

"E. B. PUSEY."

To this Newman replies :—

"MY DEAR PUSEY,—You may fancy what an heartache your note of to-day has given me. Yet all is well, as you know better than I can say. What would you more than is granted you as regards dear Lucy? She was given you to be made an heir of heaven. Have you not been allowed to perform that part towards her? You have done your work—what remains but to present it finished to Him who put it upon you? You are presenting it to Him, you are allowed to do so, in the way most acceptable to Him, as a holy blameless sacrifice; not a sacrifice which the world has sullied, but as a baptismal offering, perfected by long though kind and gentle sufferings. How fitly do her so touching words which you repeat to me accord with such thoughts as these! 'Love,' which she asks for, is of course the grace that will complete the whole. Do you not bear in mind the opinion of theologians, that it is the grace which supplies all things, supersedes all things, and is all in all? I believe they hold; though a dying person were in a desert, without anyone at hand, love would be to him everything. He has in it forgiveness of sins, communion of saints, and the presence of Christ. Dear Lucy has been made His at baptism, she has been made His in suffering, and now she asks to be made His by love.

"Well may you find her sweet countenance pleasant to look upon, when, here at a distance, I have such pleasure in thinking of her. May we have that great blessedness, when our end comes (may I specially who need so to pray more than others) which is her's, that gift of love which casts out all imperfection, all doubt, all sorrow.

"Should you have a fit time for doing so, pray tell her that she is constantly in my thoughts, and will not (so be it) cease to be; as she who has gone first, is in my mind day by day, morning and evening, continually.

"All blessing on you both, and on your other dear charge at Clifton, is the prayer of your's, my dear Pusey,

"Most affectionately but most unworthily,

"JOHN HENRY NEWMAN."

“E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

“MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—‘Blessed be the name of the Lord.’ Your prayers and those of my other friends have been heard; the child educated in and (in a manner) of your sermons has been accepted, and is in Paradise. The struggle was so long and so severe, that I could not but think it the realizing, in a degree, of a wish she had named to me (about two years ago, I think) that she might die a martyr . . . I longed that it should be over, and sighed at each return of life, or each sign of remaining strength, though I was withheld from praying that it should be except as He willed. I left it wholly to His wisdom and mercy . . . I ventured to give her in charge to pray for us all in the presence of her Redeemer, and, if it might be, for those institutions to which she had herself hoped to belong. I especially recalled to her how much she owed to you . . . The crowning blessing was at the end. She had seemed again and again all but gone; and when I expected the last sigh, the cough returned, and seemed to recall her to life, and the suffering was to begin again . . . All at once her eyes opened wide; and I never saw such a gaze as at what was invisible to us, which continued for some time. And after this had continued for some little while, she looked me full in the face, and there came such an unearthly smile, so full of love also; all expression of pain disappeared, and was swallowed up in joy. I never saw anything like that smile. There was no sound, else it seemed almost a laugh for joy; and I could hardly help laughing for joy in answer. I cannot describe it; it was utterly unlike anything I ever saw; it seemed as if she would say, ‘All you have longed for in me is fulfilled;’ and when her blessed spirit was gone, her eyes, which were looking gently heavenwards, retained such a lustre (such as they never had before), that they seemed more than living. It turned at once all sorrow into joy; it seemed like one already in Paradise inviting me thither. A few days ago this seemed to me the heaviest blow that could fall upon me. She was the one being around whom my thoughts for the future here had wound; and now I would not exchange that smile for worlds. ‘Heaviness has endured for the night, but joy has come in the morning.’ I cannot sorrow for one whom I have seen with the light as of heaven . . . I feel certain that it was our Blessed Lord whom she saw. I had often in the night used part of the prayer, ‘Soul of Christ,’ &c., more than once as a whole, and especially that part, ‘O good Jesus, hear me, and suffer me not to be separated from Thee.’ . . . I repeated to her the blessing, ‘May the face of the Lord Jesus Christ appear to thee mild and joyous’ . . . The lustre of her eyes and the heavenly love of the smile seemed a reflection of His countenance. If so while in the body, what must it be now! God be thanked for His unspeakable mercy to me a sinner.

“E. B. PUSEY.”

The childish prejudices of Protestant England in the forties may be gauged by the fact that Pusey did not venture to carry out his wish of having a simple cross put on Lucy's coffin at Clifton, where she died, but had to order it to be added at Oxford, where she was buried. Even a simple cross in those days excited suspicion; and his friends at Clifton, specially the schoolmistress with whom his daughters were placed, had already suffered from their connection with Pusey.

We have dwelt mainly on Pusey's family relations and on his personal piety, because it is more as a high-minded and pious English gentleman that he is noteworthy than as the founder of a school of thought or the leader of a religious party. We started by stating for neither was he fitted, and to neither did he aspire. His religious views, until he was influenced by Newman, were of no very pronounced type; and, although he was willing to adopt and teach all he learned from the latter, he seems never really to have grasped the meaning or the true direction of the school he was supposed to lead, nor was he able to foresee the natural results of the premises he was willing to allow. To Anglicans who, like Pusey, have stopped short of the full acceptance of Catholic truth, this unhappy blindness appears to be a heaven-sent faith, and his attitude altogether a noble one. When deserted by their leaders, fiercely attacked by their foes, and their name a byeword of reproach to an indifferent English public, the few remaining Tractarians took fresh courage when they found that Pusey stood his ground, and that, although he saw no wrong in Newman joining the Church, he had no intention of following his example. In the eyes of the remnant of the party, Pusey became a hero; and to him they naturally looked as the leader of a forlorn hope, and were grateful to him as the man to whose steadfastness it was owing that a defeat was not turned into an irretrievable disaster.

We, of course, see things very differently. The fact that Newman and the more powerful-minded amongst his friends became Catholics, was the practical acknowledgment that their theory as to the catholicity of the English Church had

failed ; and, if it failed those most nearly touched, and who were the originators of the theory, *a fortiori* those who merely echoed Newman's views, ought now to follow his example.

We fail to see the adequacy of the plea which Dean Church has told us in the long run "restored life and energy to a cause which was supposed to be lost" :—

"It was the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic, keen sarcasm, and pathetic and impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well as to history, as to the position and substantial characteristics of the traditional and existing English Church, shown, not on paper, but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements . . . The Church of England was, after all, as well worth living in and fighting for as any other."

That such a plea should be made with the intention of proving that the cause of the Tractarians was, after all, not lost, is surprising ; and how it helps to prove the catholicity of the Establishment, we are at a loss to see. Though far from wishing to deny or to minimize the great amount of good which is to be found amongst those whose faith falls far short of the Church's teaching, it is in vain we are asked to believe that, because members of the Establishment are found doing good work for God, the English Church itself forms part of the one Catholic Church, the mystical Body of our Lord, the Bride of the Lamb, which was first called into being on the day of Pentecost.

EVELYN MORDAUNT.

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE—I.¹

1753-1817

THE days have long passed since Joseph De Maistre was held up to the ridicule of the world as the bear of Savoy and the panegyrist of the hangman. The men who are most opposed to his principles have become his most ardent admirers, and even his friends have begun to be proud of him. The publication of his correspondence some forty years ago revealed that he had been much misunderstood. As might be expected, the eminent French critic, Sainte-Beuve, though himself a strenuous defender of the Revolution, was one of the first to recognise the tender, affectionate character and profound scholarship of the man who had been as hated as he had been despised. In our own country, Mr. John Morley, after devoting many volumes to the array of forces on the side of the Revolution, singles him out among the champions of the Reaction, and in a highly appreciative sketch warns the men of the new ideas, that he is of all others the ablest foe with whom they have to cope. We know well that De Maistre's opinions do not find much favour in the French Academy; yet that learned body a short time ago appointed his life and writings as the subject for the prize of eloquence—a sure proof that his influence is gaining ground. This selection has given rise to the usual series of lectures and essays. M. Paillette delivered a course at the Institut Catholique, while the anti-clerical student was provided with one more to his taste at the Collège de France. To this also we owe M. De Lescure's volume, which may be heartily recommended. The following sketch is necessarily a mere outline; but if I succeed in arousing some

¹ *Œuvres Complètes du Comte Joseph de Maistre*. Lyon: Vitte et Perrussel. 14 vols. 1883-1887.

Le Comte Joseph de Maistre et sa Famille, 1753-1852. Par M. de Lescure. Paris: Chappelliez et C^{ie}. 1893.

Portraits Littéraires. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Tome second.

Causeries du Lundi. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Tome quatrième.

interest in the life and writings of the great Catholic apologist, my labours will not have been in vain.

Joseph Marie De Maistre was born at Chambéry, on April 1st, 1753. His father, Count Francis Xavier De Maistre, President of the Senate of Savoy, was held in great estimation by his colleagues and the public, and stood high in the favour of his sovereign, the King of Sardinia. His mother, sprung from the noble family of De Motz, was, according to his account, "an angel whom God had put into a body." It was his greatest delight to anticipate all her wishes, and to be as submissive in her hands as the youngest of his sisters. From her he derived that tender, sympathetic, and even gay element in his character which was shown only to those with whom he was intimate, while to others he seemed to be cold, stern, and dignified. What he said of the English character might well be applied to himself: a Vesuvius covered with snow on the outside and a fire raging in its bosom. As a boy he gave early signs of marked intelligence and love of study. His memory was a marvel. Although he took great pride in it, he never suffered it to dispense him from the golden rule of reading pen in hand. His early studies were directed by the Jesuits, of whom he always spoke with reverence and affection. He afterwards proceeded to Turin, where he took his degree in law at the age of twenty. All the time that he was at the university he never read a single book without first writing home for his parents' permission. Just as he was about to enter on his public career, there fell upon him the first and the greatest sorrow of the many sorrows of his life. His dearly-loved mother was carried off by sickness in the autumn of the year 1774. More than thirty years afterwards, De Maistre, writing from St. Petersburg to his brother, says: "Here I am, six hundred leagues from home, and yet the memories of childhood fill me with tenderness. I can see my mother walking about my little room; I look up into her saintly face, and as I write these words I am crying like a child." In December he became an official of the Senate,¹

¹ "Substitut-avocat-fiscal-général-supernuméraire," was his full title.

and passed through the different grades, until, in 1788, he was raised to the dignity of senator. He was in no hurry to marry. It was not until he was thirty-two that he espoused Mdlle. Françoise de Morand, a lady of his own rank of life, whom he had known and admired for seven years. Their union proved a most happy one. Three children, Rudolph, Adèle, and Constance, were the fruit of their marriage. The father's prolonged absence from home gave rise to a voluminous correspondence between him and them; and from it we can judge that De Maistre, kind and loving as he was as a husband, was even kinder and more loving as a father.

Though he had a lofty idea of his profession, and was scrupulously exact in the performance of his duties, it is easy to see that his happiest hours were spent in his study among his books. He never seems to have felt the need of exercise; and so little rest did he require, that he did not allow himself more than five hours' sleep. His ordinary working day lasted fifteen hours. Every book that he read was carefully analyzed; extracts which might prove useful were copied out and indexed for ready reference. In his choice of studies he paid almost exclusive attention to literature. Mathematics and science had little attraction for him. French, Italian, and Latin were naturally the languages with which he was most familiar. Spanish he knew well, and enough English to read our literature with ease. Two more languages—Greek and German—he was also acquainted with. With such sources open to him, and with industry such as his, it is not surprising that he laid up a stock of knowledge possessed by few writers of any age. The youthful aspirant to literary honours who admires and hopes to rival the ease and grace of the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, or the learning and the scathing epigrams of the *Du Pape*, should bear in mind that their author was the most hardworking of students, and published nothing of note till he was well over forty.

The tiny duchy of Savoy, and even the little kingdom of Sardinia, afforded no scope for the powers of such a man as De Maistre. The time that he could spare from his official

ties was spent in reading and meditating. While his mind was thus peacefully maturing, he kept much to himself, and was not conscious of what was passing within him. As yet he gave few signs of that late, and yet sudden, literary and philosophic brilliancy which was to astonish the world. He was known as a distinguished magistrate, retired and unnoticed in ordinary society, but said to be a brilliant talker and charming companion among his intimates. He has been described as half a soldier, half a courtier; but, in truth, he had nothing of the courtier at all, and of the soldier only that sort of combativeness which moved him to the use of the tongue and the pen rather than the sword. And the times continued to be peaceful, his fame might never have travelled beyond the narrow boundaries of his country. But the days were at hand when every man's powers would be tried; when all that was base and wicked, noble and vile, in human nature, would be made manifest; when the cockle would be separated from the wheat, and the sheep parted off from the goats. De Maistre was a careful observer of the course of events in the neighbouring great kingdom, of which Savoy now forms a part. The stream of literature which was sweeping away the old landmarks, and sapping the foundations of the old institutions, was perfectly familiar to him. His early compositions bear evident traces of the influence of Rousseau; while in Voltaire, the other prophet of the new movement, he recognised a genius who had much in common with the bent of his own mind. A thorough knowledge of the works of their opponents was by no means common among the defenders of the old order of things; and rarer still was it to find among them anything of the force and brilliancy which characterized the attack. It was pitiful to see venerable men, with all the advantages of solid learning, a good cause, and a blameless life, utterly routed by a profligate copier of music. No such fate could overtake De Maistre. None of the assailants had a mind so well stored as his. None could accuse him of not being acquainted with their arguments—nay, he stated their case with a clearness and charm which far surpassed their own; and when he went on

to expose its hollowness, and to hold it up to the ridicule of the world, they were forced to confess that Voltaire himself was not his equal. In the early days of the Revolution he even showed some sympathy with the new ideas. He joined a "Reformed Lodge" at Chambéry, and openly opposed the high-handed conduct of the Sardinian Government. This brought down on him a reprimand, which afterwards proved a useful certificate when Savoy was invaded. Too much, however, has been made of these liberal leanings of the great champion of Reaction. His hatred of tyranny and his love of enlightenment are surely enough to account for his sympathy with reform in France. As soon as he found that not reform, but destruction, was the aim of the revolutionaries, he became, without any inconsistency their deadliest foe. On the other hand, his royalist friends were not altogether pleased with their champion. When they vowed vengeance, and talked of bringing back the old abuses, he pointed out to them that their folly had been the cause of their misfortunes, and exhorted them to rule with justice and moderation.

The course of events in Savoy was much the same as in France. The revolutionary party, egged on by French emissaries and encouraged by the weakness and vacillation of Victor Amadeus III., threw everything into confusion. In September, 1792, the army of the new Republic crossed the frontier and took possession of Savoy. De Maistre resolved to come to no terms with the invaders, and set out immediately with his wife and two children for Aosta. During the winter of 1793, a law was passed ordering all émigrés to return to their homes before January 25th, under pain of confiscation of their possessions. Unknown to her husband, who was away at Turin, Madame de Maistre determined to comply with the order. Though in a delicate state of health, she crossed the Great St. Bernard on the 5th of January, accompanied by her two little ones wrapped in blankets.

"The Count [one of these children tells us] on his return to Aosta, hurried after his brave wife expecting to find her dead or dying in some miserable cabin on the Alps. Yet she reached

hambéry in safety, and was soon joined by her husband. He was compelled to go before the municipality, but he would take no oath, nor even make any promise ; he refused to sign his name in the roll of citizens ; and when asked for a contribution towards the war fund, he answered frankly : ‘ I am not going to give you money to kill my brothers who are fighting for the king.’ Immediately he received a domiciliary visit. The brutality of the soldiers alarmed Madame De Maistre. She was seized with the pangs of childbirth, and brought into the world the daughter whom the father was destined not to see again for twenty years. De Maistre was waiting only for this. He made the best arrangements for the safety of his family, and departed, burning with indignation, for Lausanne.”¹

This first exile lasted nearly four years. For a time he was alone, but he was afterwards joined at intervals by his wife, his son, and his elder daughter. Out of the wreck of their possessions they had saved only three thousand francs. Madame De Maistre cooked their scanty meals ; her daughter, mild as she was, helped to sweep the rooms ; while the Count went out every day for the little basket of charcoal for their kitchen fire. Lausanne was at this time the refuge of many exiles of higher rank and in greater want than themselves. A portion of their scanty savings was shared with these unfortunates ; yet so careful was “ Madame Prudence,” as Madame De Maistre was styled, that she was never compelled to go into debt. De Maistre’s voluminous correspondence with his friends contains much valuable information as to the course of events during the terrible years 1793-96 ; but we must hurry on to speak of his literary productions during this time. And here it may be well to remark that no man’s life and writings require to be studied so closely together, and throw so much light on each other, as De Maistre’s. The harsh and almost brutal passages so often quoted from his works would be better understood if we remembered that they were written when he had dined off a crust and was shivering in an attic. We cannot expect a man to be meek and gentle with the ruffians who have butchered his kinsmen, robbed him of his goods, and driven him into exile. What wonder,

¹ Count Rudolph De Maistre, *Notice*, page 4.

if sometimes his feet were moved and his steps slipped, when he saw everywhere the ungodly in such prosperity and the righteous begging their bread? The miseries of these years served to still further harden his character, and to cast a deeper gloom over his views. He did not waste his time in vain lamentations. He sat himself with stern stoicism to prepare for worse things, resolved that whatever evils might befall him, they should find him and leave him unshaken. His time was now all his own. Day and night he would use it to wage war on the revolution.

The first fruit of his labours at Lausanne was the pamphlet, entitled *Four Letters of a Savoyard Royalist*. In this we already find the main characteristics of his method and style: sound argument and fierce invective, profound statesmanship and scathing ridicule, set forth in clear and vigorous language, and lighted up with brilliancy and wit. The story of the little Convention at Chambéry, determined to have their reign of terror as well as their bigger brethren in Paris, stirs up laughter at their folly and indignation at their crimes. He points out that the confusion cannot last; that the king will surely be restored to his own; and to prevent any misgivings he adds that "lawful authority punishes only when it is obliged, pardons whenever it is able, and never indulges in revenge." The difficult question of the rivalry between Savoy and Piedmont is next dealt with in such a way as to convince both of their dependence on each other. Lastly, in the fourth letter, an admirable description is given of the state of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and of Savoy in particular, before the outbreak of the revolution. Happy the people without a history, is here his text. While Savoy and Piedmont, secure in their insignificance, were peaceful and prosperous under the paternal rule of their sovereigns, the neighbouring great countries were oppressed by tyranny and ravaged by war.¹ De Maistre has often been reproached with seeing no fault in the old order

¹ Savoy has since been ceded to France, and Piedmont has been merged into the Kingdom of Italy. Both are now groaning under a most rigorous conscription and intolerable taxation.

of things. The following passage should acquit him of such a charge :—

“ We must have the courage to admit that at the memorable epoch when France began to be disturbed, the governments of Europe had grown old, and their decrepitude was known only too well to those who wished to profit by it for the execution of their fatal designs ; a thousand abuses were undermining the various governments—that of France, above all, was falling into corruption. There was no organisation, no energy, no public spirit ; a revolution was inevitable, for a government is bound to fall when it has against it at once the contempt of the good and the hatred of the wicked.”¹

Other small works of a similar character proceeded rapidly from his pen, notably the touching “ Discourse to the Marquise De Costa on the Life and Death of her Son.”

Meantime the Revolution was running its course in France. The Reign of Terror came and went ; Royalists, extreme and moderate, Girondists, Hébertists, and Dantonists, followed each other to the scaffold. At last Robespierre's own turn came, and then the work of reconstruction began. Men now looked around, as after some disastrous flood or fire, to see what they had lost, what they had left, and what they might look forward to. While the first attempt at a stable government was on its trial, three great writers came before the public with their reflections. Chateaubriand, the youngest of the three, gave evidence in his *Essai sur les Révolutions* of the richness of imagination, breadth of learning, and neglect of order which were afterwards so splendidly displayed in his yet more famous works. Madame De Stael, who was already known by her *Lettres sur Jean Jacques*, now gave to the world a book entitled *De l'Influence des Passions sur le Bonheur*, in which she took occasion to speak of the scenes and characters of the great tragedy which had been enacted. The third writer, whose work attracted far greater attention than either of the foregoing, at first concealed his identity ; but it could not long remain secret that the *Considérations sur la France* was the work of the Savoyard exile, Joseph De Maistre. Disdaining any merely earthly view of the

¹ *Œuvres*, t. vii., p. 84.

Revolution, he undertakes no less sublime a task than to assert eternal Providence, and justify the ways of God to man. To him and his friends as they looked back upon the portentous disasters which had befallen them during the previous seven years, the one great question was, How could such events be reconciled with the existence of an infinitely good God? Most Royalists looked upon the whole matter as a mystery which must be accepted though it could not be understood. Some did not conceal their discontent with what they deemed the unkindness and injustice of their Maker. De Maistre triumphantly answers that there was no mystery, no injustice at all. Never was there the finger of God so manifest as in the course of the Revolution. Such tremendous events could not have been brought about solely by the miserable agents who appeared to direct them. Nothing was more striking about the Revolution than that it bore men along rather than was borne along by them. It picked them up, used them, and when they had done its work it flung them aside and picked up others. Who was the real agent who had employed these vile instruments? It was no other than God Himself, punishing the wicked for their crimes, and purifying the good by the chastening process reserved for those whom He loveth. This mode of solving the problem of the existence of evil is merely sketched out in the *Considérations*. Long afterwards De Maistre dealt more fully with it in his *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, of which we shall speak in due course. For the present the opening and concluding passages of the first part of the *Considérations* may be quoted:—

“ We are all attached to the throne of the Supreme Being by a supple chain which restrains us yet without reducing us to servitude. In the universal order of things there is nothing more admirable than the activity of free beings under the hand of God. They are freely slaves; they act voluntarily and yet necessarily; they do really what they please, yet without being able to disturb God's general designs. Each one of these beings occupies the centre of a sphere of activity whose diameter varies at the pleasure of the Eternal Geometer. Who can enlarge or restrain, check or direct, the will without altering its nature. In man's works everything is poor, like man

himself; the views are narrow, the means fixed, the forces wanting in flexibility, the movements painful, the results monotonous. In God's works His infinite riches manifest themselves plainly even in the minutest details; His power acts with the greatest ease; in His hand all is pliant; nothing resists Him; to Him even obstacles are means; and the irregularities produced by the operation of free agents become part and parcel of the universal order.

"The spectators of great human calamities are inclined to sad reflections. But let us be on our guard against losing courage. There is no chastisement that does not purify; there is no disorder which Eternal Love does not turn against the principle of evil. It is sweet in the midst of the general ruin to divine the designs of God.¹ Never during our journey here below shall we have a complete view of them; often we shall deceive ourselves. But are we not, in every science, except the exact sciences, reduced to mere conjectures? And, if our conjectures are plausible; if they have analogy in their favour; if they rest upon general notions; if, above all, they are comforting and adapted to make us better men, what is yet wanting to them? If they are not true, they are good; or, rather, since they are good, are they not also true?"

After this lofty flight, worthy of Bossuet himself, De Maistre comes down to the solid earth and deals with some practical questions of the moment. The dark night of confusion being now over, he is convinced that the day of restoration is at hand. Frenchmen, he says, recognise only too well that a constitution cannot be made: it must grow. They remember that they had a constitution, the growth of ten centuries, withered indeed by long abuses and hacked by revolutionaries, but still capable of springing up afresh.² Hence the restoration will be a very simple matter. The King will only have to show himself in one of the great

¹"*Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis,*" &c. (*Lucretius*, ii. 1, *seqq.*)

²Ep. 1, 34. As the costly edition named at the beginning of this article is not likely to be in the hands of my readers, I quote from the cheap and excellent edition published by the Bureau de la Bonne Presse (Paris). Four volumes of De Maistre's works, containing *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, *Du Pape*, *Considérations sur la France*, and some minor writings, can be obtained for four francs.

³"A tree hath hope; if it be cut, it groweth green again, and the boughs thereof sprout. If its root be old in the earth, and its stock be dead in the dust, at the scent of water it shall spring and bring forth leaves, as when it was first planted." (*Job xiv. 7-9.*)

towns—Bordeaux, for example ; the people will flock round him to welcome him ; his progress to the capital will be one long triumph. “ He will come, he will see, he will conquer.” Then De Maistre deals with the objection that a restoration would be a revolution over again. No, he replies, the restoration will be a return from chaos to order, from sickness to health. The real delinquents are few in number. They alone will suffer. Look at the restoration in England. How Charles II. was welcomed ! How clement the royalist party were to the revolutionists ! So, too, in France, the restoration will not be a *contrary revolution*, but the *contrary to a revolution*. It is easy to be wise after the event, and to laugh at De Maistre’s prophecies. We all know that Louis XVIII. had to pass twenty years more in exile, and that he returned to France at the tail of a horde of invaders. Nevertheless De Maistre was right as to the fact of a restoration, and as to the way in which it might have taken place. The long delay and the ignominious circumstances of the return were due to the feeble character of Louis. Had he possessed ability and courage : had he presented himself, as De Maistre suggested, before Bonaparte had become famous, there is little doubt that the Napoleonic empire would never have been. If, however, anyone desires a striking proof of the fallibility of political forecasts, let him turn to the end of chapter VII. There De Maistre is criticizing the constitution of the newly-founded United States. He points out, very wisely, that the great difficulty is the mutual jealousy of the individual States. The remedy proposed was to build a special city to be the seat of the government. “ But,” says the seer, “ we may wager a thousand to one that the city will not be built, or that it will not be called Washington, or that Congress will not reside there.”

While the *Considérations* was being read and admired in every court in Europe, young Napoleon Bonaparte was rushing down from the Alps like an avalanche, and sweeping away the hosts of Austrians sent against him. The Peace of Tolentino (Feb. 19, 1797) permitted De Maistre to return to Turin. But his sojourn there was a brief one. At the end of 1798, he travelled down the Po to Venice in company

with a crowd of ladies, ecclesiastics, and soldiers. On his way he narrowly escaped capture by the French troops lining the right bank of the river. His exile at Venice was even more miserable than that at Lausanne. Happily it lasted less than a year. The Austrians and Russians, taking advantage of Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, drove back the French to the Alps, and then Charles Emmanuel IV. regained possession of his dominions. One of his first acts was to appoint De Maistre regent of the Chancery in the island of Sardinia, with a salary of twenty thousand livres. During the three years that he occupied the post he was saved from want; but the worries and disappointments to which he was subjected, made this portion of his life unhappy. These need not detain us here. We should note, however, though his literary labours were necessarily interrupted by his official duties, he found time for much hard reading. There was at this time at Cagliari a Lithuanian Dominican named Hintz, who was a professor of Oriental languages. Every day the good father and De Maistre held learned discussions on Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic. Philology always had a great attraction for De Maistre. His conferences with Father Hintz enabled him to extend his researches into a domain seldom traversed by scholars in that age. We shall have occasion to return to this matter when we come to speak of *Les Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*.

Meantime the unfortunate King of Sardinia had fallen into fresh troubles. His Austrian allies were bent on seizing Piedmont; but Bonaparte's splendid victory at Wagram (1800) put an end, for some years at least, to their influence in Italy. Two years later Charles Emmanuel abdicated his rights in favour of his brother, who took the title of Victor Emmanuel I. The new king resided in Rome as the guest of Pius VII. His only hope of gaining possession of his dominions rested on the influence of the far-off Court of St. Petersburg, for it was to the interest of Russia to prevent either Austria or France from holding the great Alpine passes. De Maistre had always openly avowed his hostility to the hypocritical protection exercised by the Austrians, and he accordingly was selected as envoy

extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Czar (Sept., 1802). This appointment, though highly honourable, involved a fresh exile. While in Sardinia he was separated from his beloved family, but still within reach of them. Now he was to live more than a thousand miles away from them, in the frozen regions of the north, and might probably never see them again. But he did not hesitate. He set out for Rome to receive personal instructions from his sovereign. While there he had the honour of being presented to Pius VII. Writing to his daughter Adèle, he says :—

“The day before yesterday I saw the Pope, whose goodness and simplicity astonished me greatly. He came forward to meet me, and hardly allowed me to bend my knee. He made me sit by his side, and we talked together for a full half hour. Then he accompanied us to the door, and put out his hand to open it for us. I assure you, I was astonished at such condescension. I felt that I saw St. Peter himself, instead of his successor.”

St. Petersburg was reached in May, 1803, and there he resided without a break until May, 1817. Though he was supposed to be armed with full powers, he found that he was expected to write for instructions to Sardinia, and to the Sardinian envoy in London. The delays involved in this roundabout procedure caused him much embarrassment, and thwarted most of his best schemes. He was, in truth, too high-spirited and too outspoken for the tortuous ways of diplomacy. Besides he realized that the representative of the fallen sovereign of a petty state must cut a sorry figure among the ambassadors of the great powers at the court of the most extensive empire in the world. Nevertheless he was able to effect much by the exercise of his personal influence. Other envoys owed their importance to the greatness of the governments which they represented, whereas it was his own greatness that secured a position for his government. Every supporter of the old order of things would naturally be eager to meet the author of the *Considérations*, and would soon fall under the spell of his ability and charm. Alexander at once became his most ardent admirer. The courtiers, we may be sure, were not slow in

following such a lead. On the other hand, De Maistre's poverty, his duty to his sovereign, and his own reserve, prevented him from accepting many invitations; and he had also to contend with the opposition of the French and the Austrian ambassadors. This is not the place to enter into any examination of the complex and ever-changing diplomacy of the era of the First Empire. It will be enough to state that at the downfall of Napoleon, De Maistre was able to secure his master against the outrageous demands of Austria; and this he did mainly through his personal influence with the Czar.

Our interest is in De Maistre's own life. Thanks to his voluminous correspondence, we are able to form some idea as to how he spent his fourteen eventful years in the capital of Russia. As by far the larger portion of his scanty salary was devoted to the support of his family at home, he was once more reduced to all the pitiful miseries of want. His lodging was a little apartment previously occupied by a dentist. For dinner he had nothing but some thin soup and a small portion of meat—sometimes only dry bread. His official uniform was of the shabbiest, and he tells us that he had to go through two keen northern winters without a cloak. Visitors could hardly be expected to find their way to his lodgings, and run the risk of breaking their necks on the dark and narrow staircase. De Maistre, too, felt bound to excuse himself from accepting invitations which involved the hire of a coach and fees to servants—not to speak of the embarrassment which his threadbare appearance would cause in a brilliant assembly of guests. And all this time the hostile ambassadors were noted for the magnificence of their palaces and the splendour and frequency of their entertainments. But from all the worries of poverty, the pangs of absence from all whom he held most dear, the discouragements and disappointments caused by his own government, the slights and defeats inflicted by the enemy, he turned with ever-increasing consolation to his beloved books. Though during his exile he published nothing of importance, this was the time when he was pondering over and composing the works to which he owes his fame. One has only to

glance over them to see that they are the fruit of wide reading and much meditation. For a time he was occupied in the congenial task, undertaken at the Czar's request, of reporting upon public education in Russia. His five letters upon the subject¹ may now be thought out of date, but will always be of interest as containing the views of one of the scholars trained in the old classical method.

Another source of consolation, keener far, but necessarily intermittent, was his correspondence with the members of his family. The letters, which deservedly occupy so much space in the large edition of his works, came upon the world as a sort of revelation. The man who had been thought to be a stern stoic, or rather cynic, gloating over the miseries of the world, and incapable of any tender feelings, was found to be a devoted husband, an affectionate father, a sincere friend. Many who had been repelled by the rigid ultramontaniam of the *Du Pape*, or the austere views of Providence in the *Soirées*, were charmed by the tenderness, the gaiety, the simplicity, and withal the sound sense of his epistolary chats with his young daughters, and the affectionate and manly advice to his son. This article would grow into a book if the writer did not exercise much restraint over his desire to quote passages from these letters. One subject, at least, must be given as a specimen. From his far-off exile De Maistre carefully watched over the education of his daughters. He sketched out for them a course of reading, and noted from their replies, kindly and sometimes playfully, how far they had carried out his instructions. They seem to have been anxious to devote themselves to the same studies as their brother. De Maistre insists over and over again that they must try to excel in their own way. Woman is not inferior to man, but different from him: if either attempts to rival the other, he or she is bound to fail.

"Voltaire has said [he writes] that women can do anything that men can do. This is only a compliment to some fair friend, or else it is one of his numberless stupid sayings. The truth is just the reverse. Women have not produced a single masterpiece in any branch. They have not given us the *Iliad*, or the *Æneid*, or the

¹ Vol. iv., pp. 182-241, of the cheap edition already cited.

Jerusalem Delivered, or *Phèdre*, or *Athalie*, or *Rodogune*, or the *Misanthrope*, or *Tartufe*, or the *Joueur*, or the *Pantheon*, or *St. Peter's*, or the *Venus of Medici*, or the *Apollo Belvedere*, or the *Perseus*, or the *Principia*, or the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, or *Télémaque*. They have not invented algebra, or telescopes, or achromatic glasses, or steam engines, or stocking-frames, &c. But they do something greater than all of these ; it is at their knee that is formed the most excellent thing in the world—an honest man and an honest woman. . . . If a young lady submits to be well brought up, if she is docile, modest, and pious, she will bring up children like herself, and that is the world's greatest master-piece. If she does not marry, her intrinsic merit, which remains the same, will always influence those around her in one way or another . . . A coquette can get a husband more easily than a blue-stocking ; for to marry a blue-stocking a man must have no pride, which is very rare ; whereas to marry a coquette he need only be a fool, which is very common."

Here is an extract from the famous "distaff letter" addressed to his daughter Adèle, at the end of 1804. The English reader must remember that it loses much of its charm because the *tutoiement* cannot be rendered into our language :—

"You have probably read in the Bible, my dear child, that the valiant woman 'hath put out her hands to strong things, and her fingers have taken hold of the spindle.' But what will you say of Fénelon who, with all his mildness, lays it down that the valiant woman spins, stays at home, does what she is told, and holds her tongue? and here is another authority, not on the same footing as the foregoing, but still weighty in his way ; I mean Molière, in his *Femmes Savantes*. Do you think that this great writer of comedies, this infallible judge of the ridiculous, would have dealt with this subject, if he had not perceived that the very title of "learned lady" is in itself something ridiculous? The greatest defect in a woman is to be man-like. To keep clear of the very notion of any such pretention you must absolutely obey Solomon, Fénelon, and Molière ; this trio is infallible. Be on your guard against thinking of the material advantages of the occupations of your sex ; their real value is in showing that you are a woman, and that you look upon yourself as such ; and this is a great deal. Besides, in these occupations there is a very subtle and innocent form of coquetry. When people see you sewing away industriously, they will say : 'Who would think that that young lady reads Klopstock and Tasso?' And when they see you reading Klopstock and Tasso they will say : 'Who would think that that young lady is an excellent needle-woman?' Therefore, my daughter, ask your mother to buy you a little distaff and a pretty

spindle : moisten your finger nicely, and then *vrre* ! You know very well, my dear Adèle, that I am no friend of ignorance, but in all matters there must be moderation. Woman's province is taste and information. She should not attempt to rise to science, or let people think she has any pretention to it ; and, as regards information, she must observe moderation ; a lady, and especially a young lady, can let her knowledge be seen without showing it."

Later on he writes to Constance :—

"A woman can be superior only by being a woman : the moment that she tries to be like a man she becomes nothing but a monkey."

The young lady was indignant at this, so her father proceeds to explain :—

"I have never said that women were monkeys. I assure you, by all that is most sacred, that I have found them infinitely more beautiful, more lovable, and more useful than monkeys. I have only said, and I say so still, that women who want to play the man are only monkeys ; and to wish to be a blue stocking is to wish to play the man. I have the greatest respect for the young lady, of whom you speak, who is composing an epic poem : but God preserve me from being her husband ! I should be afraid that she would bear me a tragedy, or even a farce."

These ideas of De Maistre on the education of women stood the test of experiment. His daughters cheerfully accepted them, and became just what he wished them to be : well-informed and yet modest young ladies, and in due course wives and mothers endowed with all the charms and accomplishments and virtues of their sex and condition. His son Rudolph joined him in 1806, and soon afterwards received a cornetcy in the emperor's guards. In those days a commission meant a summons to the battle-field. The young man was engaged in the bloody encounter of Friedland (June 19th, 1807) ; and later on was wounded at Borodino (September 7th, 1812), but recovered in time to take part in the campaign of 1813, and to enter Paris with the allies. De Maistre's letters breathe nothing but honour and courage, while all the time (as we learn from his other correspondence) he suffered agonies of anxiety, especially on one occasion, when he felt certain that his son was killed. "No one but a father knows what war is," he used to say.

But it is time for us to speak of De Maistre's friends in St. Petersburg. Though he held aloof as much as possible from ordinary society, he was on terms of great intimacy with a chosen few. There was always a hearty welcome for him at the house of Admiral Tchitchagoff. The Admiral himself, a man of great ability, a thorough-going Slav, differed on numberless points with his Savoyard friend, but their discussions never interfered with their attachment to each other. It was, however, Madame Tchitchagoff, an English lady, who was the object of his regard. Like so many natures outwardly cold and stern, De Maistre stood greatly in need of sympathy; whilst his loneliness, his poverty, and his melancholy, combined with his noble character and brilliant intellectual qualities, appealed both to her kind heart and her woman's desire for difficult conquest. It pleased her to find that in her home the stern diplomat unbent, the clouds departed from his brow, and his melancholy gave place to unrestrained gaiety. Other friends there were who helped him to bear the miseries of his long exile, but there is no room to speak of them here. One more, however, must not be passed over altogether in silence. The charming and saintly Madame Swetchine, so well known in later years as the friend of Lacordaire and his party, was at this time living in St. Petersburg. Her house was the centre of a small and highly-cultured society who looked up to De Maistre as their teacher, though they were members of the Greek Schismatic Church. It was his influence that had the largest share in her conversion. There may, indeed, be some truth in M. De Falloux's assertion, that she was not converted by De Maistre. Such a step is usually the result of many influences, some of them unperceived by the convert. Madame Swetchine may have been repelled by her friend's intolerance and rigid orthodoxy; nevertheless, it was he who shook her attachment to her old religion, and answered the many objections which she felt against the true faith. The long letter which he sent to her on August 15, 1815, is undoubted proof of this—a letter fit to take a place side by side with the admirable controversial letters of Bossuet, Fénelon, and St. Francis De Sales.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

THE INDULGENCES OF THE "EN EGO" AND OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly solve the following doubts in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, and oblige

A SUBSCRIBER.

1. Must a person, to gain the indulgence attached to the prayer *En ego*, go to Confession weekly, and recite the usual prayers for the Pope's intention?

2. To gain the indulgences attached to the Stations of the Cross, must the usual prayers for the Pope's intention be said?

3. When two or more plenary indulgences can be gained on the same day, must the prayers for the Pope's intention be recited, *toties quoties*?

4. Is there any plenary indulgence except that in *articulo mortis* gained without reciting these prayers?

1. There are two parts in our correspondent's first question. In the first he asks if persons who receive Holy Communion frequently during the week must go to Confession at least once a week, in order that they may gain a plenary indulgence by reciting the prayer *En ego* each time they communicate. In the second part he asks if, in addition to Confession and Communion, the usual prayers for the Pope's intention be an essential condition for gaining the same indulgence.

To both parts an affirmative reply must be given, as the following important decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, issued on July 31st, 1858, clearly indicates:—

"URBIS ET ORBIS.

"1858, 31 Julii. Quum saepe ex pluribus orbis partibus ad hanc Sacram Indulgentiarum Sacrarumque Reliquiarum Congregationem deferantur dubia circa condiciones adimplendas pro acquisitione plenariae indulgentiae tum a Summis Pontificibus, Clemente VIII. et Benedicto XIV. elargitae, tum a Pio VII. et Leone XII. confirmatae iis Christifidelibus, qui ante quamcunque Crucifixi imaginem orationem *En ego*, &c., quocunque idiomate recitaverint, eadem Sacra Congregatio, ne Christifideles in

errorem inducantur, censuit consulendum esse Sanctissimum, ut de Apostolica sua benignitate declarare dignaretur singulos condiciones quae sunt a fidelibus adimplendae ut praefatam plenariam indulgentiam adipiscuntur. Hinc facta per me infrascriptum Secretariae ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum Substitutum SSmo. D. N. Pio PP. IX. de omnibus fidei relatione in audientia 31 Julii, 1858. Sanctitas Sua, inhaerendo decretis Praedecessorum suorum, eorundemque concessionem confirmando, etiam quoad applicationem pro animabus in purgatorio detentis, benigne declaravit praememoratam indulgentiam plenariam lucrari ab iis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus qui *vere poenitentes, confessi, sacraque Communione refecti*, dictam orationem, *En ego*, &c., quocunque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, ante quamcunque Sanctissimi Crucifixi imaginem *devote recitaverint*, ac insuper *per aliquod temporis spatium juxta recentem Sanctitatis suae pie oraverint*.

“Quapropter ut ab universis Christifidelibus hoc generale decretum facile dignoscatur typis imprimi ac publicari mandavit. Praesenti valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscunque.

“F. Card. ASQUINIUS, *Praef.*

“A. Archipr. PRINZIVALLI, *Substit.*”

There is no difficulty in gathering from this decree that prayers for the Pope's intention are an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the *En ego*. This much is stated in so many words. Nor is it less clear that weekly Confession is required. For it is an understood principle with regard to all indulgences for which Confession and Communion are required, that weekly Confession is required and is, at the same time, sufficient. And there is no evidence that the indulgence of the prayer *En ego* is an exception. Confession and Communion, as is evident from the above decree, are required; and the least that will satisfy this condition is weekly Confession. It should be borne in mind that persons in the habit of going to Confession more rarely than once a week gain the plenary indulgence of the *En ego* only once; that is, the first time after Confession that, having received Communion, they recite this prayer. Some people are under the impression that how seldom soever they go to Confession, they may gain the indulgence as often during the week following Confession as they receive Communion and recite the prayer *En ego*, together with prayers for the Pope's intention. This is not so.

2. Prayers for the Pope's intention are not required for gaining the indulgences of the Stations of the Cross when the devotion is performed in a church or other place in which the stations are canonically erected. For, in this case, the only conditions prescribed are, that one should move from station to station, and should meditate on the Passion. Hence vocal prayers, either during the exercise itself, or before or after it, are not required in order that the person performing the exercises may gain *all* the indulgences attached to it. The following extract from the *Raccolta* bears out this statement :—

"All, however, who wish to gain these indulgences, by means of this devotion, must bear in mind—(1) that the stations must be erected by those that have the faculty to do so ; (2) that it is indispensably required of them to meditate, according to their ability, on the Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ; and (3) to go from one station to another, so far as the number of persons engaged in the devotion, and the confined space where the fourteen stations are erected, will admit. From this it follows that the recitation at each of the stations of the words *We adore Thee, O Christ, the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Have mercy on us, O Lord*, is nothing more than a pious and praiseworthy custom, introduced by devout persons into the devotion of the Way of the Cross."

The *Raccolta* does *not* state *explicitly*, it is true, that prayers for the Pope's intention are not required, but it does so *implicitly*; for it undertakes to enumerate the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, and it makes no mention of these prayers. The same inference is to be made from the *Instruction* for performing this devotion, issued by the Congregation of Indulgences, April 3, 1731, by order of Clement XII. ; and again on May 10, 1742, by order of Benedict XIV., and from writers on this subject.³

3. When a person wishes to gain several plenary indulgences on the same day, for each of which prayers for the

¹*The New Raccolta*. Translated. Philadelphia, 1889. Sec. vii. pp. 128, 129.

²See, e.g., Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 558 ; Beringer, *Indulgences, &c.* ii^e. partie, ii^e. Section vi. ; Melata, *Manuale*, p. 173. The last-named author puts the conditions neatly—(1) *Motus localis* ; (2) *Ut stationes visitentur unico tractu* ; (3) *Meditatio Passionis D.N.I.C.*

Pope's intention are a necessary condition, he must repeat these prayers for each indulgence. And, moreover, if, as is often the case, a visit must be paid to a church, and these prayers said therein, the visit must also be repeated for each indulgence. This also is the teaching of the *Raccolta* :—

“If anyone desires to gain several plenary indulgences on the same day, and a visit with certain designated prayers is prescribed for each one of the indulgences, the prayers must be said and the visits repeated as many times as there are separate indulgences which one desires to gain.”¹

Here, too, we may quote Father Melata, who states the rule to be observed, with his accustomed force and brevity :—

“Ad lucrandas (eodem die) plures indulgentias pro quibus praescriptae sunt perces, necesse est perces repetere quot sunt indulgentiae lucrandae.”²

With regard to the repetition of the visit, we may state that it suffices to go outside the church, and return immediately.³

4. We have just shown that all the indulgences of the Way of the Cross can be gained without reciting these prayers; but besides these indulgences we do not know of any plenary indulgence which can be gained by all the faithful, and of which the recitation of these prayers is not an essential condition. But we do know of an indulgence, confined, however, to the wearers of the blue scapular of the Immaculate Conception, which resembles somewhat the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, and which can be gained by the associates as often as they recite six *Our Fathers* and *Hail Marys*, with *Glory be to the Father*, &c., after each. This indulgence undoubtedly includes at least one plenary indulgence; for it includes the indulgences of the seven Basilicas of Rome, of the Portiuncula, of Jerusalem, and of St. James of Compostella. As this indulgence is so extraordinary, and yet so little known, we subjoin the following resolutions of the Congregation of Indulgences, for the purpose both of confirming

¹ Introduction, n. 6.

Ibi., p. 66, n. 8.

² *Id. ibi*, p. 70.

what we have stated, and of spreading the knowledge of this wonderful concession :—

“An sodales scapularis caerulei Immaculatae Conceptionis, recitando sex *Pater, Ave*, et *Gloria* in honorem Sanctissimae Trinitatis et Deiparae virginis immaculatae, orando pro haeresum extirpatione, exaltatione S. Matris Ecclesiae, atque Christianorum principum pace et concordia omnes lucrifaciant indulgentias septem Basilicarum Romae, Portiunculae, Jerusalem et S. Jacobis de Compostella ?

“*Affirmative.*

“An indulgentias de quibus in superioribus dubiis lucentur toties quoties, et an in quocunque loco preces ipsas fuderint ?

“*Affirmative.*

“Juxta votum consultoris, nempe servato decreto Sacrae Congregationis die 7 Martii 1678 approbato ab Innocente XI. cujus initium, *Delatae saepius.*

“An ad easdem lucrandas indulgentias recitare sufficiat sex tantum *Pater Ave*, et *Gloria* ita ut necesse minime sit alias preces addere prouti in Indulgentiarum concessionibus atque rescriptis orandi per aliquod temporis spatium juxta intentionem Pontificis, seu pro haeresum extirpatione atque Christianorum principum pace et concordia, etc., injungi consuetum est ?

“*Affirmative.*

“An ad memoratas indulgentias, de quibus scilicet in dubiis, consequendas necessaria sit Sacramentorum Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae susceptio ?

“*Negative.*

“An denique hae ipsae indulgentiae omnes animabus in purgatorio detentis applicari possint ?

“*Affirmative.*”¹

The same indulgences, on the same conditions, can be gained by the Members of the Third Order of St. Francis. It would seem, however, that these latter should say five of the *Our Fathers*, *Hail Marys*, and *Glorias* for the Church. and the sixth for the intention of the Holy Father. The following decree, issued on the same occasion as those just given, is our authority for this :—

“An sodales Tertiarii Ordinis S. Francisci Assinatis cujuscunque provinciae sint, lucrifaciant stationes, indulgentias, remissiones tum urbis, tum etiam Portiunculae, sive Jerusalem, et S. Jacobi in Compostella recitando sex *Pater, Ave*, et *Gloria*, scilicet quinque pro felici statu S. Matris Ecclesiae, sextum autem pro intentione Summi Pontificis concedentis ?

“*Affirmative.*”

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, n. 374, April 14, 1856.

1. THE COMMUNION OF INVALIDS

2. THE "ANGELUS"

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is now nearly forty years since I began life as a priest on the mission. When I left college, I was furnished with the ordinary amount of Dogma, Morals, and Liturgy. Since that time milder opinions seem to be adopted in theology on many points. For instance; I now learn that to the sick, aged, or invalids, Holy Communion may be given in the morning, although these persons have broken their fast. Furthermore, I am told that such is the custom in Rome, especially if the parties are elderly. As I have a number of sick and devout people, who are not in any danger of death, but who cannot fast from midnight to eight o'clock in the morning, I should be glad to learn from you what the Church allows in such circumstances.

2. There is another point on which I should be grateful for information. In order to gain the Indulgence of the *Angelus*, is it necessary to say:—

V. Pray for us, O holy Mother of God.

R. That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

My edition of *Maurel on Indulgences*, as well as the *Raccolta*, distinctly say not. Are these authorities correct?

SCRUTATOR.

1. We beg to assure our correspondent that the state of theological opinion on the point about which he inquires is not a whit milder than it was half a century ago. Indeed if we take the opinion of Lehmkuhl as representing the opinion of the present, and that of Scavini as representing the opinion of his time, we find that the opinion of the present day is much more rigid than that of our predecessors. For whereas Scavini¹ discusses the question seriously, mentions that many grave theologians would permit invalids unable to fast till morning to receive Communion after having broken their fast, and thus leaves the matter in doubt; Lehmkuhl,² on the other hand, without mentioning a second opinion, says that such persons cannot receive Communion after having broken their fast, without a dispensation from.

¹ Ed. Paris, 1853.

² Ed. 6th, 1890.

the Pope. Such dispensations, he says, are at present often given; and this may be the foundation for the statement that it is customary in Rome to give Communion to invalids who are not fasting.

2. The *Raccolta* being an official publication of the Congregation of Indulgences, is, of course, the very highest authority. Hence, when it says that the versicle, response, and prayer usually recited as part of the *Angelus*, need not be recited in order to gain the indulgences attached to the recital of this prayer, we may take it that such is the case. But it is interesting to read carefully all the instructions regarding the *Angelus* that are given in the *Raccolta*. In the first place, we are told that:—

“A plenary indulgence once a month is granted to all the faithful who, every day at the sound of the bell in the morning, at noon, or in the evening at sunset, shall say devoutly on their knees, the *Angelus Domini*, with the *Hail Mary*, three times on any day, &c. And an indulgence of one hundred days on all other days in the year, every time that, with at least contrite heart, they shall say these prayers.”

From these words, it follows—(1) that the *Angelus* is essentially composed of the three versicles beginning respectively, *Angelus Domini*, *Ecce ancilla*, *Et Verbum caro*, together with three *Hail Marys*.

It follows—(2) that to gain the indulgences it is necessary to recite these prayers on bended knees, and at the sound of the bell. But persons who are reasonably prevented from kneeling, or who cannot say the prayer at the sound of the bell, either because they cannot hear a bell, or because when they hear the bell they are otherwise engaged, can still gain the same indulgences by saying, in addition to the above-mentioned versicles and *Hail Marys*, the versicle *I pray for us*, together with the prayer *Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord*. Let us give the words of the *Raccolta* itself:—

“His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, April 3, 1884, benignly permitted that the above-named indulgences may be gained by the faithful, who, reasonably prevented from kneeling, or from waiting for the sound of the bell, shall attentively and devoutly recite, either

in the morning, towards midday, or in the evening, the versicle, *Angelus Domini*, with the three *Hail Marys*, and the other versicle, *Pray for us, &c.*, with the prayer, *Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord*; or during Easter time the antiphon, *Triumph, O Queen*, with its appropriate versicle and prayer; or if they do not know how to read, so recite from memory these verses, antiphons, and prayers, shall say at the times prescribed five *Hail Marys*."

It is clear, therefore, that for a very large number of persons, the fourth versicle and prayer form are an essential part of the indulgenced *Angelus*.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

MACCARTHY'S "LAY MISSIONER"

REV. DEAR SIR,—If it were only for the sake of naming again two or three good Catholic Irishmen, I should like to correct a slight error in your last issue. "J. J. C.," in his very generous appreciation of the little book, *At Home Near the Altar*, calls Denis Florence MacCarthy's poem, "The Lay Missioner," a portrait of the late Lord O'Hagan. This is not the first time that Thomas O'Hagan, of Belfast (the first Lord O'Hagan) has been confounded with John O'Hagan, of Newry—the more naturally that the first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland was also "Judge O'Hagan" at one stage of his career, as his son-in-law was at the end of his. It was not Lord O'Hagan, but Mr. Justice O'Hagan, author of *Ourselves Alone*, and translator of "The Song of Roland," whom his bosom-friend, D. F. MacCarthy, more than forty years ago described as—

"A youth by baser passions undefiled,
Lit by the light of genius and the glow
Which real feeling leaves where once it smiled;
Firm as a man, yet tender as a child;
Armed at all points by fantasy and thought,
To face the true or sour amid the wild;
By love and labour, as a good man ought,
Ready to pay the price by which dear truth is bought."

All who had the happiness of knowing the first judicial head

of the Irish Land Commission will testify that the poet does not invent but describe, when he goes on to say :—

“ 'Tis not with cold advice or stern rebuke,
With formal precept or with face demure,
But with the unconscious eloquence of look
Where shines the heart so loving and so pure ;
'Tis these, with constant goodness, that allure
All hearts to love and imitate his work.”

A singularly beautiful character is summed up in one line of the concluding stanza—“ Mild, thoughtful, modest, faithful, gay ”—which, indeed, describes also the amiable and gifted poet himself.

M. R.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE—(*concluded*)

Illud autem maxime optabile est et necessarium, ut eiusdem divinae Scripturae usus in universam theologiae influat disciplinam eiusque prope sit anima ; ita nimirum omni aetate Patres atque praeclarissimi quique theologi professi sunt et re praestiterunt. Nam quae obiectum sunt fidei vel ab eo consequuntur, ex divinis potissime Litteris studuerunt asserere et stabilire : atque ex ipsis, sicut pariter ex divina traditione, nova haereticorum commenta refutare, catholicorum dogmatum rationem, intelligentiam, vincula exquirere. Neque id cuiquam fuerit mirum qui reputet, tam insignem locum inter revelationis fontes divinis Libris deberi, ut, nisi eorum studio usque assiduo, nequeat theologia rite et pro dignitate tractari. Tametsi enim rectum est iuvenes in Academiis et scholis ita praecipue exerceri ut intellectum et scientiam dogmatum assequantur, ab articulis fidei argumentatione instituta ad alia ex illis, secundum normas probatae solidaeque philosophiae, concludenda ; gravi tamen eruditoque theologo minime negligenda est ipsa demonstratio dogmatum ex Biblicorum auctoritatibus ducta : “ Non enim accipit (theologia) sua principia ab aliis scientiis, sed immediate a Deo per revelationem. Et ideo non accipit ab aliis scientiis, tamquam a superioribus, sed utitur eis tamquam inferioribus et ancillis.”

Quae sacrae doctrinae tradendae ratio praeceptorem commendatoremque habet theologorum principem, Aquinatem :! qui praeterea, ex hac bene perspecta christianae theologiae indole, docuit quemadmodum possit theologus sua ipsa principia, si qui ea forte impugnent, tueri : "Argumentando quidem, si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum, quae per divinam revelationem habentur; sicut per auctoritates sacrae Scripturae disputamus contra haereticos, et per unum articulum contra negantes alium. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quae divinitus revelantur, non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes, sed ad solvendum rationes, si quas inducit contra fidem." ²

Providendum igitur, ut ad studia biblica convenienter instruendi munitique aggrediantur iuvenes; ne iustam frustrentur spem, neu, quod deterius est, erroris discrimen incaute subeant Rationalistarum capti fallaciis apparataeque specie eruditionis. Erunt autem optime comparati, si, quâ Nosmetipsi monstravimus et praescripsimus via, philosophiae et theologiae institutionem, eodem S. Thoma duce, religiose coluerint penitusque perceperint. Ita recte incedent, quum in re biblica, tum in ea theologiae parte quam *positivam* nominant, in utraque laetissime progressuri.

Doctrinam catholicam legitima et sollerti sacrorum Bibliorum interpretatione probasse, exposuisse, illustrasse, multum id quidem est: altera tamen, eaque tam gravis momenti quam operis laboriosi, pars remanet, ut ipsorum auctoritas integra quam validissime asseratur. Quod quidem nullo alio pacto plene licebit universeque assequi, nisi ex vivo et proprio magisterio Ecclesiae; quae *per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.*³ Quoniam vero divinum et infallibile magisterium Ecclesiae, in auctoritate etiam sacrae Scripturae consistit, huius propterea fides saltem humana asserenda in primis vindicandaque est: quibus ex libris, tamquam ex antiquitatis probatissimis testibus, Christi Domini divinitas et legatio, Ecclesiae hierarchicae institutio, primatus Petro et successoribus eius collatus, in tuto apertoque collocentur. Ad

¹ *Summ. Theol.*, p. i., q. i., a. 5 ad 2.

² *Ibid.* a. 8.

³ *Conc. Vat.*, Sess. iii., c. iii., de fide.

hoc plurimum sane conducet, si plures sint e sacro ordine paratiores, qui hac etiam in parte pro fide dimicent et impetus hostiles propulsent, induti praecipue armatura Dei, quam suadet Apostolus,¹ neque vero ad nova hostium arma et praelia insueti Quod pulcre in sacerdotum officiis sic recenset Chrysostomus: "Ingens adhibendum est studium ut *Christi verbum habiet in nobis abundanter*:"² neque enim ad unum pugnae genus parati esse debemus, sed multiplex est bellum et varii sunt hostes; neque iisdem omnes utuntur armis, neque uno tantum modo nobiscum congregi moliantur. Quare opus est, ut is qui cum omnibus congressurus est, omnium machinas artesque cognitas habeat, ut idem sit sagittarius et funditor, tribunus et manipuli ductor, dux et miles, pedes et eques, navalis ac muralis pugnae peritus: nisi enim omnes dimicandi artes noverit, novit diabolus per unam partem, si sola negligatur, praedonibus suis immissis, oves diripere."³ Fallacias hostium artesque in hac re ad impugnandum multiplices supra adumbravimus: iam, quibus praesidiis ad defensionem nitendum, commoneamus.

Est primum in studio linguarum veterum orientalium simulque in arte quam vocant criticam. Utriusque rei scientia quum hodie in magno sit pretio et laude, eâ clerus, plus minusve pro locis et hominibus exquisita, ornatus, melius poterit decus et munus sustinere suum; nam ipse *omnia omnibus*⁴ fieri debet, paratus semper *ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quae in ipso est spe*.⁵ Ergo sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognitas habere quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab hagiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum ut omnibus in Academicis, quod iam in multis receptum laudabiliter, est de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, deque congruente cum illis eruditione, sint magisteria, eorum in primis usui qui ad sacras Litteras profitendas designantur.

Hos autem ipsos, eiusdem rei gratiâ, doctiores esse oportet atque exercitiores in vera artis criticae disciplina: perperam enim et cum religionis damno inductum est artificium, nomine honestatum criticae sublimioris, quo, ex solis internis, ut

¹ Eph. vi. 13, *seqq.*

² Cf. Col. iii. 16.

³ De sacerdot. iv. 4.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 15.

loquuntur, rationibus, cuiuspiam libri origo, integritas, auctoritas diiudicata emergant. Contra perspicuum est, in quaestionibus rei historicae, cuiusmodi origo et conservatio librorum, historiae testimonia valere prae ceteris, eaque esse quam studiosissime et conquirenda et excutienda: illas vero rationes internas plerumque non esse tanti, ut in causam nisi ad quamdam confirmationem, possint advocari. Secus si fiat, magna profecto consequentur incommoda. Nam hostibus religionis plus confidentiae futurum est ut sacrorum authenticitatem Librorum impetant et discerpant: illud ipsum quod extollunt genus criticae sublimioris, eo demum recidet, ut suum quisque studium praepudicatumque opinionem interpretando sectentur: inde neque Scripturis quaesitum lumen accedet, neque ulla doctrinae oritura utilitas est, sed certa illa patebit erroris nota, quae est varietas et dissimilitudo sentiendi, ut iam ipsi sunt documento huiusce novae principes disciplinae: inde etiam, quia plerique infecti sunt vanae philosophiae et rationalismi placitis, ideo prophetias, miracula, cetera quaecumque naturae ordinem superent, ex sacris Libris dimovere non verebuntur.

Congrediendum secundo loco cum iis, qui suam physicorum scientia abusi, sacros Libros omnibus vestigiis indagant, unde auctoribus inscitiam rerum talium opponant, scripta ipsa vituperent. Quae quidem insimulationes quum res attingant sensibus obiectas, eo periculosiores accidunt, manantes in vulgus, maxime in deditam litteris iuventutem; quae, semel reverentiam divinae revelationis in uno aliquo capite exuerit, facile in omnibus omnem eius fidem est dimissura. Nimium sane constat, de natura doctrinam, quantum ad percipiendam summi Artificis gloriam in procreatis rebus impressam aptissima est, modo sit convenienter proposita, tantum posse ad elementa sanae philosophiae evellenda corrumpendosque mores, teneris animis perverse infusam. Quapropter Scripturae sacrae doctori cognitio naturalium rerum bono erit subsidio, quo huius quoque modi captiones in divinos Libros instructas facilius detegat et refellat.

Nulla quidem theologum inter et physicum vera dissensio intercesserit, dum suis uterque finibus se contineant, id caventes, secundum S. Augustini monitum, "ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant."¹ Sin tamen dissenserint quemadmodum se gerat theologus, summatim est regula ab eodem oblata: "Quidquid, inquit, ipsi de natura rerum veracibus

¹ In *Gen. op. imperf.* ix. 30.

documentis demonstrare potuerint, ostendamus nostris Litteris non esse contrarium; quidquid autem de quibusbet suis voluminibus his nostris Litteris, idest catholicae fidei, contrarium protulerint, aut aliqua etiam facultate ostendamus, aut nulla dubitatione credamus esse falsissimum.¹ De cuius aequitate regulae in consideratione sit primum, scriptores sacros, seu verius "Spiritus Dei, qui per ipsos loquebatur, noluisse ista (videlicet intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem) docere homines, nulli saluti profutura;"² quare eos, potius quam explorationem naturae recta persequantur, res ipsas aliquando describere et tractare aut quodam translationis modo, aut sicut communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, hodieque de multis fert rebus in quotidiana vita, ipsos inter homines scientissimos. Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo proprieque efferantur quae cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) "ea secutus est, quae sensibilibus apparent,"³ seu quae Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.

Quod vero defensio Scripturae sanctae agenda strenue est, non ex eo omnes aequae sententiae tuendae sunt, quas singuli Patres aut qui deinceps interpretes in eadem declaranda ediderint: qui, prout erant opiniones aetatis, in locis edisserendis ubi physica aguntur, fortasse non ita semper iudicaverunt ex veritate, ut quaedam posuerint, quae nunc minus probentur. Quocirca studiose dignoscendum in illorum interpretationibus, quatenam reapse tradant tamquam spectantia ad fidem aut cum ea maxime copulata, quatenam unanimi tradant consensu; namque "in his quae de necessitate fidei non sunt, licuit Sanctis diversimode opinari, sicut et nobis," ut est S. Thomae sententiae.⁴ Qui et alio loco prudentissime habet: "Mihi videtur tutius esse, huiusmodo, quae philosophi communiter senserunt, et nostrae fidei non repugnant, nec sic esse asserenda ut dogmata fidei, etsi aliquando sub nomine philosophorum introducantur, nec sic esse neganda tamquam fidei contraria, ne sapientibus huius mundi occasio contemnendi doctrinam fidei praebeatur."⁵ Sane, quamquam ea, quae speculatores naturae certis argumentis certam esse affirmarint, interpret ostendere debet nihil Scripturis

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.* i. 21, 41.

² S. Aug. *ib.* ii. 9, 20.

³ *Summa theol.*, p. i, q. lxx., a. 1 ad 3.

⁴ *In Sent.* ii., dist. ii., q. i., a. 3.

⁵ *Opusc.* 10.

recte explicatis obsistere, ipsum tamen ne fugiat, factum quandoque esse, ut certa quaedam ab illis tradita, postea in dubitationem adducta sint et repudiata. Quod si physicorum scriptores terminos disciplinae suae transgressi, in provinciam philosophorum perversitate opinionum invadant, eas interpret theologus philosophis mittat refutandas.

Haec ipsa deinde ad cognatas disciplinas, ad historiam praesertim, iuvabit transferri. Dolendum enim, multos esse qui antiquitatis monumenta, gentium mores et instituta, similiumque rerum testimonia magnis ii quidem laboribus perscrutentur et proferant, sed eo saepius consilio, ut erroris labes in sacris Libris deprehendant, ex quo illorum auctoritas usquequaque infirmetur et nutet. Idque nonnulli et nimis infesto animo faciunt nec satis aequo iudicio; qui sic fidunt profanis libris et documentis memoriae praeae, perinde ut nulla eis ne suspicio quidem erroris possit subesse, libris vero Scripturae sacrae, ex opinata tantum erroris specie, neque eâ probe discussa, vel parem abnuunt fidem. Fieri quidem potest, ut quaedam librariis in codicibus describendis minus recte exciderint; quod considerate iudicandum est, nec facile admittendum, nisi quibus locis rite sit demonstratum: fieri etiam potest, ut germana alicuius loci sententia permaneat anceps; cui enodandae multum afferent optimae interpretandi regulae: at nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea, pertinere, eo quod falso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quaenam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit. Etenim libri omnes atque integri, quos Ecclesia tamquam sacros et canonicos recipit, cum omnibus suis partibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, conscripti sunt; tantum vero abest ut divinae inspirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa, non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse.

Haec est antiqua et constans fides Ecclesiae, sollemni etiam sententia in Conciliis definita Florentino et Tridentino; confirmata denique atque expressius declarata Concilio Vaticano, a quo absolute edictum: *Veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum*

omnibus suis partibus, prout in eiusdem Concilii (Tidentini) decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo duntaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem.¹ Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi, non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus. non ipse esset auctor sacrae Scripturae universae. Hoc ratum semper habuere Ss. Patres: "Itaque, ait Augustinus, quum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est, quod ipse non scripserit: quandoquidem membra eius id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt²:" pronunciatque S. Gregorius M.: "Quis haec scripserit, valde supervacane quaeritur quum tamen auctor libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur haec scripsit, qui scribenda dictavit: ipse scripsit qui et in illius opere inspirator extitit." Consequitur, ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quidpiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem. Atque adeo Patribus omnibus et Doctoribus persuasissimum fuit, divinas Litteras, quales ab hagiographis editae sunt, ab omni omnino errore esse immunes, ut propterea non pauca illa, quae contrarii aliquid vel dissimile viderentur afferre (eademque fere sunt quae nomine novae scientiae nunc obiciunt), non subtiliter minus quam religiose componere inter se et conciliare studuerint; professi unanimes, Libros eos et integros et per partes a divino aequae esse afflatu, Deumque ipsum per sacros auctores elocutum nihil admodum a veritate alienum ponere potuisse. Ea valeant universe quae idem Augustinus ad Hieronymum scripsit; "Ego enim fateor caritati tuae, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui iam canonici appellantur, didici

¹ Sess. iii., c. ii., de revel.

² De consensu Evangel., 1. i., c. 35.

³ Praef. in Job, n. 2.

hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorum scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam.”

At vero omni graviorum artium instrumento pro sanctitate Bibliorum plene perfecteque contendere, multo id maius est, quam ut a sola interpretum et theologorum sollertia aequum sit expectari. Eodem optandum est conspirent et connitantur illi etiam ex catholicis viris, qui ab externis doctrinis aliquam sint nominis auctoritatem adepti. Horum sane ingeniorum ornatus, si nunquam antea, ne nunc quidem, Dei beneficio, Ecclesiae deest; atque utinam eo amplius fidei subsidium augeat. Nihil enim magis oportere ducimus, quam ut plures validioresque nanciscatur veritas propugnatores, quam sentiat adversarios; neque res ulla est quae magis persuadere vulgo possit obsequium veritatis, quam si eam liberrime profiteantur qui in laudata aliqua praestent facultate. Quin facile etiam cessura est obrectatorum invidia, aut certe non ita petulanter iam traducere illi audebunt inimicam scientiae, fidem, quum viderint a viris scientiae laude nobilibus summum fidei honorem reverentiamque adhiberi.

Quoniam igitur tantum ii possunt religioni importare commodi, quibus cum catholicae professionis gratia felicem indolem ingenii benignum Numen impertiit, ideo in hac acerrima agitatione studiorum quae Scripturas quoquo modo attingunt, aptum sibi quisque eligant studii genus, in quo aliquando excellentes, obiecta in illas improbae scientiae tela, non sine gloria, repellant.

Quo loco gratum est illud pro merito comprobare nonnullorum catholicorum consilium, qui ut viris doctioribus suppetere possit unde huiusmodi studia omni adiuventorum copia pertractent et provehant, coactis societatibus, largiter pecunias solent conferre. Optima sane et peropportuna temporibus pecuniae collocandae ratio. Quo enim catholicis minus praesidii in sua studia sperare licet publice, eo promptiorem effusiolemque patere decet privatorum liberalitatem; ut quibus a Deo aucti sunt divitiis, eas ad tutandum revelatae ipsius doctrinae thesaurum velint convertere.

Tales autem labores ut ad rem biblicam vere proficiant, insistant eruditi in iis tamquam principiis, quae supra a Nobis praefinita sunt; fideliterque teneant, Deum, conditorem recto-

Ep. lxxii., 1 et crebrius alibi.

remque rerum omnium, eundem esse Scripturarum auctorem. nihil propterea ex rerum natura, nihil ex historiae monumentis colligi posse quod cum Scripturis revera pugnet. Si quid ergo tale videatur, id sedulo submovendum, tum adhibito prudenti theologorum et interpretum iudicio, quidnam verius verisimiliusve habeat Scripturae locus, de quo disceptetur, tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, quae contra adducantur. Neque ideo cessandum, si qua in contrarium species etiam tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, qua in contrarium species etiam tum resideat; nam, quoniam verum vero adversari haudquaquam potest, certum sit aut in sacrorum interpretationem verborum, aut in alteram disputationis partem errorem incurrisse: neutrum vero si necdum satis appareat, cunctandum interea de sententia. Permulta enim ex omni doctrinarum genere sunt diu multumque contra Scripturam iactata, quae nunc, utpote inania, penitus obsolescere: item non pauca de quibusdam Scripturae locis (non proprie ad fidei morumque pertinentibus regulam) sunt quondam interpretando proposita, in quibus rectius postea vidit acrior quaedam investigatio. Nempe opinionum commenta delet dies; sed "veritas manet et invalescit in aeternum."¹ Quare, sicut nemo sibi arrogaverit ut omnem recte intelligat Scripturam, in qua se ipse plura nescire quam scire fassus est Augustinus,² ita, si quid inciderit difficilior quam explicari possit, quisque eam sumet cautionem temperationemque eiusdem Doctoris: "Melius est vel premi incognitis sed utilibus signis, quam inutiliter ea interpretando, a iugo servitutis eductam cervicem laqueis erroris inserere."³

Consilia et iussa Nostra si probe verecundeque erunt secuti qui subsidiaria haec studia profitentur, si et scribendo et docendo studiorum fructus dirigant ad hostes veritatis redarguendos, ad fidei damna in iuventute praecavenda, tum demum laetari poterunt dignâ se opera sacris Litteris inservire, eamque rei catholicae opem afferre, qualem de filiorum pietate et doctrinis iure sibi Ecclesia pollicetur.

Haec sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae de studiis Scripturae sacrae pro opportunitate monenda et praecipienda, aspirante Deo, censuimus, Iam sit vestrum curare, ut qua par est religione custodiantur et observentur: sic ut debita Deo gratia, de

¹ 3 Esdr. 4, 38.

² Ad Ianuar. ep. lv., 21.

³ De doctr. chr. iii., 9, 18.

communicatis humano generi eloquiis sapientiae suae, testatus eniteat, optataeque utilitates redundent, maxime ad sacrae iuventutis institutionem, quae tanta est cura Nostra et spes Ecclesiae. Auctoritate nimirum et hortatione date alacres operam, ut in Seminariis, atque in Academiis quae parent ditioni vestrae, haec studia iusto in honore consistant vigeantque. Integre feliciterque vigeant, moderatrice Ecclesia, secundum saluberrima documenta et exempla SS. Patrum laudatamque maiorum consuetudinem : atque talia ex temporum cursu incrementa accipiant quae vere sint in praesidium et gloriam catholicae veritatis, natae divinitus ad perennem populorum salutem. Omnes denique alumnos et administratos Ecclesiae paterna caritate admonemus, ut ad sacras Litteras adeant summo semper affectu reverentiae et pietatis : nequaquam enim ipsarum intelligentia salutariter ut opus est patere potest, nisi remotâ scientiae *terrenae* arrogantia, studioque sancte excitato eius *quae desursum est* sapientiae. Cuius in disciplinam semel admissa mens, atque inde illustrata et roborata, mire valebit ut etiam humanae scientiae quae sunt fraudes dignoscat et vitet, qui sunt solidi fructus percipiat et ad aeterna referat : inde potissime exardescens animus, ad emolumenta virtutis et divini amoris spiritu vehementiore contendet : *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius, in toto corde exquirunt eum.*¹

Iam divini auxilii spe freti et pastorali studio vestro confisi, Apostolicam benedictionem, caelestium munerum auspicem Nostraeque singularis benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, universoque Clero et populo singulis concedito, peramentem in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xviii Novembris anno MDCCCXIII, Pontificatus Nostri sextodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

RENEWAL OF LENTEN INDULT GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND

BMO. PADRE

Il Cardinal Logue Arciv^o. di Armagh e Primate di tutta l'Irlanda espone alla Santità Vostra, che l'indulto Quaresimale concesso a tutto l'Episcopato dell'Irlanda *ad quinquennium* il 22 Agosto 1888² non è stato finora rinnovato. Pere vitare quindi

¹ Ps. cxviii. 2.

² For Lenten Indult of 22nd Aug., 1888, see I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. ix., page 950, Oct., 1888.

grave inconvenienza supplica la Santità Vostra a volergli benigne-
mente accordare la proroga.

Ex Audientia SSⁿⁱ diei 28 Jan. 1894.

SS^{mus} D. N. Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente m^o
infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario
benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces ad alicu-
quinguennum in forma et terminis transactae concessionis, facta
tamen declaratione quolibet anno Auctoritatis S. Sedis Apostolicae
Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aed. Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda
Fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

IMPORTANT DECREE OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
REGARDING CERTAIN ABUSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE
"HONORARIA MISSARUM"

DECRETUM S. C. CONCILII—QUO REPROBATUR COLLECTIO ELEEMOSY-
NARUM MISSARUM, EO CONSILIO UT COMMITTATUR CELEBRATIO
EARUMDEM SACERDOTIBUS, QUIBUS LOCO PECUNIAE, AUT LIBRI,
AUT MERCES REPENDUNTUR

Vigilanti studio convellendis eradicandisque abusibus mis-
sarum celebrationem spectantibus iugiter incubuit haec S. C.,
pluraque edidit decreta, quibus omne hac in re damnable
lucrum removeri voluit, piasque testantium voluntates et obstric-
tam benefactoribus fidem adamussim servari religioseque custo-
diri mandavit.

Quapropter ad cohibendam pravam quorundam licentiam
qui ad ephemerides, libros aliasque merces facilius cum clero
commutanda missarum ope utebantur, nonnulla constituit, eaque,
Pio PP. IX. fel. rec. approbante, edi et Ordinariis nota fieri
curavit ut ab omnibus servarentur. Propositis namque inter alia
sequentibus dubiis:

"I. An turpe mercimonium sapiat, ideoque improbanda et
poenis etiam ecclesiasticis, si opus fuerit, coercenda sit ab Epis-
copis eorum bibliopolarum vel mercatorum agendi ratio, qui
adhibitis publicis invitamentis et praemiis, vel alio quocumque
modo missarum eleemosynas colligunt, et sacerdotibus, quibus
eas celebrandas committunt, non pecuniam, sed libros, aliasve
merces rependunt:

"II. An haec agendi ratio ideo cohonestari valeat, vel quia,

facta imminutione, tot Missae a memoratis collectoribus mandatae committuntur, quot collectis eleemosynis respondent, vel quia per eam pauperibus sacerdotibus eleemosynarum carentibus subvenitur :

III. An huiusmodi eleemosynarum collationes et erogationes etiam improbandae et coercendae, ut supra, sint ab Episcopis, quando lucrum, quod ex mercium cum eleemosynis permutatione hauritur, non in proprium colligentium commodum, sed earum institutionum et bonorum operum usum vel incrementum impenditur :

IV. An turpi mercimonio concurrant, ideoque improbandi et etiam coercendi, ut supra, sint ii, qui acceptas a fidelibus locis piis eleemosynas missarum tradunt bibliopolis, mercatoribus, aliisque earum collectoribus, sive recipiant, sive non recipiant quidquam ab iisdem praemii nomine :

V. An turpi mercimonio concurrant, ideoque improbandi et etiam coercendi, ut supra, sint ii, qui a dictis bibliopolis, et mercatoribus capiunt pro missis celebrandis libros aliasve merces, harum rerum sive imminuto sive integro :

VII. An liceat Episcopis sine speciali S. Sedis venia ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis offerre solent, aliquid detrahere, ut eorum decori et ornamento servetur, quando praesertim ea propriis redditibus careant : in generali conventu anni 1874 S. C. resolvit :

“Ad I. Affirmative.

“Ad II. Negative.

“Ad III. IV. et V. Affirmative.

“Ad VII. Negative, nisi de consensu oblatorum.”

Sed cum postremis hisce annis constiterit, salutare huiusmodi dispositiones ignorantia aut malitia saepius neglectas fuisse, abusus hac in re valde lateque invaluisse, Eñi Patres S. C. eidem interpretes ac vindices, rebus omnibus in duplici generali conventu mature perpensis, officii sui esse duxerunt, ut pridem decretum erat in memoriam plenamque observantiam suam apud omnes revocare, et opportuna insuper sanctione confirmare.

Praesenti itaque decreto statuunt, ut in posterum si quis sacerdotali ordine contra enunciata decreta deliquerit, suspensioni a divinis S. Sedi reservatae et ipso facto incurrendaenoxius sit: clericus autem sacerdotio nondum initiatus eidem suspensioni quoad susceptos ordines similiter subiaceat, et

inhabilis praeterea fiat ad superiores ordines recipiendos: laici demum excommunicatione latae sententiae Episcopis reservata obstringantur.

Praeterea cum experientia docuerit, mala quae deplorantur ex eo potissimum originem viresque ducere, quod in quorundam privatorum manus maior missarum numerus congeritur quae iusta necessitas exigit, ideo iidem Emi Patres, inhaerentes dispositionibus a Romanis Pontificibus, ac praesertim ab Urbano VIII. et Innocentio XIII. in const. *Cum saepe contingat*, alias datis, sub gravi obedientiae praecepto decernunt ac mandant, ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint, propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum. Ordinarii autem acceptas missarum intentiones cum adnexo stipendio, primo distribuent inter sacerdotes sibi subiectos, qui eis indigere noverint: alias deinde aut S. Sedi, aut aliis Ordinariis committent, aut etiam, si velint, sacerdotibus aliarum dioeceseon, dummodo sibi noti sint, omnique exceptione maiores, et legitima documenta edant inter praefixum congruum tempus, quibus de exacta earundem satisfactione constet.

Denique, revocatis quibuscumque indultis et privilegiis usque nunc concessis, quae praesentis decreti dispositionibus utcumque adversentur, S. Congregatio curae et officio singulorum Ordinariorum committit, ut praesens decretum omnibus ecclesiasticis suae iurisdictioni subiectis, aliisque quorum ex praescriptis interest notum sollicito faciant, ne quis in posterum ignorantiam allegare, aut ab huius decreti observantia se excusare quomolibet possit: et insuper ut sive in sacra Visitatione sive extra sedulo vigilent, ne abusus hac in re iterum inoleant.

Facta autem de his omnibus relatione SSmo. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII. per infrascriptum S. Congregationis Praefectum, Sanctitas Sua hoc Emorum Patrum decretum ratum habuit confirmavit atque edi mandavit, contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae die 25 Maii 1893.

ALOYSIUS CARD., Episcopus Sabinensis, *Praefectus*.

L. SALVATI, *Secretarius*.

CATALOGUE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY FEASTS

DECRETUM GENERALE

Iuxta Decretum diei 2 Iulii nuper elapsi, quum a me infra-scripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto, et Relatore in Ordinariis Comitibus, subsignata die ad Vaticanum conveneratis, proposita fuerit approbanda Catalogus Festorum, quae ritus *primaria* vel *secundaria* retinenda sunt; Eñi et Rñi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audito voce et scripto R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, ita rescribere rati sunt: **AFFIRMATIVE**; *evecto ad ritum Duplicis Maioris, in Calendario universali, festo Dedicationis Basilicae Ssmi. Salvatoris, si Sanctissimo placuerit. Catalogus vero ita se habeat:*

FESTA PRIMARIA

IN CALENDARIO UNIVERSALI

§ I. *Duplicia Primae Classis*

Nativitas Domini.

Epiphania Domini.

Pascha Resurrectionis.

Ascensio Domini.

Pentecostes.

Festum Corporis Christi.

Assumptio, et Immaculata Conceptio B. M. V.

Nativitas S. Ioannis Baptistae.

Festum S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V.

Festum Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

Festum Omnium Sanctorum.

Dedicatio propriae Ecclesiae.

Patronus, vel Titulus Ecclesiae.

Patronus Principalis Regionis, vel Dioecesis, aut loci.

§ II. *Duplicia Secundae Classis*

Circumcisio Domini.

Festum Ssmæ Trinitatis.

Purificatio B. Mariae V.

Annuntiatio B. Mariae V.

Visitatio B. Mariae V.

Nativitas B. Mariae V.

Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli.

Natalitia Undecim Apostolorum.

Festa Evangelistarum.
 Festum S. Stephani Protomartyris.
 Festum Ss. Innocentium Martyrum.
 Festum S. Laurentii Martyris.
 Festum S. Annae, Matris B. M. V.
 Festum S. Ioachim, Patris B. M. V.

§ III. *Duplicia Maiora per Annum*

Transfiguratio Domini.
 Dedicatio Basilicae Ssni Salvatoris.
 Dedicatio S. Mariae ad Nives.
 Festum Ss. Angelorum Custodum.
 Dedicatio Basilicarum Ss. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum.
 Festum S. Barnabae.
 Festum S. Benedicti Abb.
 Festum S. Dominici C.
 Festum S. Francisci C.
 Festum Patronorum minus Principalium.

§ IV. *Alia duplicia per Annum*

Dies Natalitia, vel quasi Natalitia uniuscuiusque Sancti.

PRO ALIQUIBUS LOCIS

S. Gabrielis Archangeli.
 S. Raphaelis Archangeli.
 Dies Natalitia, vel quasi Natalitia uniuscuiusque Sancti.
 Commemoratio Sanctorum, quorum Corpora, vel Reliquiae in
 Ecclesiis Dioeceseos asservantur.

FESTA SECUNDARIA

IN CALENDARIO UNIVERSALI

§ I. *Duplicia Primae Classis*

Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu.

§ II. *Duplicia Secundae Classis*

Festum Ssni Nominis Iesu.
 Festum Inventionis S. Crucis.
 Festum Pretiosissimi Sanguinis D. N. I. C.
 Solemnitas Ssni Rosarii B. M. V.
 Festum Patrocinii S. Ioseph.

§ III. *Duplicia Maiora*

Exaltatio S. Crucis.

Duo festa Septem Dolorum B. M. V.

Commemoratio B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo.

Festum Semi. Nominis B. M. V.

Festum de Mercede B. M. V.

Praesentatio B. M. V.

Apparitio S. Michaelis Archangeli.

Decollatio S. Ioannis Baptistae.

Cathedra S. Petri Ap., utraque.

Festum eiusdem ad Vincula.

Conversio, et Commemoratio S. Pauli Ap.

Festum S. Ioannis ante portam Latinam.

PRO ALIQUIBUS LOCIS

Officia Mysteriorum et Instrumentorum Passionis D. N. I. C.
Ssni Redemptoris.

Sanctae Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph.

Ssni Cordis Mariae.

Desponsationis, Maternitatis, Puritatis, Patrocinii B. M. V.

Translationis Almae Domus B. M. V.

Expectationis Partus B. M. V.

B. M. V. Auxilium Christianorum.

Prodigiorum B. M. V.

Apparitionis B. M. V. Immaculatae.

Commemoratio Omnium Ss. Summorum Pontificum.

Item alia quaecumque festa sive Domini, sive B. M. V. sub aliquo peculiari titulo, sive Sanctorum, praeter eorumdem natalem diem, uti Inventionis Corporum, Translationis, Receptionis, et hisce Patrocinii, similia.

Die 22 Augusti 1893.

Facta postmodum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. de his omnibus relatione per me ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem Praefectum, Sanctitas Sua duplicem Catalogum, prouti superius exstat, approbavit ac vulgari praecepit; elevato ad ritum duplicem maiorem, una cum festo Dedicationis Basilicae Ssni Salvatoris, festo etiam Dedicationis Basilicarum Ssni Petri et Pauli Apostolorum. Die 27, iisdem mense et anno.

CAJETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

VOL. XV.

S

NEW MASS AND OFFICE OF THE HOLY FAMILY—TO BE
GRANTED ON THE APPLICATION OF INDIVIDUAL BISHOPS

ANIMADVERSIONES.

1. Novum de Sancta I. M. et I. Familia officium cum Missa concinnatum et approbatum est.

2. Officium istud non est praeceptivum, sed iis conceditur Dioecesibus, religiosisque Familiis, pro quibus Episcopi Ordinarii, vel Praepositi, illud a S. R. Congregatione postulaverint: ut Eius Vicarius iam petiit pro Urbe ac suburbicaria Dioecesi Albanensi, illi commissa.

3. Utpote Dominicae affixum et non universale, Officium de Sancta Familia iure translationis per se destituitur. Cum nihilominus nonnullae Dioeceses officia Dominicis vel Fertiis affixa transferendi privilegium in genere possideant, hinc et IX lectio posita est, quae Homiliae Dominicae sufficietur, si transferatur. Idem translationis privilegium, si petitum, obtineri facile poterit.

4. Festum huiusmodi secundarium est, ut tam in Occursu quam in Concursu, cedere debeat festo alii primario personalis dignitatis inferioris, si ambo eiusdem ritus, iuxta Generale Decretum d. d. 27 Iul. 1893.

5. Anno proximo 1893, Dominica III post Epiphaniam incidit in Septuagesimam. Uti per evulgandum Decretum palam fiet, praefata Dominica pro hac tantum vice, quamvis festo S. F. praevaleat per se, nihilominus ad ritum simplicem redigetur, vel penitus omittatur, vel idem festum, primo celebrandum translationem patiatur. Haec sint satus.

Notices of Books

LOGICA IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J. Cum approbatione Rev. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi Brisgoviae Sumptibus Herder.

PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Victore Cathrein, S.J. Cum approbatione Rev. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi Brisgoviae Sumptibus Herder.

MANUDUCTIO AD SCHOLASTICAM MAXIME VERO THOMISTICAM PHILOSOPHIAM. Auctore A. Dupeyrat, P.S.S. Editio Quarta. Tomus Secundus, complectens Cosmologiam Specialem. Anthropologiam, Thëologiam Naturalem et Ethicam. Parisiis Apud Victorem Lecoffre.

DEFINITIONES PHILOSOPHIAE UNIVERSALIS. Quas conscripsit. H. Parkinson, S.T.D. Collegio Oscot (apud Birmingham) Philosophiae Prof.

FATHER FRICK's *Logic*, and Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy*, are respectively the first and last volumes of a course of philosophy, which some Jesuits of the German province promise to complete in six small volumes. If the two that have already appeared be representative of the series, we may even now congratulate the learned Jesuits on the success of their undertaking. Both are rather small volumes—*Logic*, two hundred and ninety-six pages, *Moral Philosophy* three hundred and ninety-six pages—and yet scarcely anything of importance in either subject is omitted or overlooked; nay, even the more important matters are treated with a fulness and clearness rarely met with in the larger and more portentous treatises of philosophy.

In the *Logic*, the description and scope of Logic is fully set forth: the various divisions of ideas, terms, judgments, &c., are clearly defined. The predicables are well explained, but a slightly fuller treatment would be desirable, especially for the sake of those who may have to study Logic privately. The method of explaining the moods and figures, by using the recognised symbols for the terms of the syllogism, has the advantage of enabling the student to see the whole array at a glance, so that the memory of the eye may be utilised. There is here, however, one mistake, or perhaps oversight; the moods given for the fourth figure are not

the moods of the fourth, but of the indirect first. With the exception of this and of the treatment of Induction, which is rather meagre, there is nothing in the Formal Logic that requires amendment or enlargement.

The *Material Logic* deserves still higher praise. In it we find a full and intelligible exposition of the foundations of the various false systems of philosophy, as well as convincing arguments against them, and formal answers to their strongest objections. On reading this portion of the *Logic*, one is particularly struck by the space devoted to the exposition of the false systems. For example, fourteen pages are given to the exposition and refutation of Kant's system (seven to exposition, and seven to refutation). In the fourteen pages we have the system explained and refuted in a masterly style to be expected only from one who is thoroughly acquainted with the language and writings of the Philosopher of Königsberg. The most recent developments of thought—even in these countries—are fairly criticised. We notice, too, with pleasure, that Father Frick draws a clear distinction between evidence and the other so-called criteria. Objective evidence is called the universal criteria; the others are not called criteria or tests of truth, but *fontes certitudinis*. The objectivity of our ideas and our knowledge is also well defended. On the whole, the *Logic*—Formal and Material—concise, clear, thorough, and much superior to the ordinary handbooks of scholastic philosophy.

The *Moral Philosophy* of Father Cathrein is also clear and concise, and its thoroughness will be evident from a glance at the table of contents. The passions, and also virtues and vices, are treated at considerable length; the standard of morality, as well as the sources of morality, are well treated, and the immutability, universality, and sanction of the natural law are well explained and defended. When dealing with conscience the various systems are explained, and probabilism alone defended. In making the selection, however, the author seems to have drawn somewhat from Theology.

The second portion of the volume—Ethics—is specially interesting. The various questions of the hour that are in any way connected with Ethics, are examined. The various kinds of communism and socialism are criticised—land nationalization, under the name of *agrarian socialism*, is specially refuted; the origin of ownership, and of civil authority, is dealt with

the rights and duties of Church and State, and the rights of the Church in mixed or doubtful matters, not provided for by Concordat, are set forth; the rights and duties of the State regarding education and schools; liberty of conscience, and even the various forms of government are carefully examined. Even the claims of women to the franchise are discussed. The last chapter, on international law, treaties, &c., ends with the author's wish for a federation of nations, the Pope being the "*praeses atus*" of the federation.

Like Father Frick's *Logic*, Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy* is admirably suited for the purpose for which it is intended, namely, to serve as a class-book. The student who has mastered its teachings can undertake an examination of the various political and social questions and problems undeterred by the fear of embracing conclusions forbidden by Christian ethics.

The second volume of the *Manuductio* is intended, as the name implies, to lead the young student of philosophy through Cosmology, Anthropology, Natural Theology, and Ethics. The style and manner in which even the most intricate questions are touched really make the *Manuductio* deserve its title. The number of subjects comprised in one volume is so great that most questions must necessarily be treated briefly. The brevity does not, however, interfere with simplicity and clearness. Of course some questions are omitted, but far fewer than one would expect from the size of the volume and the range of subjects. The matters of dispute between the Christian schools of philosophy are treated almost exclusively from the Thomistic point of view. The *Scientia Media* is rejected almost without explanation, and the arguments against physical predetermination are not very well urged. This, however, does not prove that the author is disingenuous, for throughout the volume he is generally content with proving his theses positively; the size of the volume would not allow him to formally rebut objections. Anthropology is divided into three parts:—*Dynamilogia*, *Psychologia*, and *De Composito Humano*—and as an appendix after *Dynamilogia* we have *Criteriologia*. The usual order where Criteriology is portion of Logic appears to be much preferable. At the end of Natural Theology the author has three appendices on Atheism, Polytheism, and Pantheism; and at the end of Ethics one on Liberalism, which are very useful.

On the whole, the truths of Christian Philosophy are briefly

and simply stated, and satisfactorily proved. The principles for the solution of objections are also in most cases given. To the student who has not time or desire to study the larger treatises, the *Manuductio* will supply a sound, yet simple, exposition of the philosophy of St. Thomas.

The last book mentioned above, *Definitiones Philosophiarum Universalis*, is a sort of philosophical dictionary compiled by Dr. Parkinson, Professor of Philosophy in Oscott. Every term that occurs in the whole course of philosophy is defined, and at the end the distinctions commonly found in philosophy are explained. From his experience as professor the author has learned that it is of the greatest advantage to students of philosophy to have simple and accurate definitions; and to supply them with such definitions in a convenient form is the object of this publication. We are sure that this list of definitions and distinctions will be of use to students, especially when revising before examination; and the index at the end makes the volume more useful still.

In the matter of definition, strict originality could not be expected; but Dr. Parkinson's definitions are not less original than those found in any hand-book of philosophy. About twenty are borrowed from Father Palmieri, S.J., and some others from Fathers De Melis and Lahousse, S.J. To explain some proofs of Lahousse, Dr. Parkinson adds some definitions of biological terms. It could be scarcely expected either, that of the one thousand and twenty-nine definitions given by Dr. Parkinson every one should please every reader. Some few appear to be incomplete; but we are sure that the Professor's explanation would show that they are quite adequate. Some are mere descriptions; but that is absolutely necessary, seeing that the simplest things are defined. In two or three the definition gives an attribute or mark of the thing to be defined rather than the strict definition. All this could not easily be avoided; but it would, we think, be of considerable advantage to students if, by the use of different kinds of type, or otherwise, the kind of definition given were indicated. We should suggest, moreover, that in many cases the addition of a short explanation would be extremely useful.

Judging from the present little volume, we are confident that the *Adjumenta Philosophorum*, which Dr. Parkinson promises, will be a very useful and valuable work.

M. B.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST. By Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J.,
Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College,
M.D. Germany: B. Herder, Frieberg, Baden.

THE book before us is a second edition of the now celebrated *Life of Christ*, by Father Maas. Its object is to give a consecutive life of our Lord in the words of the inspired writers, together with an explanation of the difficulties of the text.

The work is divided into four parts. The first treats of the birth and infancy of our Lord; the second of His public life; the third of His Passion and Death; and the fourth of His Resurrection and Ascension. To these parts is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation, in which Father Maas explains the relations between the four Gospels, and proves the authenticity of each. Throughout the work we have an immense store of knowledge, gleaned from history and theology, as well as from the mere exegetical explanation of the text. The maps and engravings contained in the book form an important feature of the work. These are:—"Palestine at the time of Christ;" "Journeys of Jesus in His Public Life;" "Herodian Temple according to Josephus;" and many others of almost equal interest, which serve as an easy mode of impressing many things on the mind that should otherwise be difficult of explanation. The commentary is remarkable for its logical order, and consequent clearness. It is particularly useful for those who wish to study the Sacred Scriptures, but who cannot devote much time to the perusal of the many sources from which biblical knowledge must be gathered. This is true of those ecclesiastics in particular, whose lives are spent in the work of the ministry. In this book they will find, collected from many quarters, the speculative knowledge with which the story of the Gospel is connected; and they cannot read it without great benefit to themselves and their flocks.

While allowing this work its due meed of praise for its many good qualities, we regret that its chronology does not reach the high standard that is expected from so learned an author. In fact, Father Maas seems to have had no definite system of chronology before his mind. In the Introductory Dissertation he seems inclined to think 749 A.U.C. the most probable year of our Lord's birth, and 782 the year of his death; and, following this opinion, he allows, in the course of the work, thirty-two and a-quarter years for His life. While believing it certain

that 782 is the year of our Lord's death, we think 747 or 748 more probable than 749 as the date of His birth. Now, Father Maas allows 747 as the first probable year of our Lord's birth; still he holds it probable that 746 A.U.C. is the date of the census mentioned in Luke ii., thus introducing a contradiction of three years with his own opinion, and of one year with his first probable year of Christ's birth. Again, in the body of his work, he holds that the fifteenth year of Tiberius was 780 A.U.C., in the middle of which St. John began to preach. Here we have two or three contradictions—(a) He holds that our Lord was baptized in the following January; *i.e.*, January, 781. Now, Christ died in 782; and, therefore, in this place, Father Maas allows only a year and three months for the public life of Christ. (b) In the Introduction he is inclined to make January, 779, the date of our Lord's baptism, and, therefore, the summer of 778 the fifteenth year of Tiberius; while here the years are 781 and 780 respectively. (c) Father Maas makes Tiberius begin to reign in January, 765, while he makes the summer of 780 belong to his fifteenth year; whereas, according to this calculation, it belongs to his sixteenth year. We consider it in accordance with the words of Velleius and Suetonius that Tiberius began to reign towards the end of 764. This makes his fifteenth year to be 778, places Christ's baptism in January, 779, and allows over three years for His public life.

Though we draw the attention of our readers to these mistakes, we do not wish to seem on that account to detract from the substantial value of the work of Father Maas; for in a book having an object such as it has, chronology is a very secondary thing. We can therefore recommend the work to our readers as one replete with biblical information.

J. M. H.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA GENERALIS. Auctore G. David, Societatis Mariæ Presbytero. Lugdum ex Typis Emmanuelis Vitte, 30 Via Condé. 1893.

General Dogmatic Theology treats of "The True Religion," the "Divinity and Constitution of the Church," and "Loca Theologici." These lay the foundation for the discussion of the many particular questions that go to build up the large edifice of dogmatic theology. For this reason they belong to General dogmatic theology. Father David in his treatise on this subject prefixes a little tract on the nature and divisions of theology.

The importance of a work of this nature can be seen from the many interesting questions that arise in the course of its treatment. Ever since the Reformation, when private judgment was set up as the sole rule of faith, there has been a tendency among misguided men to bring the Church under their sway. Some have so used their private judgment as to reject all religion, or, which comes to the same thing, to set up for themselves a religion the object of which is the culture of humanity, or some other creature instead of the Creator. Others, while admitting that some religion must be held by the individual, think that he can embrace whatever religion he chooses. A third class admit that the true religion must be held, but they maintain that the Church is subject to the State even in spiritual matters. Others again proclaim the total separation of Church and State; so that the State has sole and supreme power in the temporal, while the Church has sole and supreme power in the spiritual order. These are the main, though by no means the only, errors about the true religion and the constitution of the Church that now-a-days fill the periodicals of the English-speaking world. Against these and other doctrinal errors of a similar kind the work of Father David is directed, and in the treatment of this subject very many interesting and useful discussions arise. The claims of the Church in the education of its children; its rights in temporal matters generally, and in particular to the Papal sovereignty and Papal power over nations; the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures; the nature of inspiration, and a host of such questions, are discussed with clear and logical reasoning.

Father David has with much success performed the task which he has undertaken. His order and method leave little to be desired. First there is a short and intelligible explanation of Catholic doctrine; next come the important objections of adversaries; then follows the proof of Catholic doctrine, and finally the objection of opponents are answered. This is the method of St. Thomas, and it is one that is calculated to give the reader a lively interest in the subject before him. Another admirable quality of the work is its simplicity of style. This renders it especially useful for students who are reading for the first time their theological course. The reader is also struck by the appropriate extracts from Papal encyclicals, the writings of the fathers, and the councils of the Church, that pervade the whole treatise, and that on the constitution of the Church in particular.

These and many other good qualities in a work entitle us to predict for it a successful future. Preachers will find in it a rich store of useful information for their sermons. Students in the early days of their theological studies will be attracted by its simplicity. Even learned theologians can consult it with profit. To all who have a love for the study of dogmatic theology, we recommend it as a useful addition to their libraries.

J. M. H.

ÉTUDE HISTORIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE SUR LE COMTÉ DE
SUSSEX EN ANGLETERRE. West Grimstead et Les
Caryll. Par Max de Tranqualeón.

NOW-A-DAYS, whilst the Catholic Church in England is daily drawing to its fold so many and such distinguished converts, the present work is especially welcome. The author purposes to tell the story of the introduction of Christianity into Sussex, and to trace its subsequent history down to our own times. He deals with the labours of St. Wilfrid amongst the wild tribes by the sea-board, and his complete overthrow of this last stronghold of paganism. The good work was continued by St. Cuthman and others, and the salutary influences of religion were everywhere felt amongst the South Saxons, while the country still owned the allegiance of a Saxon king. Then came the Norman Invasion. The conquerors coming from a land thoroughly Catholic, studded with churches and convents, lost none of their love for religion in their new home. Religious orders sprang up everywhere. The writer treats of the monasteries of Steyning, Sele, and Boxgrove. follows the chequered career of the Templars, and sets forth the varied services of the monks in educating by word and deed the peasantry amongst whom they lived.

The rest of the work is occupied with the history of the O'Carroll family—Irish as the name imports—who came into prominence in the fifteenth century, and around whom, in their home at West Grimstead, the account of Catholicism in that region is entwined. During the many persecutions of Henry and his successors, they adhered firmly to the old faith. The family reckons many illustrious members—all staunch Catholics. The hunted priest found a hospitable asylum in their home; the faithful heard Mass in West Grimstead, and their spiritual wants were ministered to in spite of the vigilance of the oppressors.

The work indicates a great amount of research. It is written in clear and easy French. The author does not content himself

with a mere bald narrative of the facts of ecclesiastical history, but supplements his work with varied narratives of current events. He is, however, too diffuse in his treatment of the O'Carroll family, and the second volume of his work can hardly command, on that account, the great interest awakened by the first.

D. O'C.

CATHOLIC SCIENCE AND CATHOLIC SCIENTISTS. By Rev.

J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Professor of Physics in the University of Notre Dame. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co.

THE object of this little book is to set forth in a brief compass the relations of the Catholic Church to science. The dogmas of the Church have always been a guide to the intellectual world in its search for truth. Its genuine love of knowledge has produced the best-known masters of science. Under its protection the great universities of the world came into being. There is scarcely any branch of science that has not been richly adorned by the learning of some of its members. On the other hand, the enemies of the Church have, as a rule, been also the enemies of science. Many of them in former days openly scorned the name of science. Even those of them who now uphold what they are pleased to call "modern science," add but little new information to the general stock of human knowledge. Their hypotheses are only the rejected errors of past centuries, dressed, it is true, in the confusing language of modern theorists, but in substance still the same. These are the facts of which Father Zahm gives ample proof in the volume before us. In four lectures he treats this subject with reasonable fulness. The work is written in an attractive style. For the ordinary reader it is of special value, as it sets forth, in clear and elegant diction, a subject whose greatest difficulty is often obscurity of language. We can commend the little book of Father Zahm as a useful popular addition to the controversial literature of our time.

J. M. H.

THE IRISH CISTERCIANS: PAST AND PRESENT. An Historical Sketch. Dublin: Dollard. 1893.

THIS is an admirable account of the Cistercian foundations in Ireland, past and present. It gives full details about the recent establishments of Mount Mellary and Mount St. Joseph's, Roscrea. What would we not give to have such a full and circumstantial account of the great monasteries of old with which our island was studded! The author of this work has given an admirable example to those who are intimately acquainted with

the origin and progress of important private institutions, and who are in a position to consign their knowledge to records which cannot be lost. General history is made up to a great extent of important local events, and we have no doubt that many future historians of Ireland will feel deeply indebted to the author of this short sketch or history of the Cistercian monasteries of this country. The work begins with a short account of the rise and decay of the great Benedictine Order, of the foundation by Robert of Molesme, St. Álberic, and St. Stephen Harding, of the new Order of Cîteaux, and of the accession to its ranks of St. Bernard and his companions. The relations between St. Malachy and St. Bernard are briefly described, and an interesting account is given of the foundation, growth, and destruction of Mellifont, which the author believes to have been the first house of the Order in Ireland. He tells us how the monks of the Order always selected valleys for the site of their monasteries, and built on the right banks of the rivers. "Benedict loved the hills, Bernard the valleys, Francis the towns, and Ignatius the large cities." Some account is also given of the other famous abbeys of the Order, and of their most illustrious sons. Thus Holy Cross, Boyle, Knockinoy, Assaroe or Ballyshannon, Kilbeggan, Newry, Tintern, Graignamanagh, Monasterevan, get their share of attention. Then comes the struggle of the Reformation, the suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the manuscripts, the penal laws, the horrors of persecution, the resistance.

But by far the most interesting part of the work is that which tells of the expulsion of the Trappists from France during the great revolution, their vicissitudes in Switzerland, Russia, England, and Ireland; the negotiations for a house in this country; the final settlement at Mount Melleray; and the branches or filiations of that great establishment in Leicestershire in England, in Dubuque in the United States, and at Mount St. Joseph's, near Roscrea, in the County Tipperary. All this is full of interest, and is well related. The work concludes with a description of the life of the Cistercian monks, the routine of night and day, their various occupations in the choir, in the school, in the workshop, in the house, in the fields. The little volume is handsomely illustrated with sketches of the different houses of the Order. From whatever point of view we regard it, it is a useful publication, and our gratitude is due to the learned author, who, with characteristic Cistercian modesty, conceals his name.

J. F. H.

BAPTISM.

DANGERS OF THE AGE, AND THE REMEDY. Fourth Edition.

LAST SACRAMENTS AND PURGATORY. Eighth Edition.

By a Missionary Priest. Dublin: Duffy & Co.,
15, Wellington-quay.

THESE three little books do their part towards the instruction of the faithful in matters of the highest import. From the cradle to the grave, the life of man is beset with many spiritual dangers. First there is danger lest the newly-born infant die before it is cleansed in the healing waters of baptism. The days of youth and early manhood are surrounded by dangers arising from bad literature, disobedience to superiors, and intemperance. The great danger of the dying man is that the Last Sacraments be not administered to him, and that his friends pray not God to relieve him from the pains of Purgatory when he dies. These little volumes teach the faithful the means of avoiding these great dangers. The "Last Sacraments and Purgatory" contains a number of beautiful indulgenced prayers and ejaculations which in the word of his Grace the Archbishop of Ephesus, in his congratulatory letter written from Rome to the author, "cannot fail to nourish a spirit of true Catholic piety in the hearts of those who shall make a frequent use of these precious little books."

We hope that the pious author of these little books will persevere in the good work which he has so well begun. We are confident that he will do so, now that the Holy Father has graciously sent him, through Archbishop Kirby, His Apostolic Benediction for himself and his very useful labours. Encouragement like this will help a zealous priest to continue a work so beneficial to the souls of the people.

J. M. H.

GUIDE TO THE ORATORY, SOUTH KENSINGTON. With Explanations and Plates. By the Rev. Henry Sebastian Bowden, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.

FATHER BOWDEN has done a useful and timely work in recording in such handsome and accurate form the origin and foundation of his beautiful church of the Oratory, and consigning to so safe a storehouse the plans of its walls, its sanctuary and its chapels, and the innumerable details of its ornamentation. His work may, indeed, be used as a visitor's guide; but it is something far more. Before the church passes into the domain

of archæology it was well that no mistake should be allowed to exist as to the idea that underlies every item of its decoration. And this will be more useful, we imagine, to members of the household than to strangers. They will have imposed on them the by no means simple task of maintaining and keeping in repair the work which the faith of our time has so laboriously and lovingly created, and it will be essential to them to have an accurate knowledge of every cornice and fresco and symbol in the whole building. That is exactly what Father Bowden's work gives them. He tells us how the church was modelled on the Church of St. Philip Neri, in Rome, a fact which strikes anyone at first sight who has seen the original near St. Peter's; how the foundation was laid in 1880, and how it was consecrated in 1884. Then follows a full description of the interior and of every object in it. It leaves nothing unexplained. The work is a model which should be followed by all those who have a monument of similar importance to describe.

J. F. H.

PLAIN PRACTICAL SERMONS. By Rev. John A. Sheppard, A.M.
New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1893.

FATHER SHEPPARD'S work contains forty-four Sermons of average length. Its title gives in a general way a very fair idea not only of the subject-matter of the Sermons, but also of the character of their treatment. It would be difficult to single out of the whole collection even one sermon whose matter is not of practical importance, and it would be still more difficult to point out even a single sermon whose treatment is not all that a missionary priest could desire. For the Sermons, though the language is throughout plain and simple, are remarkable for a style always dignified, and, in very many places, really eloquent, for a clear and precise exposition of points of doctrine, and for the forcible manner in which the arguments are put. With good reason, therefore, do we express a hope that Father Sheppard's Sermons may become popular, especially among young missionary priests, for whom they might serve as models of plain, practical sermons.

J. F.

THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION. By Rev. A Devine.
Burns & Oates.

THE intelligent laity, and biblical students who lack either time or inclination to consult the more learned commentaries,

will find Father Devine's work an excellent hand-book to the study of the Passion. Clear in style and arrangement, it gives the reader a connected, well-defined view of the incidents narrated by the different Evangelists. In his harmony Father Devine follows the authority of a member of his own order, Rev. Fr. Seraphim; but in the selection of his other sources of information, he has been most Catholic, utilizing the work of the best commentators, ancient and modern. His explanations of the various difficulties in the sacred text are, generally, clear and accurate, though in some instances—notably his explanation of the different versions of St. Peter's denial—rather meagre. His descriptions of the various places, and the accounts of the various Jewish rites and institutions mentioned in the Gospel story, are full and interesting. The chapters on the Last Seven Words, the Dolours of our Blessed Lady, and the *Via Crucis*, considerably enhance the devotional value of the book, which—though its chief value is exegetical—will supply pious Catholics with most suitable Lenten reading.

P. J. B.

PILATE'S WIFE: A TALE OF THE TIME OF CHRIST. By Richard T. Haywarden. Burns & Oates: London.

THIS little volume is an interesting contribution to the store of legend that has gathered round the story of the passion of Christ. It tells how Portia, the wife of Pontius Pilate, and Salome, a noble Jewish maiden, whom Mr. Haywarden identifies with Veronica, learned to believe in Jesus during His passion, and how, in after years, they sealed their faith in Him with their blood. The story is written in a graceful, though sometimes rather pretentious style, and will afford a few hours' pleasant reading.

P. J. B.

A DAY IN THE TEMPLE. By A. J. Maas, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College. Freiburg (Baden), Germany: B. Hender. 1892.

THIS little book, by the author of the *Life of Christ*, describes the daily service of the temple at the time of Christ, interweaving the description in a short story, of which the chief characters are Zachary, John the Baptist's father, and Samuel, who is said to have ministered in Zachary's place when he became miraculously dumb. It contains highly interesting and recondite information

on the laws and customs that governed both priests and worshippers in the temple, and should be very pleasant and useful reading for the diligent student of Scripture. He will find here, gathered together in a connected narrative, those bits and scraps of information regarding temple usages, which are scattered here and there in the commentaries. We should suggest, however, the insertion in the next edition of plates of the temple buildings, courts, porticoes, &c.

P. M.

THE GAELIC JOURNAL, No. 48.

WITH this issue, No. 48, *The Gaelic Journal* begins a new series. For years past it has done splendid work in rescuing from oblivion much of the rich vocabulary and racy idiom of the spoken language, and its value was fully known to the foreign scholars who were, to a great extent, its supporters. Since the *Journal* came into the hands of its present editor, it has been very much improved in every way. Being the only publication in Ireland devoted to the study of the native language and literature, it deserves the support of everyone who feels the slightest interest in that language which was for thousands of years the tongue of our ancestors, and of that literature which is the envy of European scholars. In the present issue will be found a very novel feature—the commencement of a series of lessons through which Father O'Growney proposes to teach not only the construction and idiom of the native tongue, but also the pronunciation. The attempt, so far, is a signal success. The phonetic system adopted in the lessons was drawn up with the assistance of the Archbishop of Dublin, and is extremely simple and attractive. We have no doubt that the lessons, in their now improved and permanent form, will be even more fruitful of good results than when they first appeared in a weekly journal.

The conductors of the *Gaelic Journal* deserve the support of every consistent Irishman, and we have great pleasure in cordially recommending the *Journal* to our readers. It may be procured through the booksellers, or directly from Father O'Growney, Maynooth College, price sixpence per copy, or six shillings annually.

S. P. H.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

APRIL, 1894

ART AND LITERATURE AT ST. GALL

THERE are amongst the ancient treasures of the library of St. Gall several specimens of the early art of this country which are authenticated by Celtic inscriptions and which, even without such a confirmation of their origin, could not be mistaken by anyone having the slightest acquaintance with the artistic productions of our early monasteries. The fact of such perfect specimens of miniature painting and illumination, executed by Irish hands, having been preserved in the famous library, has served to make clear to continental archæologists and artists the claim of Ireland to other works which were long regarded as the wonders of early Anglo-Saxon art, but whose Irish origin is now universally admitted. The *Gospel Book of St. Willibrord*, in the National Library of Paris, and the *Book of St. Cuthbert*, in the British Museum, to mention only two, have excited the admiration and wonder of countless artists, and of writers interested in the history of the development of painting who found it impossible to fill in the space that separates the inimitable pictures in these works from the first beginnings of miniature painting in Italy, in the days of Oderigi d'Agobbio, Franco Bolognese and Cimabue. Some Anglo-Saxon inscriptions on the leaves and covers of these treasures led the world to believe that the ornamentation and painting of them were purely English. But a comparison of the works themselves

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with those to be found in the St. Gall manuscripts on the one hand, and with the oldest specimens of our Irish decorated books on the other, has clearly shown not only that all these samples of art belong to the same school, but that they were, in all probability, executed exclusively by Irish hands. How this conclusion forced itself on critics so deeply versed in the historical study of artistic development as Waagen and Keller, we shall allow themselves to relate. Meanwhile it may not prove uninteresting to examine how the Irish acquired such extraordinary skill in this particular branch of artistic work, at such an early date, and such a perfect command of the technicality and principles of its execution. The most perfect specimen of it which we still possess is to be found in the *Book of Kells*, which is so well known that we need not dwell upon its beauty and perfection here.

Owing to the presence, in different parts of these countries, of carved stones bearing Runic inscriptions, and elaborately ornamented with the same designs as the manuscripts, some writers were led to the belief that the decorated works of the latter are of Scandinavian origin. This idea is now, however, regarded as a complete fallacy. The Danes and Norwegians did not visit these islands until long after our native arts had been brought to perfection, whereas, on the other hand, it was from England and Ireland, and at a comparatively late period, that Christianity was introduced into Scandinavia itself.

"Moreover [writes Westwood], it is to be observed, that although the numerous ornamental stones of Scandinavia exhibit interlaced ribbons, often terminating in the heads of lacertine animals, and interlaced patterns prevail, to a great extent, in the carved wood-work of the earliest Swedish churches, we never meet with the more characteristic Hiberno-Saxon ornaments; viz., the Z pattern, or the special spiral ornament. Of spiral patterns, indeed, many instances are given in the plates of the great Danish collection of antiquities at Copenhagen, both of the bronze and iron ages, published by Worsaae; but it will at once be observed that in all these the whorls are consecutive and of equal size, connected together like the letter ∞ ; whereas in all the most characteristic of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon works the spirals are *not* consecutive, but extend over wider surfaces, so as to

form diapers ; that the whorls are invariably of different sizes ; and that the spires are connected together by being arranged like the letter C"¹

Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in his important work on the early Irish manuscripts, which are still extant in the libraries of Switzerland,² gives it as his opinion that the Irish art of painting and illumination had its origin in Egypt : --

"Such, is the perfection [he writes] of the art which these early productions disclose, and so different are they in conception and system from all ancient classic works, that we are naturally led to inquire what is the origin of this uncommon style of painting, and to what period or date it must be ascribed. When we remark the uniform character of this peculiar Irish imagery, whether in the representation of natural beings or fantastic animals, such as it occurs and repeats itself in the numerous early manuscripts of the country, and examine in detail, the minute characteristics which it invariably displays, it is impossible to deny that we have here a clear and definitely marked style, which must have been cultivated and developed for several centuries in the same spirit, aiming at the same ideal, and executed on a plan from which no artist dare depart. It is also particularly important to observe that the earliest samples that have come down to us are far more perfect than the later ones which show manifest signs of the decay of the art. The whole system of decoration appears in Ireland quite suddenly, without any apparent preparation or past, or traces of gradual development. As O'Donovan has shown, the period that elapsed between the introduction of Christianity and the appearance of such works as the *Book of Kells*, would be altogether too short to account for the invention of the art and its development to such a high degree of perfection. And, as the spirit and character of the work are altogether foreign to Northern Europe, we must look elsewhere if we wish to discover the land of its origin and early cultivation. There are many circumstances bearing on this problem which induce us to turn to the East, and particularly to Egypt, rather than elsewhere, in search of what we require. It is a fact that the text of those ecclesiastical books which were most richly decorated in Ireland, was taken from an Alexandrian version of the Scriptures. If, then, we examine the artistic works of Egypt, we find many specimens of mural painting, which, in

¹ *Fac-Similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, by John O. Westwood, Introduction, page vi.

² "Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten." This important essay was first contributed to the *Journal of the Zurich Antiquarian Society*.

design and in the drawing of the figures, bear a striking resemblance to those depicted in the Irish books. The characteristic figure of the Christ; the way in which the eyes, the hands, the feet are drawn; the form of the wings of the birds, and particularly of the eagles; the figures of the lions and oxen, all show an undoubted affinity and resemblance. The colouring of the pictures bears out the theory in a remarkable degree. The shadowless surfaces, filled in with dots and curves, the Mosaic divisions of the whole design, the variety of colours, glaring in themselves but toned by combination, the complete absence of semitone and blending, and of rounding of the figures, are the same in both specimens. It was but natural that the early Christians of Alexandria should avail themselves of the indigenous art of their country. Workers skilled in its methods, were employed to ornament their books. The productions of their hands found their way, either through missionaries or merchants, to the monasteries of Ireland, where they were ably imitated, thus giving that first impulse to painting and decorative art, which lasted in Ireland, without rise or fall, for two hundred years, and which exercised, as Westwood and Waagen have shown, such a remarkable influence on the artistic development of the whole of Western Europe."

This opinion, which is supported by such authorities as Sir Robert Cotton, Spelman, Camden, and Selden, would have much more weight if its authors did not plainly manifest a great desire to show that Christianity first came to Ireland through any other channel than through Rome. Let it be Alexandria, Byzantium, Antioch, or any Eastern city; but let it not be Rome. There is something in the very name which they dislike; and even in the discussion of a matter of purely artistic interest this inveterate and foolish prejudice must break out. It is utterly ridiculous. It would look as if the whole theory were built up for that special purpose. This of itself is enough to discredit it; but, moreover, it goes against the plainest facts of history and common sense. Anyone who compares the plates of an Irish illuminated book of the period in question with those reproductions of early Egyptian art published by M. Gailliand,¹ cannot indeed fail to be struck with the likeness in colouring between the two styles of decoration; but it will be equally impossible for him to ignore the immense difference that

¹ *Les Arts et Metiers de l'Ancien Egypte*, par L. Gailliand.

ists between the designs, the patterns, and even the figures, on the one side and the other. This difference strikes one so forcibly, at the first glance, that little more is required to expose the flimsy foundation on which the whole early learned theory is constructed. In early Byzantine and Persian art, as well as in that of the modern indigenous populations of Mexico, Georgia, and New Zealand, we find the power of agreeably combining colours much more advanced than that of perspective, delineation, and drawing. That is one of the peculiarities of primitive art everywhere, and is not confined to Ireland and Egypt. Nobody will suggest that it was from Egypt or the East that our monks got their peculiar style of writing, or the splendid and indelible ink with which they wrote.¹ There are, moreover, some special characteristics to be found in Irish ornamentation which are not to be seen in these Egyptian works, nor in any other specimens, whether of Etruscan, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, or modern decorative art. The opinion to which Mr. Kemble, a very eminent judge of antiquarian art, gave expression, in 1857, in an address to the Royal Irish Academy, still holds good, in spite of anything that has since been published to the contrary:—

“When, as is often the case in metal, the principle of the spiral line is carried out in *repoussé*—when you have those beautiful curves; more beautiful, perhaps, in the parts that are not seen than in those which meet the eye; whose beauty is revealed in shadow more than in form, you have a peculiar characteristic, a form of beauty which belongs to no nation but our own, and to no portion of our nation but the Celtic portion. This trumpet pattern is neither Greek, nor Roman, nor Oriental. There is nothing like it in Etruscan art. There is nothing like it in German or Slavonic art. There is little like it in Gallic or Helvetian art. It is indigenous, gentlemen—the art of those Celtic tribes, which forced their way into these islands of the Atlantic, and, somewhat isolated here, developed a peculiar, but at the less admirable system of their own.”

The learned Dr. Anderson, of Edinburgh University, one

¹ Bede, writing of the Irish coast, says: “Sunt et cochleae satis perque abundantes quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur cujus rubor alcherrimus nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviarum injuria efflescere, sed quo vetustior est, solet esse venustior.”

of the most distinguished archæologists of modern times, after having clearly shown that the patterns of decorated stone and metal works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in Scotland and Ireland, were copied or imitated from the illuminated manuscripts of an earlier date, naturally inquires also about the origin of the latter. His conclusion entirely agrees with that of Mr. Kemble. He observes, with sound judgment, that art, like language, is common to the whole human race; and certain of the elements of decorative art, like certain radical elements of language, are the common property of the human family. The manner in which these radicles have been selected by racial preference; the diverse systems on which their combinations and modifications have proceeded, and the various resulting effects, as seen in different languages and dialects, offer an exact parallel to the development of national and local systems of decorative art, possessing the same or nearly similar elemental essentials as their common foundation. It is, therefore, nothing to be wondered at that there are points of resemblance between the early art of Ireland and that of other countries, Egypt included. It is not to be wondered at that some of the characteristics of Irish work should be found in the artistic developments of other countries.

“We find interlaced work [writes Mr. Anderson] on Babylonish cylinders, on Mycenian ornaments and sculpture, on Ethiopic manuscripts and metal work, and on Pompeian bronzes. But it is of exceptional character and restricted scope. We find it on Anglo-Saxon metal work of the heathen time, and on urns of stone in Scandinavian barrows, associated with objects and usages of purely indigenous character. But it is not in the Celtic style, and it never becomes the prevailing and dominant form of decoration. We find it on the Mosaic pavements of the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and on Christian Mosaics of later time, in the early churches of Italy and France. We find it also existing as an architectural decoration applied to the ornamentations of churches, both externally and internally. The jambs of the doorway of San Zeno in St. Prassede, in Rome, built by Pope Paschal I. about A.D. 820, are ornamented with a running pattern of interlaced ribbon-work of four strands, which might have appeared in the shafts of a sculptured cross in Scotland or Ireland. The Ionic capitals of the pillars flanking the doorway have also enrichments in interlaced work. The

doorway at the east end of the Atrium of San Clemente is bordered with interlaced ornamentation similar to that of San Zeno. In the church of Chur, in Switzerland, founded in 1178, there were found seventeen fragments of slabs, sculptured with designs of complicated interlaced work arranged in panels. The church of Kurtea d'Argysch, in Wallachia, a building of the thirteenth century, has the exterior spaces round the windows decorated with complicated interlaced work of great beauty and intricacy. It was thus a common form of decorative ornament applied to various purposes in different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, both before and after the time when in this country and in Ireland, it became one of the prevailing and dominant characteristics of Celtic art. But while it was thus used by other peoples as an occasional element of decoration, or a style of ornament suitable for special purposes, it was nowhere developed into a systematic style of art applied alike to manuscripts, metal-work, and stonework, unless in this country and in Ireland. In other words, it never gave a distinctive character to any art but Celtic art."¹

We stated in our last paper that of the books inscribed in the ninth century as "*Libri Scottice Scripti*," in the catalogue of St. Gall, only one now remains, viz., a *Gospel of St. John*. There are, however, several other Irish books and manuscripts extant there, which were not included in that list, some of which, nevertheless, are of equal, if not greater antiquity. They include a *Book of the Gospels*, a fragment of an ancient *Sacramentarium*, Priscian's *Grammar*, and several other books or fragments. At a suitable time we shall give a full and, as far as possible, detailed list of all the Irish books and manuscripts of this early period that are still extant in the libraries of St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Basle, Zurich, Berne, Carlshruhe, Trevès, Wurzburg, Nuremburg, Ratisbon, Vienna, Paris, Cambray, Brussels, Leyden, Milan, Naples, and Rome. Meanwhile we have only to speak here of the few specimens of illumination still to be seen amongst the remnants of the Irish books of St. Gall. They have a special importance, in addition to that already mentioned, on account of the influence which they exercised on the development of art in the Carlovingian School, as manifested by the great missals and psalters that have come down from that period.²

¹ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, by Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. ii., p. 112.

² See the introduction to the *Psalterium Aureum*, published in recent times at St. Gall, by Dr. J. Rudolf Rahn.

The most important manuscript at St. Gall, from the point of view of illumination, is the Gospel Book No. 51, which contains the four figures of the Evangelists ; five large initial pages with the initials of the Gospels worked in each page ; a richly ornamented cruciform page, and two miniatures. The bundle of fragments marked No. 1395, also contains three illuminated leaves, two of which probably belonged to a book of the Gospels and the third to a Poenitentiale. One of the former is thus graphically described by Westwood :—

“ It contains [he says] a rudely-drawn figure of St. Matthew, seated, writing his Gospel upon a chair, seen sideways, the back of which reaches only to his elbow, having a small conical cup at its top, in which he is dipping a style ; his left hand, with one of the fingers strangely distorted, holding a knife, and the square book resting on his knees. The head, with curling hair, is surrounded by a cruciferous yellow nimbus ; the beard is long, straight, and divided into four points. The upper garment or mantle is purple, with yellow bands and border, and the lower garment or tunic sewn at the wrists, and from the knees downwards, dark green, edged with yellow. He wears a pair of black shoes, with broad red borders, higher behind than in front. Below the seat of the chair appear outline figures of three objects, two of which may be open rolls, and the third, a bundle of rolls, tied together across the middle. In front of the figure is represented the symbolical angel, with curious outspread wings, holding a book in its hand, in front of its face, from which the saint appears to be copying his text. The framework of this picture is composed of the narrow Z-like pattern, rudely drawn with small rosettes and diagonal patterns at the angle.”¹

Of the characteristic Irish decoration of the initial letters, there are some typical specimens in the copy of the Priscian's *Grammar*, which was written and ornamented by the Irish monks of the eighth century. Westwood has so admirably and carefully described these also, that we cannot refrain from giving his own words :—

“ The initial letters [he says] of the various divisions are formed in the genuine Irish style of outline animals, men, or birds, with various interlaced knots in a style nearly resembling that of the *Book of Armagh*. The most remarkable of these initial

¹ *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, by John O. Westwood, p. 67.

letters is the letter P, of which the round open part is filled in with the distorted kneeling figure of a man, one of whose feet is grasped in the mouth of a monstrous head, forming the end of the whorl of the P. Two gigantic birds with long interlaced topknots, at the sides of the man, peck the top of his head; whilst the bottom of the straight stroke of the letter is extended downwards, the end being curved up into the neck of another monstrous head with a prettily peaked topknot."¹

How these illuminated leaves of St. Gall have helped to establish the Irish origin of several important books that had hitherto been regarded as the most glorious specimens of early Anglo-Saxon art, the distinguished German art-critic, Dr. Waagen, explains:—

“As far as I know [he says], I was the first to call attention to the very peculiar properties and characteristics of these so-called Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Later investigations have, however, convinced me that they belong to the Irish school. . . . The oldest specimen of this kind that we possess, the *Evangeliarium* of St. Willibrord, in the National Library of Paris, was formerly described by me as of Anglo-Saxon execution, on account of its similarity with the famous *Book of St. Cuthbert* in the British Museum. A later visit to Paris, however, and a closer inspection of the plates in that extraordinary book, have convinced me that it is purely Irish. A careful study of the figures and style of the ornamentation makes this appear already probable; but a comparison of them with the corresponding plates in the Irish manuscripts of St. Gall places the fact beyond the possibility of doubt.”

The author then points out the features of most striking resemblance between the works on both sides; the primitive and imperfect shape of the figures of men and animals; the glaring red, blue, and yellow colours which, nevertheless, artistically combine and present a picture that is rich and attractive, without being gaudy; the delicate spiral and scroll-work; the elaborate borders; the patterns varied in almost every square or panel; the identity of *technique*; the method of forming lines, dots, figures, rapid strokes, curves; the appearance of the members of the human body; of the heads of birds, serpents, and dragons; the nature of the ink,

¹ *Ibid.*, page 68.

² *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, page 131.

pigments, calligraphy and initial letters; all point to a common origin.

Historical considerations confirm this internal evidence of the works themselves, for it is a well-known fact that St. Willibrord studied in the schools of Ireland; and that St. Cuthbert was, if not born in this country, at all events by universal consent, educated in the Abbey of Melrose, founded by St. Aidan; and that he occupied the position of Prior in the Abbey of Lindisfarne, also founded by St. Aidan, and governed by St. Finan, another Irish Abbot, till the year 660.¹ Dr. Waagen is also of opinion that the knowledge of this peculiar Celtic art was spread by the Irish missionaries all over the Continent, and that it took deepest root in the schools which, like St. Gall, remained longest and most closely connected with the parent institutions of Ireland.

Only a few of the names of the artists and writers of St. Gall have come down to us. There is no mistaking their origin, even if we are to judge only by their names. They are Dubslan, Faelan, Dubduin, Brendan, Melchomber, David, Fortegian, Hepidan, Scotus and Moengal. It is a pity that the fragment of verse published by Von Arx, in his *History of the Canton of St. Gall*, cannot be completed, and the names of all these illustrious workmen handed down to the veneration of their countrymen. We must only be thankful for the few that have been preserved in such extracts as the following:—

“Hi sunt insignes sancti quos insula nostra
 Nobilis indigenas nutrit Hibernia claros.
 Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
 Has aulas summasque domos sacravit amœnas.
 Semina qui vitæ anglorum sparsere per agros
 Ex quis maturos convertitis in horrea fructus.
 Nos igitur fratres, una de stirpe creati
 His sumus: imbecilles miseros quos mente superba
 Despicitis, procures mundique tumentia membra.
 Cum Christi potius deberetis membra videri
 Prudens hic pausat quin utique Gallus atque sepultus
 Ardens ignis Scotorum conscendit ad altos.
 Dubslane meruit nomen dignumque vocari
 Annue rex coeli me hic pro nomine Faelan.
 Dubduin hos ortos fecit quecunque requiris
 Versibus labrisque canens qui dixit amice.”

¹ *Irish Saints in Great Britain*. By Cardinal Moran, pp. 268-274.

The art of painting was not, however, the only art practised at St. Gall. Music was also cultivated with the greatest devotion. But there is no evidence that the Irish pursued there any particular method in the teaching of either vocal or instrumental music. Indeed the only peculiarity of the school of St. Gall seems to have been the invention of a special method for marking the notes so as to direct the singer how to modulate his voice and enunciate his words and syllables. This was done by means of the letters of the alphabet attached to the notes above or below, behind or in front:¹ Notker has left us the key to the meaning of these letters.²

Besides the specimens of religious poetry which we have already quoted in proof of the culture of St. Gall, there are also many pieces of a half religious, half worldly interest, which show how deeply the poet-monks of the ninth and tenth centuries felt the influence of the classic muse. With what elegance and at the same time with what simplicity Ratpert celebrates the "Coming of the Queen" and infuses the spirit of Middle-Age loyalty and chivalry into his Propertian verse:—

"Plus hodie solito radiat sol clarus in alto."

"Cumque serena venis nubila cuncta teris."

"Floribus arva nitent quia te nos visere cernunt."

"Foetibus atque solum germinat omne bonum."

"Gloria magnifice rutilas celsissima Romae"

"Atque Italos radiis comis amoena tuis."

In most of these festive odes we have all the joy that springs from Christian faith and hope without any of the sadness which Horace felt when, after having described the return of Spring —

"Diffugere nives; redeunt jam gramina campis
Arboribusque comae—"

¹ "In ipso quoque primus ille litteras alphabeti notulis quibus visum est aut susum aut jusum, aut ante aut retro assignari excogitavit quas postea cuidam amico querenti Notker Balbulus delucidavit." (Ekkeharti, *Casus Sancti Galli*. See also Dümmler in *Zurich Archæological Journal*, vol. xii.)

² "a, ut altius elevetur admonet; b, ut bene id est multum extollatur sive teneatur belgicatur; c, ut cito vel celeriter dicatur certificatur; d, ut deprimatur demonstratur; e, ut equaliter sonetur eloquuntur." And so on to the end of the alphabet.

his joy becomes suddenly clouded and overcast by the melancholy thought that all must soon pass away :—

“ Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium audet ”
 “ Quae rapit hora diem.”

There is also a touch of genuine nature in those verses which the calm and gentle Notker addresses to the wayward boy, Salomon, whose friend he remained through all his wild escapades, and in whom he ever recognised the germs of good and a native candour and innocence which were clouded only by the dark shadows of ambition :—

“ Egregio juveni Salomoni fidus amicus,
 Prospera cuncta modo, regna beata dehinc.
 Musa diu latuit speluncis clausa profundis
 Et requiem petiit ocia longa terens.
 Hanc puer impatiens quem nos vocitamus Amorem
 Excitat atque urget, increpat inde tonat ;
 Quid tu tarda jaces et nigra stertis in umbra
 Cum tibi thesauri eximii veniunt.”

In covert and graceful language he tells this boy the value of the virtue of chastity, and we doubt if anything more calculated to make an impression on youth was ever written on the subject :—

“ Divitias omnes superat, cunctas quoque gazas
 Quas dederant comites quasque dedere pares.
 Aurea sordescunt, argentea dona nigrescunt
 Quae capiunt oculis condita per loculos :
 Est tactu blandum, callidum nullique secundum
 Frigora depellens, noxia longe fugans :
 Ceu clipeus firmus defendit et omnia munit,
 Omnia membra simul ornat honore suo.
 Pellibus ex variis speciem presentat eandem
 Candidulam, nitidam, flore colore parens,
 Nil fuscum monstrat, nil fulvum reddere novit,
 Hic specialis honor regibus esse solet,
 Est nive candidius, pluma quoque mollius omni,
 Vestibus utilius, serica texta spuens ;
 Tale quod anxius optavi votisque rogavi
 Quod Deus ad vestrum miserat hinc animum
 Quot lanis igitur candet pilisque redundat
 Tot coeli cives te super astra ferant.”

What gives such special value to all these works, whether

literary or artistic, is the fact that they are the product of an age which like all periods of transition was singularly disturbed and which demanded from those called to rise above the barbarous standards of civilization then in vogue an energy and devotion far beyond the common. That the monks of St. Gall were equal to the call,¹ history certifies and their works remain to attest.

J. F. HOGAN.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

FATHERS THADDEUS O'MORIARTY AND RICHARD BARRY, O.P.

IT may be remembered that the name of one of the fellow-students of T. A. O'Brien was Thaddeus O'Moriarty.¹ He was born in the beginning of the seventeenth century. His family lived in Castle Drum, Dingle, County Kerry. The history of his early religious life may be told in a few words. Thaddeus was one of those novices of the Irish house of Corpo Santo, Lisbon, who were trained by Dominic of the Rosary (O'Daly); and well did he repay that loving father's care.² While still young he was esteemed a model of every religious virtue, being especially remarkable for his love of regular observance, and his practice of mortification and of prayer. As is ever the case, the good novice became a good student; the tree planted by the running waters brought forth its fruit in due season. Thaddeus was not more distinguished for his moral qualities than for his mental attainments. His wonderful progress in knowledge during the time that he spent at Toledo (where he went through his course of theology) was attributed chiefly to his interior recollection and uninterrupted union with

¹ I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xv., February number, p. 98.

² The latter survived him, and wrote a most edifying account of Thaddeus O'Moriarty's short career and martyrdom in his work, *De Geraldinis, Appendix de Martyribus*, p. 355, *seqq.*, from which the following sketch is mainly taken.

God. It made his companions apply to him the words of St. Thomas Aquinas about himself—namely, that “whatever he knew was the fruit rather of prayer than of study.” Dominic of the Rosary calls him a finished theologian; and such he must have been, for he received the degree of Master of Theology in course of time.

We find it recorded (Acts of General Chapter, 1656), that after his return to Ireland, Father Thaddeus strenuously defended the Pope’s authority, and rendered great services to religion. Also that he made himself on that account particularly obnoxious to the Protestants. When persecution began again to rage more fiercely he was offered permission to depart from Ireland and to seek safety elsewhere; but nothing could induce the devoted priest to leave his post and abandon his beloved people in the hour of danger.

At length the long-expected day arrived. He, the last prior of the old Convent of Holy Cross, Tralee, was arrested and taken to Killarney by a party of soldiers, who were well aware of the value of their prize. He was then imprisoned, as it appears, for a considerable time. When brought into court, Father Thaddeus answered all the questions of the judge, Nellson, the Cromwellian governor of Killarney, with such candour and simplicity that his very accusers, though in all probability perjurers themselves, were obliged to acknowledge that he was incapable of telling an untruth. The usual pretext for the condemnation of a priest was, of course, alleged, namely, that he had disobeyed the laws; to which he calmly replied that he obeyed God and His Vicar on earth, who commanded him to exercise his ministry. A memorable incident of the trial may be mentioned here: it reminds us of a still more awful scene. The judge’s wife sent him word to have nothing to do with the blood of that just man. But the solemn appeal was unheeded. To plead for justice was in vain, because before that court assembled the priest’s death had been determined on. The mock trial was soon over, and Thaddeus O’Moriarty was sentenced to be hanged. In a righteous cause, brave men meet death without flinching; in the cause of God, the martyrs have welcomed it. The announcement that he was to die on

account of his religion filled Father Thaddeus with joy; he kissed the hand of the bearer of his death warrant, and directed that money should be given to the soldiers who had taken him prisoner. Then his sufferings and his likeness to His Divine Master increased. He was stripped of his garments, scourged, and mocked. The cruel persecutors were amazed at the patience he displayed in the midst of all the tortures their fiendish ingenuity could devise. His heroic fortitude and utter contempt of this mortal life at last even extorted their admiration. Throughout life he had been remarkable for his humility and meekness, which, as we are told by his biographer, O'Daly, had never failed even on the most trying occasions. No one had ever seen him angry. He to whom our future is ever present, who disposes all things for the sake of His elect, by these early adversities, such as they were, gradually prepared Father Thaddeus for the conflict which awaited him. "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." Thus at length this good and faithful servant attained the summit of virtue, and was enabled to give his Lord proof of that love greater than which no man hath.

When he arrived at the scaffold, which was erected on the Fair Hill of Killarney, he addressed the Catholics present on the glorious truths of their religion, the uncertain duration of life, and the happiness of martyrdom, which was, he said, the short and sure way to heaven. He also exhorted them in fervent language to hold steadfastly to the old faith, and in prophetic words announced the final overthrow of heresy in Ireland. Then joyfully exclaiming, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he passed from earth to join the white-robed choir in the bliss of heaven. His glorious victory over the powers of evil took place on the 15th of October, 1653.¹ After his death, to the astonishment

¹ It is said that the famous Pierce Ferriter was hanged with him. Ferriter was the head of an old Norman family settled near Dingle, where some of his descendants are to be found at the present day. His career was a romantic one. He was a soldier, a poet, and an outlaw; and throughout life a popular hero, though it must be confessed he was far from being a model Christian. The cave where he used to hide is still pointed out; his dirge of Maurice FitzGerald has been translated by

of the heretics, and to the indescribable joy of the Catholics, his features which had been worn and discoloured by the hardships of a long and painful imprisonment, shone with a heavenly brightness, and appeared as it were to emit rays of light. "It is," said the executioner, "the face of an angel." And even those who had thirsted for his blood could not help exclaiming: "If the papists ever had a martyr, they have one now." He certainly was regarded as such by friend and foe. Dominic of the Rosary, who, two years afterwards published his work, *De Geraldinis*, says that the soldiers still kept guard over the martyr's grave, lest the Catholics should come and take away his relics. Was anything further needed to complete his resemblance to his divine Master?

For centuries has the veneration for the memory of Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty been preserved in the faithful hearts of the Kerry people. The tradition, accurate in every detail, is still living. One of those best acquainted with it is Thomas Moriarty, of Ballycuneen, near Dingle, who is justly proud of being a scion of the martyr's family. He often narrates the death of his sainted kinsman. A Sergeant O'Connor (recently deceased) also knew the whole history from hearsay, and was acquainted with several others in Kerry, chiefly Irish-speaking persons, to whom it was a household tale. O'Connor, who was born near Killarney, (his mother was a Moriarty) spoke Irish from his childhood, and could recite from memory long poems and stories in Irish, some of which have never yet appeared in print. He told the present writer this circumstance, which has been orally preserved from generation to generation. "On the morning of his execution, Father Thaddeus received the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist from a priest

Crofton Croker; and he had been a captain in the army of the Confederate Catholics, where he fought with distinction.

Ferriter came by his end in this way. After the defeat and disbanding of the Catholic army, he seemingly made his peace with the Parliamentary party, and managed to get from them a supply of powder and ball to be used against the Royalists! This ammunition he promptly conveyed to Ross Castle, Killarney, and employed against its Parliamentary besiegers. Of course after playing this trick he had no hope of quarter, and when Ross Castle was taken, he was excluded from the favourable terms granted to the other defenders, and immediately afterwards executed at Killarney.

who had miraculously entered the prison." The late Bishop of Ardferd and Aghadoe (County Kerry), Dr. Moriarty, another kinsman of the martyr, made the same statement to a Dominican from whose letter the bishop's words are copied here:—"In making my visitation of the diocese I heard from many of the old people that when Thaddeus Moriarty was condemned he earnestly besought that a confessor might be granted him, but his request was refused. The night before the execution a Father of the Order was inspired to walk boldly into the prison—when, lo! he did so, administered the sacraments, and passed out again—and was never seen by the guards."

When on November 2nd, 1862, the same Bishop Moriarty blessed the new Dominican Church of Holy Cross, Tralee, he concluded his sermon with the following eloquent words:—

"And now, dear brethren, am I not right in saying that this is a glorious resurrection? Two hundred and eleven years ago Thaddeus O'Moriarty was hanged for the faith upon the Fair Hill of Killarney; and from that spot whence the martyr's blood ascended to heaven, I have come this morning, one of his own name and lineage, to dedicate again and to open afresh the altar and the church in which he so loved to pray—for it was here on this spot that the ancient monastery stood. I find his successors by my side; I see his children, wearing the same habit, pursuing the same blessed vocation, clustering about the altar just as if only a day had passed, for centuries before the Lord are as hours: and I have drunk to-day the Blood of Christ from the very chalice from which the martyr drank it. Here it is. It bears his name and title, 'Prior of the Convent of Tralee,' and the date '1651'—two years before his martyrdom. I found it accidentally, as if fore-tokening that the voice of the martyr's blood was about being heard and this ancient house restored. The chalice which the bishop then presented to the community bears this inscription:—*'Orate pro Carolo Sughrue qui me fieri fecit pro Conventu Taliensi, Priore Thadeo O'Moriarty, 1651.'*"

There is a well-authenticated tradition that a staff belonging to the martyr was also preserved by the family, and given to the late Bishop Moriarty. The following extract is from a letter of Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell

of Longfield, Cashel, which is in the present writer's possession :—

“The late Sergeant O'Connor, Mrs. Anne Baldwin, formerly of Cullina, near Killarney [now of Rushmount, Kilworth], and Miss Ellen Moriarty, formerly of Killarney [now of Dick's Grove, Farranfore] all told me the following anecdote :—The martyr was arrested in his priory of Tralee, and compelled by the soldiers to walk to Killarney. A soldier cut him a tall, rough staff from a wood by the roadside. On his way to the gallows, which was erected on the site of the present Franciscan Church, he came out leaning on the staff, which a soldier wrenched from him and flung away. A spectator picked it up, and brought it as a memento to the martyr's brother. The ladies often saw the staff in the possession of Dr. Moriarty, M.D., the last male descendant of O'Moriarty, of Castle Drum, the martyr's brother. Dr. Moriarty, M.D., presented the staff to Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, after his consecration. The staff has seemingly been lost, as no one appears to know what became of it.”

And letters from these ladies agree perfectly with their own statement, as given above. Each letter respectively differs, indeed, from it in one unimportant particular; but trivial, however, as it is, for the sake of the whole truth, it will be mentioned here; Mrs. Mahony writes thus :—“My recollection of the ‘martyr's staff’ is that it was given by old Dr. Moriarty, General Dennehy's grandfather, to his namesake the Bishop, in Paris, and I should say before his consecration.” But Miss Moriarty writes :—“I remember, as a child, having seen Dr. Patrick Moriarty, grandfather of Major-General Dennehy, now of Hampton Court, Equerry to the Queen. I heard that the old Doctor kept the staff in loving remembrance of the martyred Dominican, and that his daughter, Mrs. Dennehy, presented it to Dr. David Moriarty, a considerable number of years after his consecration in Killarney.” The slight discrepancy about the date of the gift, and the actual donor, between these letters, of course, does not invalidate the tradition they both testify to. Such minute differences are incident to almost all independent accounts, and are, in fact, an indirect proof of their independence. It will be observed that the three persons who depose about the martyr's staff are all agreed

as to the circumstances in which he used it, the veneration it inspired, and the care with which it was preserved for two centuries, until it was presented to Dr. Moriarty by the descendants of the martyr's brother.

We should now turn to Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty's fellow-student, Father Arthur MacGeoghegan (†1633); but his history is too long for insertion here. It must be reserved for the next article. Meanwhile, before going back to 1633, we shall conclude this article with a sketch of Father Richard Barry (†1647). Few amongst those who shed such lustre on Ireland, died more gloriously than he who now claims our attention, Father Richard Barry, Preacher-General and Prior of the venerable house of his Order in Cashel, now known as "Saint Dominic's Abbey." The title of Preacher-General shows that he was possessed of rare ability in the pulpit.¹ In addition to the heavenly aureola of him who has instructed many unto justice, the holy religious was destined to receive, after enduring most cruel tortures, the still brighter aureola of a martyr.

In 1647, when the sanguinary Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, advanced towards Cashel, many of the inhabitants of that ancient city, including forty priests, retired for safety to the Cathedral. They had with them a small band of armed men, not more than 300 in all, while Inchiquin's forces amounted to 7,000; but as the Rock of Cashel, the site of the Cathedral, was, with reason, considered almost impregnable, they hoped to be able to guard the sacred vessels and whatever property they had brought with them, as well as to defend their own lives against the savage enemy. After a sharp conflict, Inchiquin offered to permit the Catholic soldiers to march down, with colours flying, drums beating, and all the other honours of war, provided they would leave the clergy and the citizens to his *discretion*. The proposal could deceive no one, for his tender mercies were universally known. To their eternal honour be it said,

¹ As early as 1629 his name occurs in the list of special preachers.—MS. Dominican Archives, Rome.

that in face of such overwhelming odds these brave men indignantly rejected the iniquitous condition.

The unequal struggle immediately recommenced, and lasted half an hour. After a heroic resistance the Rock was scaled, and the Cathedral taken by assault; but not before six hundred men had fallen on both sides (O'Daly). Accounts differ about the relative numbers of the slain. Rinucinni says that the loss on each side was equal, while another contemporary writer states that the Catholics lost three hundred, and Inchiquin six hundred men.¹ All that we may be reasonably certain of is, that not a single defender

¹ See Linehan's *History of Limerick*, p. 161: "In a portion of the building, which is to be seen at this day, a monument of his refined cruelty, Murrough 'of the burnings,' as he was called, after having shaken the walls with the thunder of his guns (the portion of the Cathedral which he struck with his cannon did not fall, though a breach was made, till 1848, when it came down with a terrible crash), had recourse to the expedient of piling up a quantity of turf against the outer wall, to which he applied fire, by the action of which the religious and other people who were crowded inside were absolutely baked to death (the black marks of the fire are to be seen to this day). Upwards of thirty priests and friars fell victims to the atrocious Inchiquin on this ever-memorable occasion." The Protestant historian Carte, with his usual indifference, minimizes the barbarities perpetrated on that fearful day, and merely lets us know that "Taaffe, on Inchiquin's approach, retired from Cashel, the inhabitants whereof deserted the city, leaving the gates open, and fled to the Cathedral, a large and spacious pile seated upon a rock, near the walls of the town. It had been of late very well fortified, and Taaffe had provided it with a strong garrison, so that the reducing of it was no easy enterprise. Inchiquin, before he attacked it, offered the inhabitants and the garrison leave to depart, upon condition that they advanced him three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. The proposal was rejected, and the place being taken by storm, a prodigious booty was found there, and great slaughter made of the garrison and citizens before Inchiquin entered, and gave orders that none should be put to death."—(*Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, ad ann. 1647.) If the concluding remark be true, it must be said that Inchiquin took his time. He was in no haste to enter the Cathedral, and to stop the bloodshed. As likely as not, though the fact cannot be ascertained, he was superintending the wholesale death by fire described above. It was on this occasion that he got his indelible appellation, "Murrough of the burnings." Cormac's Chapel (so called from the founder of the Cathedral, St. Cormac Mac Cuillenan, Bishop and King of Munster, A.D. 908), in which the people and priests were gathered, is part of the Cathedral, but not connected with it by an entrance. Its only doorway is on the outside: hence those enclosed in it had no means of escape. N.B.—Linehan evidently thinks that the priests and others were suffocated here, but according to a more reliable tradition they were suffocated in the deep cellar-like chamber at the west end of the Cathedral.

was spared. Their fate may be conjectured from that which befel those who remained within the sacred walls.

The Puritans, feverishly raging for more blood and sacrilege, now broke into the Cathedral, and the conflict was in a measure renewed. Before long five hundred heretics and four hundred Catholics fell there, weltering in gore. The mangled corpses of men, women, and children not only covered the pavement, but lay piled up on the very altars. Every chapel was filled with the slain. An eye-witness of the fearful scene says: "One had to walk over heaps of dead." Among them were a Father Boyton, S.J., and a Father Theobald Stapleton, who, cross in hand, had met the soldiery as they rushed into the holy place. He was literally cut to pieces. At length all the priests were slaughtered, and their lifeless bodies hewn from limb to limb, except one, conspicuous by his white habit, hated with a tenfold hatred, and therefore reserved for the most exquisite tortures. This was Father Richard Barry. Before he went up the Rock of Cashel he had not merely permitted, but commanded the other members of his community to seek safety in flight.

The captain or commander of the Puritan soldiers, who was the first to enter through the breach in the Cathedral wall, was struck by the tall stature and noble bearing of the Dominican, who stood there calmly waiting. He promised to spare his life on one condition—that he would put off his habit, or "insignia," as the Puritan called it. "Never," was the firm reply; "these are my colours in warfare. My habit represents the passion and death of our Saviour, and is the badge of my Order. I have worn it from my youth, and will wear it till I die." The officer warned him of his impending fate, and did all he could to shake his resolution; but in vain. "To me," replied the saintly Prior of St. Dominic's, "sufferings are welcome, and death itself a gain." Without further delay he was seized by some of the soldiers, beaten, and covered with spittle. While these insulted him, others were busy making preparation for his execution. A slow fire was kindled under a stone seat, to which he was bound (Gen. Chapter, 1656). Tradition

marks the spot. Though the grand old Cathedral has been desecrated, and is still in the possession of the Protestants, the visitor at the present day is shown where the seat was—against the pillar which supports the gallery at the end of the Cathedral.¹ We know, from an eye-witness, that the rood, or great crucifix, which stood over the entrance to the choir, was pulled down, and the figure of our Lord was mutilated, as if it were that of a malefactor, the head, hands, and feet being hacked off; also that the statues of the saints were burned. It is but too probable that these fed the martyr's pyre.

His feet were first burned away. Meanwhile he prayed aloud, beseeching God's mercy for himself and grace for the Catholics, that they might remain constant in their adherence to the true faith. Inch by inch the devouring flames crept up his limbs; but no exclamation of pain escaped him. With his eyes raised towards heaven, sending forth rays of light, "*oculis lucis radios in cœlum jaculantibus*," he joyfully awaited his end. It seemed as if he saw the angels hovering over him in expectation of the glad moment when they were to conduct him into eternal glory. Every vein was swollen by the boiling blood, yet his joy increased still more. Never before had the praises of God come forth so devoutly and fervently from his lips. If any of the heretical soldiers had at first hoped to overcome the white-robed friar, who bore their taunts and jibes so meekly, they must have been discomfited and enraged at the sight of such heroic fortitude. The martyr's limbs up to his hips were thus gradually consumed and charred, the torture lasting about two hours, till at last—probably when the soldiers grew impatient—he was released from his sufferings by one of them, who thrust his sword, from side to side, right through the agonizing body. The servant of God had kept his word; the habit he loved was crimsoned with his life-blood.²

¹ Laura Grey, in *The Rosary*, June, 1892, New York.

² When their bloody work was done—at sunset, we suppose—the grim Puritan troopers formed a mock procession. Banners and a decapitated image of the Blessed Virgin were carried in derision. Soldiers clothed in the sacred vestments masqueraded through the deserted streets of the city.

There seems to be an allusion to this holy martyr in particular in the following verse of Father Burke's poem on the Irish Dominicans:—

“ When heresy swept o'er the land like a destroying flood,
And tyrants washed their reeking hands in the martyr's
sacred blood,
Saint Dominic's children then, like men, embraced the stake
and stood
Before the burning pile as 'twere the Saviour's holy rood,
And kissed their habits, while they bled, three hundred
years ago.”

The historians of the Order that describe Father Richard Barry's martyrdom remark that this glorious victory was won on a certain feast of St. Dominic—the commemoration of the miraculous statue of the saint at Suriano, near Naples; and thus we are enabled to fix the date with certainty, September 15th, 1647. Two writers of the time, Archdeacon Lynch of Tuam, in his manuscript history of the Irish Bishops, and Father Sall, S.J., in a letter¹ to Father John Young, S.J., from which many of the above details are taken, also mention the martyrdom of the Prior of “ St. Dominic's Abbey.”

When Inchiquin's army had quitted Cashel after a three days' pillage, a member of the third Order of St. Dominic sought and found Father Barry's dead body among the slain. She then brought the tidings to the Vicar-General of Cashel, who summoned the remnant of the clergy, and the laity to follow him to the spot, where the marks of Father Richard Barry's martyrdom, the burnt limbs, and the wounds in his sides, still bleeding fresh on the fourth day, were deposed to and officially recognised.² The holy relics were then borne

Pictures taken in the sack of the Cathedral served as housings for their horses; and Inchiquin, who appeared with a mitre, jeeringly proclaimed that he was now Archbishop of Cashel.

¹ “ Three of the secular clergy, the prior of the Dominicans, and one of our society, had fallen in the performance of their sacred duties.”

² This was done in presence of the Very Rev. Henry O'Cuillenan, Notary Apostolic, who attested the signatures to the document; and who was still living in 1655, when Dominic of the Rosary wrote his account, *De Geruldinis*, Appendix, page 339, *seqq.* Lisbon, 1655. It is much to be regretted that this official document cannot be discovered at present.

in solemn procession to the Dominican convent, where, after the *Te Deum* had been sung in thanksgiving, they were lovingly and reverently laid to rest. A few words about the church and convent will conclude this account.

The church of "St. Dominic's Abbey," Cashel, is not cruciform. This is owing to the peculiar arrangement of having but one aisle and one transept, which is also found in some other churches in Ireland erected by the regular clergy in the middle ages. A good example of this style still preserved intact may be seen in the Franciscan Abbey church, Kilcrea, Co. Cork. It was indeed admirably suited to a church built as part of a religious establishment, the cloister of which corresponded to the one aisle and transept that are invariably to be found on the other, or outer side of the church itself. St. Dominic's was consecrated in 1243, by its founder, David MacKelly, O.P., Archbishop of Cashel. When two hundred years later, an accidental fire destroyed it and the adjoining priory, they were restored, and the church was consecrated by Archbishop Cantwell—1450-1482. Of all the Dominican churches in Ireland, forty-three in number, this of Cashel was considered the most beautiful. The traceried window of the transept, which is so much admired, must have been put in at the restoration of the edifice in place of the original three-light lancet window, for the heads of the latter, now filled with masonry, show in the wall, over the top of the fifteenth century decorated one. At the present day this roofless transept, which is on the south side of the church, is filled with tombs, all apparently of lay people; and several ash trees are growing among these resting-places of the departed. Let us pass from the transept, under the chancel arch of the lofty central tower, into the cloister, which here as in Dominican priories generally was reserved as the cemetery of the community. Here the martyr's grave is still pointed out. Under a magnificent

Perhaps a certified copy was sent to Dominic of the Rosary for his work, but whatever papers he had in the old Irish Dominican house of Corpo Santo, as well as the house itself, perished in the great Lisbon earthquake a hundred years later.

linden tree, which at two and a-half feet above the ground is fully ten feet in girth; and on its west side is the spot venerated through centuries of persecution by the Catholics of Cashel, where lie the hallowed remains of Father Richard Barry. In the penal times a small thatched chapel was built against the wall of the Abbey that runs parallel to the present street; and from the mark of the roof of this chapel, which is still to be seen on the ancient wall, it is evident the little structure stood close by the martyr's tree.

Although the interior of the Abbey church, even in its dismantled condition, was less exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, and must have been endeared to them by many sacred recollections, yet they preferred that the martyr's tomb should be the spot where the sacrifice of Calvary should be continued. Delicate tokens of reverence such as this reveal to us from its hidden depths one of the most beautiful traits of the Irish character; namely, the intense religious feeling, the warm affection, and the poetic temperament of our own people.¹

About a century ago the little church, a memorial of the darkest days of persecution, was taken down, and the present parish church was built on the old site of St. Francis' Abbey. The Dominican cloister is now, sad to say, a tilled garden. The present proprietor lately removed the earth to the depth of three feet around the root of the ancient

¹ The General Chapter of 1650 states that many miracles were wrought by the martyr. This accounts for the great veneration paid at his tomb. The same Chapter of 1650 mentions a few very interesting facts. Father Barry gave his blessing to all his brethren, and sent them away to a place of safety *before* Cashel was surrounded by the Puritan army. His purpose in remaining was to attend to the besieged, and if God so willed, to die with them. When Inchiquin's soldiers burst into the cathedral, with the cross in one hand, and the rosary in the other, he was exhorting the people to die for Christ's sake. He was the only ecclesiastic that wore his religious habit, and this was the reason why he was reserved for greater tortures. He had been seized in one of the chapels, where he knelt in prayer before the altar, making his last preparation. He was covered with blood, flowing from innumerable sword cuts and lance thrusts, before the final stab was given. The General Chapter of 1656, in which his martyrdom is again recorded, gives the details already mentioned in the text.

linden; but did not find any traces of an interment. The late John Denis White, the author of *Cashel of the Kings*, who in all matters of local antiquities was justly regarded as the best authority, thought, however, that in consequence of the accumulation of soil everywhere visible, Father Richard Barry's dust must lie six feet below the present surface.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.



[This facsimile of the signature of T. A. O'Brien, O.P., the martyr-bishop, which we give above, was unavoidably omitted in the article on him which appeared in our February issue. In answer to some queries, it may be sufficient to state that Fr. Costello's, O.P., great work on the Irish Episcopacy and Beneficed Clergy will soon be published.]

THE RIDDLE OF HUMAN LIFE

"Well! Life is a quaint puzzle. Bits, the most incongruous join in each other, and the scheme thus gradually becomes symmetrical and clear; when lo! as the infant claps his hands and cries, 'See! see! the puzzle is made out!' all the pieces are swept back into the box—the black box with the gilded nails."—LORD LYTON.

IT is man's wont to conceive an absurdly exaggerated view of his own importance, and too often to forget what an exceedingly insignificant little creature he really is, considered in himself. In the display of this conceit and vanity he not unfrequently puts us in mind of the barn-door cock, which (according to George Elliot) believed the sun arose each morning for the express and sole purpose of hearing it crow!

To help us to arrive at a somewhat juster estimate of our true position in the vast creation, let us begin by making a supposition. We will suppose that by some divine power, we are carried away bodily from the earth, and deposited

upon the Pole Star. Looking down from such coign of vantage, we gain a magnificent view of the whole mechanism of the planetary systems. Granted the possession of suitable eyes, we should at once behold countless constellations, groups of stars, and vast systems of planets on all sides of us. Amongst these we would soon detect our own beautiful sun, bright, glistening, and fiercely incandescent. Revolving round it as a centre, we might then observe the four gigantic planets, Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter. Round and round they sweep at a terrific pace, in circles of literally thousands of millions of miles in circumference.

A more careful and minute inspection would finally reveal to us yet another planet. It is small, indeed, as compared with the four above mentioned, and insignificant in the extreme—so small, in fact, that twelve hundred, all rolled into one, would be needed to make a single star equal in size to Jupiter, and almost as many to bring it up to the dimensions of Saturn. What is this poor little revolving speck, looking like a grain of dust, that seems lost amid the vast number of greater and grander orbs? It is our earth; the world on which we dwell. From our supposed position on the Pole Star it seems the merest point; yet round and round it sweeps about the sun, floating without any visible support through the aerial wastes, bearing on its surface not only seas and mountains, rivers and lakes, forests and plains, but a living freight of over a thousand millions of human beings, together with the towns and cities in which they live; the great seaports, with their shipping and their merchandize; and the teeming, busy emporiums of trade and commerce, industry and business. The whole is tearing through space immeasurably faster than the swiftest bullet ever projected from a cannon's mouth.

Contemplated from this point of view, the earth is no longer the important planet we first supposed. Compared with the rest of creation, the entire world is less than a tiny particle of dust, or a single drop from some vast ocean. Yet in this tiny world man works out his destiny; it is the seat of his present life, labour, and love. Having gazed intently upon the earth, as seen from afar, let us now draw

nearer, and imagine ourselves to be in the position of a child just born into it. Consider the natural working of its mind. In this child we see an image or type of ourselves, and may study the promptings and gropings of every human soul. On its first entry into this world it is carried along, like an unconscious thing, amid the stream of events and circumstances that surround it. As years, however, pass away a change takes place. Not only does the body develop, but the powers of the mind also unfold. Reason gradually begins to dawn. Like the first faint gleams of morning stealing over the eastern hills, and heralding the day, come the early promptings and inquiries of reason; and as the seasons succeed one another reason develops and strengthens ever more and more.

Looking with wondering eyes over the earth, the child gazes out far and wide upon all around it: the wide stretching plains, the deep sonorous seas, the snow-capt mountains, &c. And as it gazes, strange thoughts like shadows flitter through its mind, and provoke its interest and curiosity—and a number of burning questions begin to stir within its innermost soul, till at last they formulate themselves in words, and the child pauses to inquire:—*How* did I get here? *Who* placed me here? *What* am I here *for*? *Whence* have I come? *Whither* am I going? What does it all mean? And how is it all going to end? What is the answer to the riddle of life? As the child looks out upon its earthly dwelling-place, it feels itself to be a stranger in a strange land. “Those mountains, ah! they were there” (it muses) “long before I was born. The rushing river, the wild cascade, the bubbling stream are old features in the landscape. I alone am an intruder.”

It looks up to the sun, flooding the heavens with its light; and as it basks in the beneficent rays a voice within its heart cries out: “That same sun now shining on me has shone for thousands of years before I was so much as thought of: its bright rays cheered and comforted countless generations that have been born, and run their course, and passed away, and are now numbered with the things forgotten, and it will shine on thousands yet to come.” And as the

child strolls down to the pebbly beach, and hears the music of the seething waters, and listens to the waves dashing and breaking on the shore, and grinding the rocks to powder, it reflects that "those same sounds have tingled in the ears of multitudes long since dead and turned to clay."

At last he reaches some lonely cemetery, and wanders amid the memorials of the dead. All around him lie the melancholy tombstones. They are old and grey, and gnawed away by the tooth of time, while over many is spread the moss of centuries. The very characters, once so clearly cut upon their polished surfaces, are now blurred, and worn, and hardly legible. He deciphers with difficulty the different inscriptions. "Pray for such a one, who died in 1750," or "Of your charity breathe a prayer for such another, who fell asleep in the Lord in 1699," &c. And while he reads, he hears, in fancy, the dead muttering in their shrouds. They seem, in fact, to be preaching to him from out their pulpits of cold stone; and to breathe in his ear words of awful warning: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi." "To-day for me, but to-morrow for thee." "What I am now (a little dust), thou shalt soon be, and what thou art now (living flesh and blood) I once was." "Yes I, who am now lying here, was once e'en as thou. I too was once rocked in a cradle, fed at the breast, and fondled on the knee. I grew up in strength and beauty, and basked in the sunshine of a mother's love, and gambolled and made merry with my companions on the green. Oh! how gaily we were wont to run and shout, and scream in our thoughtless play. Yes: I, as you, had my days of pleasure and my days of disappointment; my sunshine and my shadow; though now forgotten and corrupted, I too was once absorbed by my business and my profession, my interests, my anxieties, my enemies and my friends. Aye; I strutted my brief hour upon the stage, in anxious care or thoughtless gaiety. But the years stole by, and full soon the drama of life was ended: the play was over: the curtain fell. My body, like a used up garment, was flung on one side, and thrown into the grave. Thou whilst thou standest and gazest, art actually passing along the same route, which I have already trodden. Thy days are numbered, and thou wilt soon be by my side."

And, as such thoughts course each other through the brain, the shortness and uncertainty of life are borne in upon the mind with resistless vividness and force. Oh ! how brief, how transient ! We are here to-day ; to-morrow we are gone. To what are we to compare it ? To the passage of a ship through the sea. There is a little stirring of the waters, a little fuss and foam and commotion in its immediate neighbourhood ; but it passes ; the waters close up, and no trace of its path is to be seen. What is life ? A vapour, which endures for a little while, and then disappears. Or it has been compared to a bird, winging its way through the air. Behold ! we gaze upon it for a moment, but see ! it is gone. Or like a spark, it glows like fire for an instant in the midst of the night. But before we have time to cry—Behold ! it is swallowed up again in darkness.

A hundred years ago, not one of you who now read these lines had any existence. You had not come into the world. In a hundred years more, you will most certainly have left it. Life then is like a hyphen connecting two eternities. There is the eternity of the past, out of which we have been drawn, and there is the eternity of the future, into which we are so soon about to plunge. A moment indeed separates us from it. But on that single moment the whole of our endless future is balancing.

2. But the child will ask *how* did I get here ? That it did not make itself, is quite clear. It was not even consulted in the matter. God alone made that child, or could make it. Man could not do it. No ! its parents were but the instruments—in a sense, the *unconscious* instruments. They know not, nor can they explain, how the marvellous structure was built up ; how muscle and bone, and sinew and ligament were knit together into a single living breathing whole. It is a work divine. Who is foolish enough to imagine that unaided man can produce such a marvel ? He, who cannot make the least insect that crawls ; nor the smallest floweret that blows ; how much less can he make a human being. Call together your men of science, your learned philosophers ; summon your Darwins, Spencers, Cliffords, Leylls, Harrisons, and bid them construct for you, by their own

power, the simplest object: the robber bee, for instance, that pilfers the nectar from the flowers; or the common house fly that buzzes against the window pane. Bid them create a fruit, a flower, a leaf, nay a single blade of common prairie grass. Impossible! As well bid them create sun, moon, and every gleaming star. No. A power superior to man must have been his author. An Intellect and a Will more than of man himself, were needed to bring him into existence, and that Intellect and Will we call God. God made me. He is the author of my being. He and no other placed me in this world. But consider the consequence. If God made me, then I am His. Since He fashioned me, I belong to him. He is my supreme Lord and sovereign Ruler. I belong more truly to Him than the picture belongs to the painter who painted it; than the statue to him who hewed it from the rock, and shaped it in comeliness and beauty. In fact, nothing belongs to me half so absolutely as I belong to God. There are many things that we call our own, and of which we dispose as we please; yet we created none of them, and not one can be strictly said to owe its existence to us. How infinitely greater and further reaching then, is God's dominion over man, than man's dominion even over his own handiwork! The question is, do we realize this? Do we bear in mind the consequences of our subjection to an Almighty Being. Are we conscious, as the days and weeks of toil go by, and as years are added to years, that we are not our own, but are creatures of an Infinite Creator: that we are under the strictest and most binding obligation to obey Him, serve Him, honour Him, and love Him?

3. But granted that God made us, and that we are His; and, consequently, that we must serve Him as our supreme Lord and Master; granting all this; reason will not rest there. It demands further, Why did God make us? What was it that induced Him to call us forth from the bottomless depths of pure nothingness? Now observe, between "nothing" and "something" there yawns an infinite gulf. The two terms are separated, as philosophers speak, by the whole diameter of being. Hence to call my soul from

nothingness into existence, God had, if I may so express it, to exercise the whole of His omnipotence. And what was His motive? Was it because I was in any way necessary to Him? Such an idea is in itself absurd. If He did without me during a past eternity, why should I suddenly become necessary now. No! Was it then because of some advantage He was to derive from my existence? An equally impossible suggestion. God is infinite. He possesses within Himself the source of all perfection and felicity, and can stand in need of no one. What is the entire world in His sight? A mere nothing. What are the heavens and the earth, and all men and angels united before His dread presence? No more than a drop of the morning dew. How could we therefore add to His essential glory, or increase a happiness already infinite? No; He made us; but it was not through necessity, nor was it through any advantage He could derive from our existence.

Why then was it? It was by reason of His inherent goodness and love. Goodness is always diffusive. Goodness yearns to impart its treasures: and to let others share in its happiness and possessions. God desired that His own happiness and glory should radiate beyond Himself. As the sun is not only bright itself, but shoots forth its rays far and wide, and gladdens ten thousand worlds; so God is not only in Himself infinite goodness, but He loves to impart and diffuse His gifts and favours on others. Hence He made man, not through necessity, nor even through any advantage He could hope to reap from his creation, but through pure unadulterated love. Indeed this is the only motive consonant with our very knowledge of the nature of God; and it is just precisely the motive He assigns. "Behold I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore I have drawn thee out of nothingness." No other motive can be assigned. But here again I ask, what is the consequence? The consequence is, that we must love Him in return. Love begets love, even between creatures; how much more should the love of the Creator incite and enkindle love in the heart of the creature? If that Divine Power, who stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth,

condescends to lavish His love upon me, surely the very least I can do, is to love Him in return according to the utmost extent of my limited capacity. Nor is this all. He not merely made me, but He has surrounded me with His gifts and favours. "All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that is made." He has given us great gifts; and what is more, He has given us the capacity of enjoying them, without which the gifts would be of little worth. We may divide these gifts into those which are particular and into those which are general. Among our *particular* gifts are life, health, the sense of sight, of hearing, of taste, of smell, and touch; and above all and beyond all others in the natural order, reason and free will.

The five senses put us in relationship with the whole of external nature: and the intellect enables us to think of those external objects, and to reason about them in a rational manner.

By God's *general* gifts, I mean those of which all men may make use. Thus the earth, our dwelling-place; the air we breathe; the food by which our animal wants are supplied; the sun which warms and cheers us, as well as delighting us by its beauty. All these things are so many gifts from God, so many tokens of His love, so many proofs of His affection and solicitude for us. We are ready enough to *use* His gifts. There can be no doubt about that. We are never weary of extracting pleasure, amusement, happiness, and advantage from every creature capable of yielding it. But how often do we pause, in the midst of our career, to turn a grateful loving glance towards Him whose goodness has laid open all these treasures? Did you ever tarry to consider even the magnitude of God's gifts, or the measureless value of even the least of them? Take, as an instance, *the gift of sight*. The eye! What a marvellous organ. If destroyed by an accident, what can supply its place? Who can manufacture another? Though it is a physical thing, a thing formed of flesh and blood and *mere matter*, no man can manufacture such an organ. He has within his reach all the material elements of which it is composed, yet he cannot even put them together so as to

form an eye that can be of the smallest service to any one. Science has made great strides ; it can do many grand and startling things, but it is powerless to provide a blind man with the organ of vision. It has made many wondrous discoveries, but it has never discovered how to fashion anything to correspond to that. In point of size it is an insignificant organ, yet what endless marvels it discloses for our inclination and delight. It throws open to us the entire heaven with all its myriads of palpitating stars. It reveals to us all the beauties of the world : trees and flowers ; the graceful forms and sparkling hues of thousands of gorgeous insects, and the exquisite colouring of countless birds and beasts, together with fish and finny monsters of the deep, to say nothing of the countless gems and precious stones. By aid of the eye, we are able to tread our way through the mazes of a great town, or to wander safely over hill and dale ; to read books and papers ; to contemplate the finest works of the sculptor and the painter ; and, what perhaps is most pleasing of all, to gaze into the face of friends and relations, and read their affection therein more truly than on their lips ; to learn indeed what is often too deep for words.

All this, and far more, is included in the gift of sight. Yet this is one of the lesser gifts of God. Probably no one truly realizes its magnitude till he lose it. The blind (who have not always been blind) alone know how to estimate it at its full value. And what has been said of sight might be said, in a greater or lesser measure, of *all* the other senses—and, indeed, of all that we enjoy in the order of nature. To God we owe our existence ; and if our existence, then, of course, all that is included in our being : every organ, every limb, every faculty of mind, and every power of body. How we should, therefore, thank God for His goodness and generosity ! Yet how many of us make use of His gifts, merely to offend the Giver. But, further, God not only made us and all that exists around us, but He preserves and maintains us each succeeding moment. Nothing is, or can be, self-supporting. To say that any creature is self-sufficient, is to say that it is independent of God, and needs not God, which is absurd. Let me illustrate my contention by an

example. I lift a great stone from the ground. I raise it till it is on a level with my head. There it will remain. Yes; but only so long as I support it. If I remove my hands the stone cannot continue suspended in mid-air, but falls abruptly to the ground. So when God lifts us out of nothing, it is not enough. He must needs maintain and preserve us, day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute. St. Augustine reminds us that "we are as much indebted to God for our existence each succeeding moment, as we were in the first moment." That being the case, how our hearts ought to be continually welling over with gratitude and thankfulness.

Many other considerations might be made to awaken within us similar sentiments; but let us pass them by to ask ourselves:—*Whither* am I going? We are ever hastening on towards eternity. You have contemplated the mountain torrent skipping and gurgling merrily over the stones? How quickly, how sprightly, how glittering! *That is youth.* You have watched the same, broadening out into a full flowing stream? *That is manhood* and mature age. You have looked upon it also as it grew into a wide majestic river; and as its waters, with slackened pace, glided on almost imperceptibly, to be at last lost in the deep ocean? *That is old age*, ending in eternity. We are all like to a river, hurrying on to throw ourselves into that boundless, bottomless main. Death is the dark entry through which we must pass. Those gloomy portals loom in the uncertain distance. Every moment brings us a step nearer. Every hour diminishes the interval separating us from them. Often we may wish to pause in our onward course. Impossible! Often we would gladly linger on in the groves of pleasure and dissipation, or even call back again the days long fled, or arrest the fleeting hour. But no. It cannot be! A power stronger than ourselves urges us on. As well seek to stay the earth revolving on its axis, or to check the meteor's flight, as to lay a staying hand on the rushing river of time.

But *whither* are we hurrying so fast? Into eternity. Aye, but what kind of eternity? There are two: one of joy ineffable, and one of sorrow inexpressible. The one is a home of peace, pleasure, delight, "where the wicked cease

from troubling, and the weary are at rest." The other is a bottomless abyss, where eternal disorder and confusion, and endless darkness reigns. Darkness in the intellect; darkness in the will; darkness in the heart; as well as darkness before the eyes. Into one of these two places we shall each of us soon find ourselves. Which, we should each ask ourselves, is to be *my* eternity? It depends upon myself. "Before you lie life and death; that which you choose, you shall have." A man need not trouble to inform us which he is choosing. We can tell by observing his life, his conduct, his general behaviour and character. If he is doing what he believes to be right; if he is acting up to his conscience; if he wishes earnestly and practically to carry out God's will, even when it costs him some sacrifice, we know that man is choosing the bright and glorious eternity; if not, we are equally sure that he is choosing the eternity of misery, remorse, pain, and endless agony. What a privilege to help the thoughtless and the giddy to make a proper choice, and to reach at last the haven of everlasting rest!

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.—II.

1817-1821.

DE MAISTRE was now (1817) sixty-four years old. So far he had done little to make himself a name in the literary world. His *Considerations*, it is true, had attracted much attention; but many things had happened since the publication of that work, and some of these had falsified his most confident predictions. We have seen, however, that he had not been idle during his prolonged exile in Russia; that he had been gathering materials and making digests, pondering, planning, sketching, and composing. The world at large knew nothing of these labours. Hence it came to pass that it was only in the last few years, or rather months, of his life that he really became known as one of the most brilliant

writers of his day. His *Du Pape* did not see the light until 1819; his *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg* not until 1821, the very year of his death. Fifteen years more elapsed before the publication of his *Bacon*, and thirty years before the publication of his voluminous correspondence. His fame, therefore, is mainly posthumous. He did not live to see how his books were received; he had no opportunity of correcting or modifying what he had written. The benefits which great works derive from the blows of sturdy opponents and the cuts of candid friends, were denied to him. To this we must attribute the absoluteness of so many of his views and the unpractical character of his aims. Some critics have even thought that they can detect in his style something of the confined atmosphere of the study; but to this most readers will surely demur.

Before we come to deal with these writings we must say a word about the events of the last years of De Maistre's life. After the final downfall of Napoleon he continued for some time to reside at the Russian Court. His wife and daughter had been with him since 1814, but still he longed to end his days in his native land. After repeated requests he at last obtained his recall. The Czar Alexander bestowed costly presents upon him and his family; and to save him as far as possible from the expenses of his long journey homeward, placed at his disposal a Russian ship-of-the-line which was bound for France. With mingled feelings of joy at the end of his exile, and regret at parting from his friends, he set sail from Cronstadt on May 28th, and reached Calais on June 20th. Four days later he arrived in Paris. This was the first and the only time that he ever visited the country and the capital which are now the home of his fame. A hearty welcome was accorded to him in all the royalist circles. Louis XVIII. was especially gracious; but De Maistre's greatest consolation was his audience with the Duchess of Angoulême, the illustrious daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The sight of such calm after such a storm filled his soul with delight and served to intensify his already advanced royalist opinions. As for Paris itself,

he was smitten with that charm which even the dullest travellers have not failed to feel. He stayed there so much of the time at his disposal that he nearly missed seeing Versailles. Such a "disgrace," however, he could not suffer. He who had been the foremost champion of the Bourbons was greatly impressed with that vast and costly monument of the old *régime*.

"Last Thursday [he writes] I managed to find my way there. Louis XIV. still lives in the palace; everything is full of him. I do not know why the devotees of the Revolution spared so many memorials of a king who so little understood the rights of man. In the chamber where this famous prince died, in that other where he held his councils, where Colbert and Louvois gave their opinions in the presence of Madame de Maintenon at her knitting, in the groves where Madame de Sévigné used to walk, I felt quite overcome. There is now nothing left for me to see."

He reached Turin during the month of August. Had he consulted his own desires he would now have retired into private life to complete his long-planned works and to see them through the press. For the sake of his wife and children he solicited office; and after some delay obtained the highest post in the magistracy and numerous decorations. He had not long received these honours when his famous book on the Pope appeared.

For some years past the Revolution had seemed to have finished its course. Bonaparte was safely guarded in far-off St. Helena; Louis XVIII. held peaceful possession of the throne of his fathers; Pius VII. was back in the Quirinal. Throughout Europe the Royalists were triumphant and the Revolutionists in despair. But there were not wanting shrewd men of both parties who perceived that the struggle was by no means at an end. They recognised that, just as the abuses of Royalism had led to the excesses of the Revolution, so the excesses of the Revolution had led to the Restoration. Nevertheless, Royalism and the Revolution were still face to face, and must fight their battles over again. The problem on each side was how to purge Royalty of its abuses and the Revolution of its excesses. No champion of the old order more deeply deplored the mistakes

and crimes of his party than De Maistre. No one was more convinced of the instability of the Restoration. His vast and profound knowledge of the history of the distant past, coupled with his varied experiences of the whole course of the Revolution, made him see clearly that unless some safeguard, some bulwark, could be discovered or devised, the last state of Christendom would be far worse than the first. Such a safeguard, such a bulwark, was happily at hand, and needed only to be recognised in order to fulfil its functions. It was no other than the Papacy—the oldest of all European institutions, and yet flourishing with the full vigour of youth. De Maistre knew well what opposition the Popes had suffered not only from their avowed enemies, the infidels and heretics, but also from Catholics, and notably the aristocratic bishops of France. The success of his *Considérations* encouraged him to embody his ideas in a fresh book. He was aware that he was taking up ground long recognised as the exclusive domain of the clergy; but he pleaded in defence that their diminished numbers and increased labours prevented them from undertaking the proposed task; and also that, inasmuch as his own order, the nobles, had been so guilty in the past, it was fitting that they should furnish religion with at least one defender.¹ Moreover, though he was a ripe classical scholar, he determined to write in French, because that language had been the instrument used by the Church's bitterest foes; and, in order to disclaim any pretension to write a theological treatise, he avoided the use of the scholastic method. The plan of the *Du Pape* is based upon the distinction between the two great classes into which he considered that Europe was divided—the party of authority, and the party of revolution. All non-Catholics, whether infidels, schismatics, or heretics, he embraced in the latter party, because they all agreed in rejecting authority. Unhappily, many of the

¹ No such apology is needed at the present day. De Maistre, De Bonald, Chateaubriand, Montalembert, Nicolas, Veuillot, and De Mun, in France; Goerres and Windthorst, in Germany; O'Connell, in Ireland; Ward, in England; Brownson, in America—all of these have proved in their different ways how much the Church owes to the efforts of the lay members of her flock.

former party did not follow out the principle of authority to its logical consequences; they clung to monarchism in politics, but would have nothing to do with it in religion. De Maistre aimed at conciliating legitimism, and at disarming the revolution.

The first portion, entitled "The Pope in Relation to the Church," is accordingly occupied with a powerful argument for the doctrine of Papal infallibility. Instead of the orthodox method of proving a thesis from Scripture, the fathers, and theological reason, he takes the legitimist principles of his Gallican adversaries, and shows that these very principles, when applied to the constitution of the Church, necessarily imply the infallibility of the Pope. Be consistent, he says; you hold that in the state the King alone is supreme; you must, therefore, admit that the Pope is infallible, for infallibility in the spiritual order is the same as supremacy in the temporal order. This *argumentum ad hominem* is developed and pushed home with much acumen and force. Then follow the testimonies of the fathers and doctors, taken mainly from an authority dear to writer and readers alike—the gentle St. Francis de Sales. Even Bossuet himself, the defender of the Declaration of the Gallican Church, is summoned as a witness, and is forced, in spite of himself, to give evidence in favour of the Papal claims. De Maistre quotes numerous passages in which the great preacher goes so far in support of the Holy See that he cannot logically stop short of admitting infallibility. Here is De Maistre's summary of this first part of his work:—

"There can be no human society without government, no government without sovereignty, no sovereignty without infallibility. This last character is so absolutely necessary that we are obliged to suppose infallibility even in temporal sovereigns (where, in fact, it does not exist), under pain of seeing society dissolve. The Church asks for nothing more than other sovereignties, although it has over them an immense superiority; since, on their side, infallibility is *humanly supposed*, and on hers it is *divinely promised*. This indispensable supremacy can be exercised only by a single organ: to divide it is to destroy it. Even with these truths less incontestable, it would always be undoubted that every dogmatic decision of the Holy Father should have the force

of law until opposed on the part of the Church. When this phenomenon shall appear it will be time for us to see what must be done; until then we must abide by the judgment of Rome. This necessity is invincible, because it belongs to the nature of things and to the very essence of sovereignty. The Gallican Church has offered more than one precious example in this matter. Induced at times by false theories and by certain local circumstances, to take up an attitude of apparent opposition to the Holy See, she very soon came back into the old paths. Recently, too, some of her leaders, for whose names, whose learning, whose virtues, and whose noble sufferings, I have the greatest respect—these, I say, have made all Europe ring with their complaints against the pilot whom they accuse of having navigated during a storm without consulting them.¹ For a moment they may have alarmed the timorous among the faithful, ‘*Res est solliciti plena timoris amor* ;’ but when the time came for making a final choice the immortal spirit of that great Church hovered over the heads of those illustrious discontents, and all ended in silence and submission.”²

Supposing now that the Church of France has thus been won over to the cause of Papal infallibility, the objections of the ultra-Royalist are next dealt with in the second book, entitled “*The Pope in Relation to Temporal Sovereignities.*” After a brief but masterly proof of the necessity of a personal, individual sovereign in a state, De Maistre goes on to point out that, like every good thing, sovereignty is exposed to abuse. The great problem is, how to restrain sovereign power without destroying it. In the Middle Ages this was effected by the spiritual power, which had the right, in certain cases, of absolving subjects from their oath of allegiance. Such a course was good for the prince and good for the people. The spiritual power ever respected the office though it struck at the person. If the prince was deposed, it was by a divine and not by a human authority; and the people, knowing that they had a security against tyranny, had little temptation to rebellion. In spite of much misrepresentation the system worked well. Deposition was seldom resorted to, and when it was exercised it was thoroughly deserved. And here De Maistre draws attention to the fact

¹A reference to the Concordat of 1801, when a number of the old French hierarchy were forced by Pius VII. to resign their sees.

²Chap. xix.

that the power of deposing sovereigns was never used by the Popes for the purpose of extending their own temporal dominions. This leads to a learned digression on the origin and growth of these Papal States. Returning to his main subject, he deals with the story of the struggles between the Popes and temporal sovereigns. The causes of these may be divided into three classes:—Kings claimed not to be bound by the laws of Christian marriage; they claimed to be the bestowers of the spiritual powers of the priesthood; they claimed the power of invading Italy and annexing its provinces to their own dominions. As heads of the Church the Popes withstood the first two claims; as Italian sovereigns they withstood the last. Who can blame them, who does not rather praise them, for their opposition to all three? Again let us take De Maistre's summary of his argument:—

“No sovereignty is unlimited in the full force of the term; and, indeed, no sovereignty can be: always and everywhere there is some restraint on it. The most natural and the least dangerous—especially among young and ferocious nations—is, beyond doubt, some sort of intervention on the part of the spiritual power. The hypothesis of all the Christian sovereignties, united by the bonds of religious brotherhood into a sort of universal commonwealth, under the supremacy of the highest spiritual power—this hypothesis, I say, has nothing objectionable about it; nay, rather, it can present itself to men's reason as superior to the system of the Amphictyonic Council. I do not see that modern times have devised anything better, or even as good. Who knows what would have happened if theology, politics, and science could have settled into an equilibrium, as is always the case when the elements are left to themselves, and time is allowed to work? The most frightful calamities—religious wars, the French Revolution, &c.—would not have been possible in that state of things; and even limited as the exercise of the power of the Popes has been, and in spite of the terrible jumble of the mistakes, vices, and passions, which have desolated humanity at various deplorable epochs, the Papacy has nevertheless rendered the most signal services to humanity.”¹

So far De Maistre has been arguing with friends. He now turns in the third and fourth books to the objections

¹ Chap. x.

brought against the Papacy by enemies. And first he deals with the infidel philosophers of the day, who were continually accusing the Popes of being hostile to civilization. Is not civilization another name for Christianity? he asks. Was it not Christianity, with the Pope as its chief and guide, which tamed the hordes of barbarian invaders in the early ages? And is not that same Christianity, under that same chief, still sending forth missionaries to continue the civilizing work? Have not the Popes ever been the persistent foes of slavery? and was it not their efforts which brought about its suppression? And then, with his usual boldness, De Maistre goes on to show that the maligned Catholic priesthood, with its hated confessional and despised celibacy, has been, and is, one of the most potent instruments of civilization that the world has ever seen. The long chapter (chap iii.) in which this subject is treated is, to my mind, the most valuable portion of the whole work, and entitles the author to the undying gratitude of the clergy. Nowhere else does he display to greater advantage his vast stores of knowledge, his keen logic, his ardent enthusiasm, his unrivalled powers of ridicule and scorn. I wish I could quote largely from this chapter; but space is denied me, and one or two extracts would give no adequate idea of the whole. It must be read as it stands. Another benefit due to the Popes has been the institution of that very European monarchy which has been almost as much calumniated as the Papacy and the priesthood. The summary of this third book is a summary of the preceding books as well and is too long to quote here. The concluding paragraph may be given in proof of De Maistre's moderation—a quality which is not always manifest in his works:—

“In concluding this discussion, I protest against every sort of exaggeration. Let the power of the Popes be restrained within due bounds; but let not these bounds be altered at the whim of passion or ignorance. Let not public opinion be alarmed by vain terrors. So far from there being any fear of excess in the spiritual power, the contrary is rather to be feared, viz., that the Popes may be wanting in strength to bear the heavy burden laid upon them, and that through yielding, they may at length lose the ability as well as the habit of resisting. Let them have their due

in all good faith. The Popes for their part, know well the rights of temporal authority, which indeed will never have more intrepid and powerful defenders. But they must be able to stand up for their own rights; and if some prince should chance to threaten a schism, unless some concession be granted, the successor of St. Peter could well answer in words written long ages ago: "Will you leave me? Go then by all means. Follow the passion that is carrying you away. Do not think that I will stoop to keep you back. Go! Others there are with me to pay me the honour that is my due; and above all, God is on my side."¹

The fourth and last book is taken up with an account of the Græco-Russian Churches. De Maistre's long residence in Russia invests with interest and authority all that he has to say on this subject. Here, too is an attack on the Greek mind and character which would satisfy the veriest Trojan of the days of the Renaissance. Finally, there is an appeal to all schismatics and heretics, especially the English, to rally round the See of Rome as the only hope of Christianity and good government.

Such is a brief and inadequate account of De Maistre's famous *Du Pape*. In passing judgment on it, we must remember that it was written for a certain time, and for a certain class of readers. Looked at from this point of view, it must be pronounced an unqualified success. The Gallican-royalist is dead and buried, and De Maistre undoubtedly had the chief hand in killing him and in lowering his corpse into the grave. But this very fact has deprived the book of much of its utility and interest. I confess that in reading it I have often been struck with the old-world character of some of its arguments—as admirable in their day as three-deckers and Brown Bess; but powerless against the armour and weapons of our present foes. Again, Mr. Morley and other advocates of the Revolution look upon De Maistre as our only champion, and his method of defending the Papal See as our only method. When they have demolished him, they think that they have demolished us. But the vast majority of English-speaking Catholics, and a goodly number of continental Catholics—German, French, and Italian—have no leanings to absolute monarchy, and no

¹ *Iliad*, i. 173-175.

regret for the downfall of the Bourbons. We yield to no one in veneration for the Holy See ; but our veneration is not based upon any abstract love of supreme personal rule. We hold that the Church is a monarchy, in the strict sense of the word, because Christ is her sole Head, and the Pope is His supreme, infallible Vicar. This does not prevent us from denying, if we are so minded, that monarchy is not the best form of *human* government. De Maistre aimed at a vast union of absolute monarchs, controlled only by the Pope. Most Catholics at the present time, I imagine, are far from sympathizing with any such aim. Nevertheless, over and above its historic interest, the *Du Pape* will continue to be studied and admired, on account of its learning, its logic, and its wit, and because it so often rises above the circumstances of time, place, and person, in which it was written.

If space permitted, I should like to defend De Maistre from some of Mr. Morley's strictures. For instance, he laughs at De Maistre for saying that kings reign because they are royal ; because they have *plus d'esprit royal*. "Surely," adds Mr. Morley, "as mysterious and occult a force as the *virtus dormitiva* of opium." Surely not. How did certain families first obtain ascendancy ? Was it not because they were possessed of higher intelligence, courage, strength, dignity, and capability of command ? Charles II. may be vile, and Louis XVI. pitiful, but who can deny "kingly qualities" to the Plantagenets, the Tudors, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, and even the Stuarts and Bourbons ? As soon as a family loses its *esprit royal* its tenure of the throne is doomed.

No sooner was the *Du Pape* off his hands than De Maistre set to work to get ready for publication a longer and yet more cherished work. But his labours were interrupted. The hand of Austria lay heavily on the little kingdom of Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel I. was merely a tool in the hand of his powerful neighbour. Secret societies were spreading their toils throughout Italy. In vain De Maistre tendered his counsels to his sovereign. The too faithful old servant, worn out with anxiety, rapidly lost his usual robust

health. His body became a wreck, though his mind retained its usual clearness and energy. Early in the year 1821 he was present at the Royal Council for the last time. The Ministers proposed a series of measures, to ward off the revolution which was now daily threatening to burst forth. De Maistre had no objection to the proposals themselves, but he contended that the occasion was not suitable for them. He grew excited as he spoke, and delivered a speech of great power, ending with the words:—"The earth is quaking, and you talk about building!" This was his last public utterance. He passed away on the 26th of February. Eleven days later Turin was in the hands of the mob.

The book which he had not lived to finish, but which was brought out soon after his death, was the *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*. It is a series of questions on the Providence of God. During the previous century the principles of the Reformation, worked out to their logical conclusion, had landed its partisans, first in Deism, and finally in Atheism. Those who halted half way in Deism, exerted themselves, on the one hand, to prove against their more extreme friends the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God, as manifested in His governance of the world; and, on the other, to point out to Christians how plain and convincing this proof was in comparison with the complicated and ineffectual arguments in favour of Revelation. The atheist did not fail to insist in reply, that the presence of evil in the world clearly proved that God did not exist; for an infinitely wise Being would know how, and an infinitely powerful Being would be able, and an infinitely good Being would be willing, to prevent it. In the midst of the discussion came the terrible earthquake of Lisbon (1755), which did much to destroy the deist position; and also proved too great a shock to many of the faithful. A generation later an even more awful calamity fell upon the world, the victims of which were a hundred-fold more numerous. This time the faithful felt the difficulty most, and accordingly it was fitting that one of their number should undertake to explain it. As we have seen,¹ the problem had interested

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, page 240.

De Maistre as far back as the early days of the Revolution. He sketched out the solution of it in his *Considérations*; but he resolved to devote a whole work to it. Recognising that he was at his best in his conversations, he threw the matter into the form of dialogues. The disputants are himself, a Russian Senator, and a young French officer—or rather himself alone, under three different aspects; for, as it had been well said, every reflective man is, at the very fewest, “three gentlemen at once.” The three friends meet in the evening at a rural retreat belonging to the Count, just outside St. Petersburg. The first *Soirée* opens with a charming description of a summer evening on the banks of the Neva. This, we are told, was from the pen of De Maistre’s younger brother, Xavier, the author of the delightful *Voyage autour de Ma Chambre*. Then the discussion soon begins on the great question of the origin of evil or, as the Senator puts it, “the prosperity of the wicked, and the misfortunes of the just.” De Maistre by no means allows the usual answer that the balance will be adjusted in another world. He boldly affirms that it is evidently false to say that *in general* crime is happy, and virtue miserable. The distribution of good things, and evil things is a mere matter of chance; so that the real question is, why do the wicked ever prosper at all? Why are the just ever miserable? Here is De Maistre’s answer:—

“I have never been able to understand this eternal argument against Providence drawn from the misfortunes of the just, and the prosperity of the wicked. If a good man suffered because he was a good man, and if a wicked man prospered because he was wicked, then the argument would be unanswerable; but it falls to the ground if we simply suppose that good and evil are distributed indifferently to all men. But false opinions are like bad money which is coined by great criminals, and then passed from hand to hand by worthy men who perpetuate the crime without being aware of what they are doing. It was wickedness that first started the difficulty; frivolity and good nature repeated it; but in truth there is nothing in it at all. To return to my former illustration; a good man is killed in battle—is this an injustice? No, it is a misfortune.¹ If he has the gout or

¹This reminds us of St. Augustine’s “Non est mendacium sed mysterium.”

stone; if his friend betrays him; if he is crushed by the fall of a house—it is a misfortune and nothing more; because all men, without distinction, are subject to these miseries. We must never lose sight of this great truth: *a general law which is not unjust for men as a whole, cannot be unjust for the individual man.* It is abundantly clear that evils of every kind fall upon the human race, like bullets on an army, without any distinction of persons. Now if the good man does not suffer *because he is good*, and if the wicked man does not prosper *because he is wicked*, the objection disappears, and common sense wins the day."

But how comes physical evil into the world at all? "Through the fault of free beings; so that it is there only as a remedy or as an expiation; and hence, it cannot have God for its immediate author."¹ "As no man is just, no one has any right to refuse to bear his share of human miseries."

Perhaps it is not quite fair to try to state in a few words De Maistre's solution of this grave problem. The reader should carefully go through the *Soirées* for himself. The impression left upon me after doing so, was that De Maistre has succeeded in stripping the question of many of its extraneous difficulties, and so has reduced it to its proper limits, but that he has not succeeded in giving a satisfactory answer to the question itself. What then is the value of a book the main contention of which is a failure? To this we may reply that the perusal of it gives us something of the delight which is afforded by the study of the Euthydemus or the Republic. Though we may not approve of every argument, we can enjoy the cleverness of the disputants; we can watch with interest the shifts and windings of the discussion; above all, we can admire the wide learning, the dramatic art, and the literary workmanship of the author. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, as the method admitted, the *Soirées* contain a number of digressions, not simply arbitrary, but suggested by the course of the argument, and helping to throw light on it. Thus we find in it most valuable contributions on prayer, purgatory, indulgences, and sacrifice.² Then

¹ "Deus est auctor mali quod est poena non autem mali quod est culpa." (St. Thom. 1a, q. 49, a. 11.)

² For a fuller account of De Maistre's views on Sacrifice, see his little work, *Eclaircissement sur les Sacrifices*, contained in vol. ii. of the cheap edition.

we have the famous portrait of the executioner, drawn with much realistic power, and by no means deserving the abuse heaped upon it by hostile writers. War, too, so fresh in men's memories as the greatest evil of their day, is shown to be a necessary condition of all physical and moral progress and a lasting benefit to mankind¹. The law of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest is insisted on with a clearness and vigour which would have delighted Darwin. And not even Malthus (by the way, a great favourite of De Maistre's) speaks in more glowing terms of the blessings derived from the extermination of millions of human beings. De Maistre has frequent occasion to speak of primitive man, and so is led to the study of savage life. Rousseau and his followers, partly out of revolt against the corrupt civilization of their time, and partly out of hatred of the Christian doctrine of original sin, had made no end of singing the praises of the free and primitive life of the woods. This was enough to set our author off on a tirade against the whole "System of Nature." Talk of "the noble savage" and "primitive life"—why the savage is not an original, but a ruin; not a germ, but a fossil. Among other proofs of this view the language of savages is especially appealed to. Here De Maistre's linguistic powers are displayed to great advantage. Although philology was yet in its infancy, and though he made some mistakes, he had the true instinct of an adept of that science. His observations on the formation of words, and on the poetry, the morality, and the history contained in them, are a remarkable anticipation of Trench's well-known studies:—

"Were the savage the primitive man, we should then find savage tribes furnished, scantily enough, it might be, with the elements of speech, yet at the same time with its fruitful beginnings, its vigorous and healthful germs. But what does their language on close inspection prove? In every case what they are themselves, the remnant and ruin of a better and a nobler past."²

¹ See also Mr. Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, Lect. iii.

² Trench, *Study of Words*, page 17. On mistakes in philology, see *ib.*, 270, *sqq.*

Yet another admirable digression, if so it may be called, is the discussion on the Psalms. Like every other great Catholic scholar, De Maistre was an assiduous reader of the Bible. His direct quotations are frequent and singularly appropriate; and one can see from his style that his mind was saturated with the spirit and the language of Holy Scripture. The Psalms were his especial delight; hence he cites them often, and takes occasion to devote to them a considerable portion of one evening's discussion.¹ The priest who feels his daily office a yoke and a burden will find the yoke sweet and the burden light by reading the Psalms in the spirit of De Maistre.

The *Soirées* is still more famous for the gallery of literary portraits which it contains. Though the hand that draws them is avowedly hostile, it never descends to mere caricature; the nobler features are not suppressed, yet all such as are dark, and hideous, and loathsome are portrayed with terrible truth. Voltaire appropriately heads the series. Perhaps no man has been ever so familiar with his writings as De Maistre. Hardly a page of the great apologist of Catholicism is without some reference to the greatest of her foes; and every reader of both must be struck with the number of points which they had in common. I wish I had room for the marvellous full-length portrait which may be found in the "Fourth Evening."² No description, no extract, can convey the impression produced by the original. After rendering justice to the mighty intellectual qualities of his subject, he points out that all these were blighted by his moral corruption. "Un esprit corrompu ne fut jamais sublime."

"Have you not observed [he continues] that the curse of God is written on his face? We can still see it there after the lapse of so many years. Go to the palace of the Hermitage, and look at his statue. Never do I gaze upon it without rejoicing that it is not from the chisel of the Greek school, which would have given it ideal features. Now all is true to nature, exact as a cast

¹ *Septième Entretien*, vol. ii., page 35, *sqq.*
Vol. i., p. 140, *sqq.*

from a corpse. Look at that base brow, never blushed by shame ; those two extinct craters, in which lust and hate still seem to seethe ; that ghastly grin, running from ear to ear ; those cruel lips, compressed like a spring, ready to burst open and spit forth blasphemies and gibes."

"Ah ! qu'il nous a fait de mal !" Yes, there it is. De Maistre well knew the mischief, and so was able to brand the author of it. After another page of scathing attack he concludes :—

"Other cynics have astonished virtue ; Voltaire astonishes vice. He plunges into the mire, wallows in it, takes his fill of it. He devotes his imagination to an enthusiasm for hell, which in turn lends him all its powers to draw him on to the very extremes of wickedness. He invents prodigies and monsters which make us turn pale. Sodom would have banished him . . . How can I describe to you the effect he produces on me ? When I consider what he might have done, and what he has done, his inimitable talents only inspire me with a kind of holy rage to which I can give no name. What with admiration and horror I could sometimes wish to have a statue erected to him by the hands of the hangman."

The other prophet of the eighteenth century, Rousseau, is painted in almost equally dark colours. It is well known that much of the infidelity of France was introduced from England by Voltaire. Hence the admiration of the Encyclopedists and their friends for such men as Hume and Gibbon, Hobbes and Locke. Hence, too, the treatment which they receive at De Maistre's hands. Locke especially seems to fill him with something of that "holy rage" which he felt when he thought of Voltaire. But there was a greater than any of these who was honoured, not simply with an "Evening" in the *Soirées*, but also with a separate elaborate work. In De Maistre's eyes Bacon was the patriarch from whom both the French and English infidels were lineally descended. In his *Critique de Bacon*, finished in 1815, but not published till long after his death, he submits the writings of that great philosopher to a severe and by no means impartial examination. I confess that I have not read the whole work carefully ; but I have read enough

to perceive that "holy rage" often blinds De Maistre to the many excellencies of the *Novum Organum*, and makes him attribute to its author a deliberate attack on Christianity. On the other hand, he shows beyond doubt that Bacon was in no way the father of scientific method and experimental science. The *Critique*, though of little general interest, well deserves the attention of all who make a study of the Baconian philosophy.

And now the reader may say: if De Maistre's *Considérations* has done its work; if his *Du Pape* is based on legitimism; if the main contention of his *Soirées* is false, why not let these volumes rest in peace on our book-shelves? To this we may reply that there is no fear that the dust will gather on them there. The questions which he deals with are continually coming up for discussion. The Pope, the Revolution, the existence of evil—these are ever with us. Though we may not go all the way with him in his solutions, we shall always do well to learn what he has to say. We may thus obtain, if not the answer itself, at any rate the way to find it; and even failing this, we shall surely gain much from contact with a mind such as his. The old Europe, as he said, died with him. May the new Europe produce a Catholic champion as learned, as keen, as brilliant, as noble, as sublime!

T. B. SCANNELL.

ST. PATRICK'S BURIAL-PLACE

THE burial-place of our national saint, like other incidents connected with him, has been matter of doubt and discussion. The doubt arises from the contradictory notices in the *Book of Armagh*. These notices appear in one place to favour the claim of Downpatrick to the burial-place; in a second place, the claim of Saul quite convenient to it; and in a third place, the claim of Armagh. The value of each of these notices is not the same, but depends on the intrinsic evidence of the statement, as well as on the bias and intelligence of the writer, and on the age to which he belonged.

The claim of Armagh is very slender, and rests merely on the possession of some relics of St. Patrick of some kind, coupled with the supposition of only one Patrick having been in the early Irish Church; but the existence of two Patricks and their respective identities have been established in a former number of the I. E. RECORD. I am not in accord with those who deny the existence of bodily relics of St. Patrick in Armagh during the ninth century. It was natural and usual to desire the possession of some relic of a saint less renowned than St. Patrick; and that Armagh procured some bodily relic of him is clearly evidenced in a passage in the *Book of Armagh*. This passage, which must have escaped the notice of the advocates for Armagh, taken by itself would seem to favour their pretensions.¹

The biographers of our national saint have surrounded his death and burial with childish miracles. A comparison instituted by them between him and Moses, however edifying it may be, has led to error on several incidents in his life and the circumstances of his burial. The advocates for Downpatrick have so rested the story of his death and burial on a supernatural basis, as scarcely to leave a human fringe for historical criticism. Nevertheless, the proofs

¹ "In ecclesia australi ubi requiescunt Corpora Sanctorum peregrinorum de longue cum *Patricio* transmarinorum caeterorum que Justorum." (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 21, a. 1.)

adduced by them appear to me quite questionable, while I judge those in favour of Saul to be highly probable.

I now give a description of St. Patrick's burial-place from the oldest, most impartial, and consistent account in the *Book of Armagh*. Tirechan, in a lengthened summary of the saint's life, taken from the oral and written account of Bishop Ultan, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, states that St. Patrick was like to Moses in four things, and the fourth thing was that "no person knew where are his bones." The writer then continues to state that two hosts contended for his body during twelve days without night; and on the twelfth day, as the contending parties were going to give battle, each party saw with themselves the body on a bier, and in consequence refrained from fighting.

Then, as if to justify a departure, by the discovery of Columkille, from the likeness to Moses, the writer continues thus in reference to the burial and the prophetic gift of Columkille:—

"Columkille under the influence of the Holy Ghost pointed out the burial-place of St. Patrick, makes out for certain where it is, that is in Sabul-Patrick, that is in the church, as a sprout from the waves,¹ beside the sea, where is the bringing together of relics, that is of the bones of Columkille from Britain, and the bringing together of all the saints of Ireland on the day of judgment."

¹ *Documenta*, p. 89, by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J. "In ecclesia juxta mare undecima." The last two words not well separated have been read by some as one word *undecima*, and as even this is unmeaning, they imagine it to be a mistaken correction of the word *pro-xi*, an abbreviation of *proxima*. But, in the first place, there is no instance of *proxi* as an abbreviation of *proxima* in the *Book of Armagh*. Moreover, this word in connection with the phrase *juxta mare* would be tautological. Secondly, the forms, *e* (caudata) and *æ* are indiscriminately used in the *Book of Armagh*. The words in the text then, I submit, should be *undæ cima*. Words in the Armagh MS. are sometimes wrongly joined and sometimes wrongly separated by editors. (See Roll's ed. of *Tripartite*, vol. ii., p. 377, l. 25.) The Roll's editor and his followers are not wise in changing a text *unde cima* for *proxima*. The editor is guilty of a like impropriety in giving wrongly, in accordance with his own views, *Bannaven Tabernæ*, in the text, instead of *Ban navem thabur indecha*. (Vol. ii., p. 494, n. 2, *ibid.*) If a MS. be quoted, its text should be honestly given, and if calling for correction it should be given in a note. The application of *cima* to the wave, *unda*, was very appropriate, as derived from *κύμα*, a wave. *Cima* is a spring sprout: "Frigoribus caules et veri cymata mittit."

Now, nothing can be clearer than this valuable statement. The burial-place is stated to have been at the Sabul or Barn of Patrick: there was only one such place, and that within two miles of Down. The passage just quoted calls for a few remarks. First of all the absence of darkness during twelve days of waking is only a natural explanation of the effect of the lights over the corpse; and though there may have been a desire on the part of some people from Armagh to have the burial take place with themselves, we need not suppose there was a disposition to come to blows: a little exaggeration in the description is only very natural. The saint's wish was a command; and, as stated in the *Book of Armagh*, that wish was carried out by his burial in Sabul or Saul. A holy rivalry for the possession of his body was a mark of religious zeal. Hence in another passage in the *Book of Armagh*, in reference to this subject, the writer states that without divine intervention, "it was impossible to have the peace kept about so illustrious and saintly a corpse." Friendly contention then about the body of our saint was only what decency required.

There is no good reason for doubting that some of the relics of St. Columkille may have been enshrined with those of St. Patrick, though the principal part of them were not located in Ireland till the end of the ninth century. St. Columkille in full health is said, in the *Book of Cuana*, to have come to St. Patrick's grave, and to have enshrined some of the relics buried with him; and it is not unnatural to suppose that when dying he or his followers after his death wished to have some of his own relics rest with our national apostle.

The allusion to the gathering together of all the Irish saints at Saul is grounded on a petition found in his confession, to the effect that he should lose none of the Irish given him by God. In consequence of this, some Lives stated that God "left to him the judgment of the Irish on the day of doom." This tradition took another form, according to Tirechan: it was one of the three petitions which he made when dying; namely, "that each of us repenting, even in the hour of death, would be saved on the day of judgment

and escape hell." The church beside which our saint was buried—the *sabul*¹ of Patrick—stood, as a sprout from the wave, near the sea. The tidal waters flowing through the inlet of Strangford Lough flooded the low-lying grounds, even under the very shadow of Saul. Even down to the present century, the low ground was occupied by a standing lake, a mile in circumference, and is still called the salt marsh;² but, in early times, before a rampart was thrown up to dam the waters, the Sabul Church, peering above the wavelets, appeared to spring from the very waters. Now what is the reply usually given to this clear and natural statement, that he was buried in Saul? This only—that Saul meant Downpatrick! Such a reply scarcely deserves notice. We have another proof that St. Patrick was buried in Saul: it is found in the Fourth Life as given by Colgan. Saul is incidentally mentioned in connection with a plaything that accidentally fell into St. Patrick's grave there. The incident is alluded to as follows:—

"A boy playing about the church of Saul let his hoop drop into a chink in St. Patrick's grave; and having put down his hand to take it up could not withdraw the hand. Consequently, Bishop Loarn, of Bright, a place near at hand, was sent for; and on his arrival addressed the saint thus:³—'Why, O Elder, dost thou hold the hand of the child?'"

Here we have a statement incidentally made in reference to one of the incidents that filled up the life of our saint. It is made without a design of propping up a political or religious system. It was made at a time when Saul was comparatively insignificant, and when Downpatrick, owing to its situation, as a great emporium, had risen to importance, and was the seat of the chief of Ulidia.

Let us now examine what is said in reply to this proof. The reply is that St. Patrick did not hold the hand of the

¹ Sabul meant a barn: the northern chieftain Dichu gave it on his conversion to St. Patrick; and hence the place has been called Saul.

² O'Laverty's *History*, vol. i., p. 238.

³ The *Tripartite* gives:—"Then Patrick went from Saul southwards to Trichem . . . He it is who dwelt in Derlus, south of Downpatrick" . . . Bright "*ubi est episcopus Loarn qui ausus est increpare Patricium tenentem in manu pueri ludentis ecclesiam juxta suam.*"

boy at all ; that the phrase *tenentem manum* seems a translation of Irish in the *Tripartite*, *gabail lama* "expelling ;" that our saint only drove away the boy who gave annoyance ; and that Bishop Loarn, who probably outlived our saint, was one of his religious family. The interpretation thus quoted is given on the authority of Dr. Stokes ; but, with great respect for his accurate knowledge of Irish, he is not to be implicitly followed, as has been proved elsewhere. But before dealing with this, his opinion, I have to observe that though the *Book of Armagh* makes mention of a Loarn settled in Connaught, there is no warrant for stating that there was a Bishop Loarn in Down, during the saint's lifetime ; nor is there the least warrant for stating that he died before our saint. There is no valid reason then producible for denying the certain statement of the biographer—that St. Patrick was dead and in his grave when Bishop Loarn was sent for.

I now deal with the objection founded on the opinion of Dr. Stokes ; namely, that *tenentem manum* was a mistranslation of *gabail lama*, "expelling," and that consequently St. Patrick was not dead, nor his grave made on the occasion referred to, but "drove away" the playing boy perhaps with too much harshness : in confirmation of this latter view, the *Tripartite* is appealed to as an authority for stating that St. Patrick was not "always meek and patient ;" and hence the rebuke of Bishop Loarn for probably too much harshness.

Well, an explanation that involves a censure on our national saint for harshness towards an unthinking boy at play is very suspicious. Besides, even if the boy were annoying the saint, as alleged, and if the saint exceeded the limits of moderation in correction, was it a case for having a bishop sent for, and have him rebuke his superior ? Moreover, when the bishop came on the scene our saint's action was continued ; and if *tenentem manum* meant expelling, the boy must have been persistently bold during the time the bishop was being sent for, and was coming to the church ; and this fact should render impossible the charge of harshness for driving away the boy.

Again, if *tenentem manum* in the Latin Life be, as stated, a mistranslation of *gabail lama* in the *Tripartite*, and as Dr. Stokes has stated that the Irish Life was written in the eleventh century, while the Latin was written in the ninth century,¹ how could the latter be a mistranslation of the former?

In good truth, the writer of the Latin Life knew the meaning of *tenentem manum*; and if he wished to express the idea of expulsion he had only to use the proper and natural Latin "*expello*." On the other hand, if the writer of the *Tripartite* intended to express the same idea, he would have used, as on all other occasions he did use, the word *indarb*.²

The Irish as well as the Latin phrase meant literally "seizing the hand," and figuratively "overpowering" or "thwarting." But I am told that other instances in the *Tripartite* countenance "expelling" as the meaning of the phrase. Well, all the instances which occur to me I will submit to a test. In looking into page 118 (Roll's *Tripartite*), I find the phrase *gebthar do lam*, "thy hand shall be seized." This was a reply from the angel to St. Patrick, who refused to budge till he obtained the privilege of rescuing as many souls from hell as hairs on his chasuble. The reply meant, "you shall be overpowered," and nothing more. The editor of the *Tripartite* inferred from the remark of St. Patrick about budging, that the reply had an antithetical meaning, but the inference was not correct. I alight on another instance in page 116. St. Patrick wished to establish a house in Assaroe, but was opposed by Coirbre "who sent two of his people to 'prevent him,'" *gabail lama*.

But a more crucial instance of the phrase occurs in page 156 of the Roll's *Tripartite*. Our saint wished to establish a house in Inishowen; but Coelbad "prevented him in regard to it," *gabail a laim ass*, which the editor renders by "expelling thence." Now the addition of the

See Roll's ed. vol. i., page cxxx.-i.
See *Tripartite*, pages 30-228.

word *ass* here, and not in the other instances, is translated by "thence." But surely we understand that when there is question of a person being in a place, and of his expulsion, the expulsion is from that place. The addition of the word *ass* then is unnecessary on the supposition that the phrase *gabail lama* in the other instances without it meant "expelling." I shall not dwell on another instance, in page 164, which has the same meaning; and in these instances the word *ass* means not "thence" but "in regard to it."

That such is the meaning of *ass*, is very clearly brought out in page 163. It is there stated that our saint wished to take a place in Cell Glass, and (*dlmotha do ass*) "he was refused," according to Roll's editor, but properly and literally "it was refused to him in regard to it." The editor having no meaning for *ass*, but "thence," and seeing such a translation to be unmeaning, he did not translate it at all. The Irish word *ass* lends itself to various idiomatic phrases with which the learned editor is apparently not familiar.¹ I hope now it may be admitted that the allusion to the detention of the boy's hand in St. Patrick's grave was not a mistranslation of the Irish, and that it establishes a belief in the writer of *Vita Quarta* as to the burial-place of St. Patrick in Saul. Notwithstanding the political and social greatness to which Downpatrick had risen, and the comparative obscurity of Saul, there is evidence of its claim to St. Patrick's burial-place being recognised in succeeding ages. Thus, the Four Masters, under the year 1293, state that the relics of St. Bridget and Columkille were discovered with the remains of St. Patrick at Patrick's Saul. The discovery, witnessed by the Archbishop of Armagh, was accompanied by miraculous manifestations. The same statement is made in the *Annals of Ulster*. The fact remains, that at the end of the thirteenth century, we find solemn testimony, confirmatory of the statement made in the *Book of Armagh*, in the seventh century, in favour of Saul being the burial-place of St. Patrick.

Now, in reply to the several clear and natural statements

¹ There are *dul ass*, "to wane," *ceirig ass*, "cease," &c.

made, without the aid of supernatural agency, in favour of Saul, what are we told? This, that Saul meant Downpatrick, and that *tenentem manum* did not mean "holding the hand." And the proof in favour of the rival burial-place, of what is it composed? Merely of mystery, visions, and miracles! That one angel was commissioned by another to send St. Patrick to him; and the saint, having gone, was told by the angel from a flaming bush—(a) that his death would be in Saul; but, as a compensation to Armagh, that it should have primacy; (b) that there was to be no darkness for twelve days, or rather partial day for the rest of the year; that angels waked St. Patrick with vigil and psalmody during the first night, whilst all who came to the wake slept; that oxen, yoked to the bier, were to be left to themselves to carry the corpse to the destined burial-place; (c) that the rival provinces of Down and Armagh were kept from deadly fight by the swelling tide which became instinct with life; that on the ebb of the tide the people of Armagh, fording the river, fancied they saw the bier carried on towards Armagh, till it disappeared at Cabcenne stream; that the corpse was to be buried, by angelic directions, seven feet deep in the earth; that the relics should not be removed from the earth, but a church built over them; (d) and yet, that no person knew where was the burial-place: all this supplies material for the argument in favour of Downpatrick!

But I would offer a few hurried remarks—(a) We are told in one place that St. Patrick went to the angel, but quite the contrary in the next page.¹ (b) The primacy is said to have been given then to Armagh; but it had been given, on as good authority, long before then to Armagh.² (c) The angel directed—a very practical direction—that a church should be built where the oxen were to stop, over the corpse. What if they had not stirred from Saul, where there was a church, or moved to a place where there was

¹ *Documenta*, p. 52.

² "Donavit tibi Dominus Deus universas Scotorum gentes in modum paruchia, et huic urbi tuae quae cognominatur Scotica lingua Ardmacha." (*Liber Anguli*, Roll's *Tripartite*, vol. ii., p. 252, l. 35.)

already a church? (d) It is strange that, as the Armagh people acknowledged the finger of God on the disappearance of the phantom bier, they paid no heed to the angel's directions, and were determined to give battle or have the corpse. (e) It is equally strange that a church directed by angels to be built, was undertaken only at the end of the seventh century. The narrator states that when a foundation for the church was being dug, quite recently) *novissimis temporibus*), flames issued from the grave. Does not this prove that the burial-place was known, notwithstanding the similarity to Moses? Besides, the angel, in directing the building of a church, and directing that the delvers should sink the grave seven feet deep, must not have intended that the burial-place should be unknown. I may be told that a mistake in regard to Saul should rather be admitted than a whole cycle of miracles in defence of falsehood. Well, however unpleasant the fact, it must be admitted that unenlightened zeal or dishonest bias can sport with miracles for its own ends; and the *Book of Armagh* affords ample proof of it in another passage.

The *Book of the Angels* tells its readers that an angel having¹ tapped St. Patrick out of slumber, snatched from his long vigils, announced that God "gave him and to the diocese of Armagh all Ireland." The saint then is represented as deprecating such a large and unnecessary gift, because of receiving already a peculiar rent, given freely, though a debt ordained by God, from every free church, and as having no doubt that this debt would be decreed for the future bishops of Armagh by all cenobitical monasteries. What a caricature and profane libel this on the saint's disinterestedness! The writer ought to have remembered the *Confession*¹ —

"They have given me small voluntary gifts, and some of their ornaments upon the altar; but I returned these to them, though they were displeased with me for so doing. But . . . I wished to keep myself prudently in everything . . . so that unbelievers may not, in my ministry, in the smallest point, have occasion to defame it.

"But, perhaps, since I have baptized so many thousands, I

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

may have accepted half a *screupall*.¹ Tell it to me, and I will restore it. When the Lord ordained everywhere clergy, through my humble ministry, then if I asked the price of my shoe, tell it against me, and I will restore you more. I spent for you, that they may receive me."

In order to prop up the claims of Downpatrick,² angels must commune with each other; man had to abdicate the possession of his senses; the brute beasts are brought on the scene to act their part; and the waters became instinct with life "in digging deep valleys, while, at the same time, piercing the air" as a barrier against contending provinces. Heaven and earth are moved, with their inhabitants, in order to neutralize an historical and the earliest statement in favour of Saul. This simple and natural statement, in striking contrast to its contradictory, tells us that our saint, overtaken by the sickness of death at Saul, was there buried. Saul was his first love, the scene of his first missionary success, and the closing scene of his divinely-favoured apostolate. The alleged signs and wonders in connection with the burial resemble others on which, before the present, I had to observe that their extravagance appeared in proportion to the evidence of the falsehood in support of which they appeared to be manufactured. Downpatrick possessed nothing in fact, in association, in prophecy, not even a church, suggestive of a burial-place. Neither the glory of God, so far as it is allowed us to raise a corner of the mysterious veil, nor edification of man called for Divine interposition on the occasion. As to the dying wish of the saint, it certainly did not lean to Downpatrick, nor probably, notwithstanding the repeated and accentuated assurances to the contrary in the *Book of Armagh*, to Armagh; for his wish on such a matter would be an absolute command; and as to a chosen spot, "all Ireland was given to him as his diocese."

It was only natural, then, in the circumstances that the great high priest, the glorious national apostle, would lie where he fell; and, if it were not natural, it would be a

¹ This is the only Irish word in the *Confessio*. *Screupall* was worth three pence.

² So called only since the twelfth century.

matter of indifference to him who, in his extreme old age, had to say :—

“ I daily expect murder, or to be circumvented, or reduced to slavery, or to a mishap of some kind . . . And if ever I have imitated anything good on account of my God, Whom I love, I pray Him to grant me that, with those proselytes and captives, I may pour out my blood for His name's sake, even though I may be deprived of burial, and my corpse most miserably be torn limb from limb by dogs or wild beasts, or birds of the air should devour it.”¹

In conclusion : the alleged angelic direction in regard to the burial of St. Patrick in Down, and to the church to be built over him, is still further proved to be false by the fact that law and custom forbade any person in the fifth century to be buried in a church, or a church to be built over him, unless he was a martyr.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ST. KIERAN OF SAIGHER, B.C., PATRON OF OSSORY

HOW pleasant to the tempest-tossed mariner at sea, or to the weary traveller in the desert, is the appearance of the bright morning star that terminates the blackness of the stormy night, and heralds in the near approach of day ! How delightful to us all when, after a long, dreary winter, the zephyrs come charged with the sweet gales of spring ! But pleasanter far, and more consoling to the guardian angels of our own dear country, was the birth of him who is justly styled, “ *Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniae*, Kieran, the faithful, noble coharb, the senior of the heaven-loving saints of Erin, illustrious, the festival of the royal one, whose peaceful cathedra is great Saigher.” According to the best authorities² the last quarter of the fourth century saw our saint ushered into this valley of tears. His father, Lughaidh, or Lugneus, although a prince of Ossory, was eldest son of

¹ *Confessio. Trip.*, vol. ii., p. 373, 374.

² See *Lives of the Irish Saints*, by Canon O'Hanlon, vol. iii., part 27.

one of the seven foreign kings of the Corca Laighe. In the fragments of the annals of Mac Firbisigh, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, it is related that before the birth of St. Kieran, seven kings of Corca Laidhe, in the south-west of the county of Cork, assumed the kingship of Ossory (part of it), and seven kings of the Osraighe took the kingship of Corca Laighe. His mother, Leidania, or Liadain, was sprung from the Clan Hiederdriscoll, or O'Driscoll whose chief resided at Baltimore.

"Leighain, daughter of Maine, who was the mother of Ciaran of Saighir. He was born at Finntract-Clere; and the angels of God attended upon her. The orders of heaven baptized him. Here was (dwelling) the chieftain who first believed in the Cross in Ireland; for Ciaran had taken Saighir thirty years before Patrick had arrived."¹

BIRTHPLACE OF ST. KIERAN

Lughaidh, the father of our saint, did not, it appears, succeed his father, Ruman, as a ruler over any part of the Ossory territory. Early in life he left his father's court, and migrated to the south of the present County of Cork, then called Corca Laighe, and there formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the local chieftain. In a very interesting article, contributed to *The Month*, December, 1881, by the late Parish Priest of Baltimore, the lamented Very Rev. C. Davis, he writes as follows concerning the birthplace of St. Kieran:—

"The island of Cape Clear is situated on the broad Atlantic, the nearest point to the mainland, Baltimore, being six miles distant. Viewed from any side, it presents the appearance of a huge excrescence on the surface of the deep. In length it is four miles, in breadth one. Within the memory of men still living it contained twelve hundred inhabitants; the various vicissitudes of fortune, to which the whole country was subjected, have reduced the population to six hundred. The name by which the island was known to Latin writers was *Insula Sancta Clara*; in the language of the country it was *Innis Cleire*, the Island of the Clergy. In modern phraseology the word *Innis*, island, is changed to cape; and *Cleire*, of the clergy, has been corrupted into Clear: hence Cape Clear. The sacred character of its ancient name is principally derived from the fact of its being the birthplace and subsequent home of one of Ireland's earliest and most illustrious saints, St. Kieran."

¹ *Books of Lecan and Ballymote*, translation by Dr. O'Donovan.

Almost from the moment of his birth Kieran seemed to be a favoured child of heaven. In the old Irish *Life* of the saint, which the learned Colgan refers at least to the seventh century, we are informed that on a certain day, whilst he was yet a child, at Cape Clear, "a crow or kite flew over him in the air, and descended and took up a small bird in its talons from its nest, in the presence of Kieran, and flew away, and tore it open. Kieran took compassion on the little bird, and felt grieved at what occurred; but the crow flew back again, and dropped the bird, torn and nearly dead, in his presence. Kieran said to the bird, 'Arise, and be whole;' and the bird, by the grace of God, immediately arose, and flew to the nest again quite sound." It may be, as Mr. Hogan observes, that this legend only presents to us a simple natural action, which required no miraculous agency for its accomplishment.¹ But the anecdote beautifully illustrates the tenderness of Kieran's childish heart, and his fondness for even the irrational creatures of God.

Bearing in mind the circumstances of his early association and training amongst the hardy islanders of Cape Cleire—a most fitting birth-place for the pioneer saint of Erin—it is not at all surprising that a spirit of adventure developed itself early in the character of our saint. According to the old *Life*, thirty years or thereabouts Kieran spent in Ireland, in the full enjoyment of bodily health, before he was baptized, for all the Irish of that time were pagans; yet when the Holy Ghost took His abode in His chosen servant, Kieran, he led a life of holiness and perfection in all his works during that time. But on learning of the spread of Christianity in Rome, he left Ireland, and proceeded thither, and was baptized there, and instructed in the Catholic faith; "and remained there for the term of twenty years, reading and studying the Holy Scriptures, and storing his mind with the laws and rules of the Catholic Church." The Roman journey of St. Kieran is also mentioned in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, said to have been written by St. Evan before the end of the sixth century, and in the *Festilogium of Aengus*, compiled before the year 778. Here

¹ *Life of St. Kieran*, page 67.

we are informed that "the eloquent man bounded with his fame over the salt (sea) eastwards" (to Rome).

When Kieran's wisdom, devotion, and faith became manifest at Rome, he was, we are told, ordained (not consecrated), and sent back to Ireland to preach the Gospel. We are not informed where, or when, or by whom, he was consecrated bishop. Cardinal Moran holds that our saint was consecrated bishop in Rome, by the great St. Leo.¹ It is, however, stated in the old *Life of St. Kieran*, and the statement is confirmed by all our old traditions, that during the homeward journey he met St. Patrick, then on his way to Rome; and after mutual congratulations and blessings, Kieran was thus addressed by Erin's illustrious apostle:—

"Saighuar, the cool, refreshing fountain,
Erect a city on its brink.
At the end of thirty full fair years
We shall meet there, you and I;
And famed there your name shall be
Till dread dawning of eternity."

Kieran then received a bell from St. Patrick, which rang out with a most clear, melodious sound when he arrived at Saigher, thereby pointing it out as the heavenly-selected site of his future monastery and cathedral city. The fulfilment of St. Patrick's prophecy and the destiny of Saigher are well described in the following verses by "Enigenensis," published by Mr. Cooke in his *History of Birr, &c.*:—

ST. KIERAN'S BELL

A hawthorn stands on yonder hill
Bare, desolate, and lone—
A token frail, but faithful still,
Of centuries long flown.

The startled ear at even-time,
When weird-winds wander free,
May hear the ghostly Mass-bell chime
Beneath that hoary tree.

And still around the peasant's hearth
The legend strange is told,
How, never touched by hands of earth,
Rang out that Bell of old.

¹ *Transactions Ossory Archæol. Society*, vol. ., p. 4.

They tell how Sainted Patrick's hand
On Kieran's head was laid,
While thus he spoke in a stern command—
“Ne'er shall thy step be stayed.

“Till sweet as song by seraphs sung,
Which saints alone may hear,
A chime by hands unseen be rung,
To charm thy mortal ear.

“There churches seven thou shalt build;
But ages yet shall see
Their trampled dust—and see fulfill'd
For aye this prophecy.

“When strewn the temples thou shalt raise
A tree sown, by thy hand,
Shall live and preach to distant days
God's blessing on the land.”

He wandered forth, and wandered far,
That ancient Pilgrim Saint—
Nor flood nor foe his path could bar
Till way-worn here, and faint

He paused—when, hark! upon his ear,
With joy no tongue can tell,
Like seraph-songs the sainted hear,
Rang out the unseen Bell!

And here he built his churches seven,
Ere summer thrice was gone—
Won many a soul from earth to heaven,
And spread God's benison.

And though above his cloisters fair
Now rots the clotted weed,
Though all their beauties blighted were
To glut a tyrant's greed,

The hushed ear still, at even-time,
When weird winds wander free,
May hear the mystic Mass-bell chime,
Beneath yon aged tree.

It is most rational to suppose that St. Patrick directed Kieran, on landing in Ireland, to visit his own part of the country, and to commence his mission among the influential persons of his own family, and among his tribesmen. Now, it seems probable enough, that he went first to his native

place; and, in point of fact, an ancient tradition prevails that the Corca Laidhe, first of all other people, were believers in Ireland. Most likely, St. Kieran first landed there, and if so, he undoubtedly began at once to open his mission. There, too, it is stated, that the chief or the inhabitants first granted him the site, on which afterwards stood the church known as Cill-Chiarain, or "St. Ciaran's Church," near Fintractclere. (In English, the white strand of Clere) now Traigh-Chiarain (Ciaran's Strand) on Cape Clear Island.¹

In the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick, the directions of Patrick to Kieran are thus recorded: "Old St. Kieran of Saigher, asked St. Patrick on their meeting where he should fix his abode. To whom the holy man replied (*quod iuxta fluvium Huar appellatum*), that by the river called Huar, he should build a monastery." According to a learned Ossory archæologist, Mr. Hogan, in his *Life of St. Kieran*, by the word *Huar* is meant the river Heoir or Nore, which river must have been from the remotest time a leading feature in the physical geography of the kingdom of Ossory. And to the valley of the Heoir or Nore, Mr. Hogan surmises Kieran did proceed, on his return to his native land, where he appeared, in the midst of his own tribesmen, the harbinger of a new civilization. Here he planted the cross in view of the Ard-righ's mansion, and eloquently invited the chieftains and tribesmen of his race to renounce the religion of the Druids, and to embrace the creed of which that cross was the symbol. Here, on the banks of the Nore, surrounded by his disciples, he now chants the divine office, beneath the sylvan shade of those sacred groves till then dedicated to pagan rites.

According to the most generally received opinion, the site of St. Kieran's first monastery was near the fountain and stream of Fueran, which passes near the present Seir Kyran; formerly Saigher, a small hamlet in the barony of Ballybritt, King's County. This old parish, although insulated by the diocese of Killaloe, is regarded as the cradle of the diocese, and still remains under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Ossory.

¹ *Lives of the Irish Saints*, by Canon O'Hanlon, March 5.

After living an eremitical life at Saigher, St. Kieran began to attract great attention. Many amongst the Ossorians were induced to embrace the Christian faith, and numbers received baptism at his hands. His fame and sanctity also drew to Saigher many neophytes, who, under his direction, embraced a religious life, and obliged him to erect a monastery for their accommodation. That was, indeed, a glorious and an auspicious day on which St. Kieran, his disciple and successor, St. Carthage, and all the holy ones of Saigher went forth in solemn procession to meet St. Patrick, King Ængus, and the immense multitude by whom they were accompanied, and who were, as we are told, miraculously provided with food by St. Kieran. It was also on that occasion that the holy well was blessed and changed into delicious wine, in honour of the meeting of the two saints after a separation of thirty years. "And he blessed his own well, and turned it into wine; and though immense multitudes assembled, it happened by the grace of God and Kieran that they had plenty of food and drink."

A very ancient vellum old book states that Ciaran of Saigher was, in his manners and life, like unto Pope Clement.¹ The saint's office informs us that he was a faithful practitioner of virtuous acts of humility, prudence, bounty, chastity, faith, hope, and charity. He lived in poverty during his term of life, but he was rich in grace. He is called a balance of the law, an ark of justice, a doctor of youth, the guide of old persons, and the incomparable tower of all. In the language of an ancient Irish writer he was a true priest, "whose heart was chaste and shining, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or the colour of the swan in the sunshine—that is, without any particle of sin, great or small, resting in his heart."

"His only meal each day was partaken of at sunset, and consisted of a little barley bread and undressed herbs. From his youth till his death he never tasted strong drink, but his drink was water from the holy well; the bare ground was his bed, and skins and sackcloth were his only garments. And when at length our holy prelate was bowed down by the weight of his years, and of his apostolic labours, the *voice of the turtle* sounded in his ears, at the spring-time of the year, inviting him to arise and come

¹ *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 64, 65.

away to the land of perpetual spring, of immortal youth, and of never-ending happiness. Then it was that the beautiful death-bed scene took place which is so well described by our saint's ancient biographers. 'When he saw the hour of his death approaching he collected his flock and his parishioners around him, and exhorted them to keep holy the commandments of God. Thirty bishops also came to Saigher, all of whom had been trained by St. Kieran in piety, and had received the sacerdotal ordination at his hands. These being assembled around him he said: 'My brethren, pray with me to God that I may not stand alone before His judgment-seat, but that His holy saints and angels may be with me; and pray that my path unto the King may not be through darkness, and that His smile may welcome me.' He afterwards went into the church of the monastery, where he was wont to celebrate, and there at the altar he offered up the holy sacrifice, and having partaken of the Body and Blood of Christ, and received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction, he asked the brethren to inter his body close to the spot which was hallowed by the relics of St. Martin, and where the remains of the holy men who preceded him had been laid. And now, having perfected his victory of abstinence and penance, and attained his triumph over the demons of the world, the choirs of angels came to meet the soul of Kieran to give him the greetings of heaven, and to conduct him to God. At midnight he breathed his last, but so many were the lights that burned around him that night seemed changed into day. His remains were wrapped in precious linen, and for seven days hymns and canticles were chanted in thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to him, and earth seemed to breathe the fragrance of heaven; but his soul was in bliss in the company of St. Patrick and St. Martin, and all the saints of God."

VINDICATION OF THE CLAIM OF ST. KIERAN TO THE TITLE
OF "PRIMOGENITUS SANCTORUM HIBERNIAE"

In addition to the proofs already given, and the tradition of Cape Clear, as testified to by the lamented Father Davis,¹ the *Genealogy of the Corca Laighe*, after recording the conversion of the chieftain who first believed in the Cross in Ireland, adds:—

"Augus is e Ciaran sindsor naem Erend, thus translated by Dr. O'Donovan: And Ciaran is the senior of the saints of Eire. The gloss of the *Martyrology of St. Aengus*, after styling the

¹ From time immemorial they (the islanders of Cape Clear) have intermarried—never closer, however, than the third degree of kindred. Living thus isolated for centuries, their traditions are naturally very perfect.—*Father Davis*.

venerable founder of the see of Ossory 'the senior of the heaven-loving saints of Erin,' informs us that he took possession of Saigher 'thirty years before St. Patrick.'

The constant and universal tradition of Ossory will be found to be in perfect accordance with the above express declaration concerning the pre-Patrician mission of St. Kieran. One of the most learned Ossory archæologists of the present century, the late lamented John O'Donovan, in a paper on the traditions of the County of Kilkenny, published by him in the *Transactions* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for 1851, introduces St. Patrick as travelling through the plains of Southern Ossory 'to see what progress his predecessor, St. Kieran, had made in the conversion of the inhabitants,' &c.

As far as Northern Ossory is concerned, we would expect that its traditions should be centred in Saigher, the cradle of the diocese; and in this we have not been disappointed. It was our privilege more than once to take part in the celebration of the Feast of St. Kieran in that celebrated locality—to witness the very edifying fervour of the crowds of pilgrims who come every year from remote distances to worship at the holy well, and to elicit from the oldest and most intelligent amongst them their impressions concerning the history of their great patron. All appeared to hold with remarkable unanimity the old tradition affirming the pre-Patrician mission of St. Kieran; in fact, they would not be at all pleased to have any doubts cast on its authenticity.

Mr. Cooke, a native of the vicinity, gives a striking confirmation of the truth of this statement in what Cardinal Moran calls 'his valuable *History of Birr*.' At p. 166 he informs us that 'the very ancient and interesting place commonly called St. Kieran's, is reputed to have been the seat of the oldest bishopric in Ireland.' And again, at pp. 167, 168 (according to Colgan), 'St. Kieran studied at Rome, and met St. Patrick in Italy, who desired him to go before him to Ireland, and at the well Fueran to build a monastery, where he (St. Patrick) would afterwards visit him. St. Kieran is called *Primogenitus sanctus Hiberniae*, the first-born saint of Ireland; and the Abbé Macgeoghegan styles him the first of the apostles of Ireland.'

Two of our most learned non-Catholic archæologists, Messrs. Pim and Graves, in their scholarly and beautifully-illustrated *History of St. Canice's Cathedral*, do not hesitate to pronounce the following well-considered judgment on the pre-Patrician (albeit Roman) mission of St. Kieran:—

'SEIR KEIRAN.—There can be little doubt that from a community thus constituted the first preachers of Christianity went forth amongst the rude and turbulent tribes of ancient Ossory; and it is not at all improbable that on this spot was also erected one of the earliest Christian churches in Ireland, a date anterior

to the advent of St. Patrick being generally assigned to the founding of the cell at Saigher by Kieran (Chiarain), the son of Lughaidh. It is true that in the opposite scale must be placed the authority of the accurate and judicious Lanigan, who, deterred by the many difficulties which beset the advocacy of an earlier date, has fixed on the latter end of the fifth century as the more probable era of its foundation. But thus totally to reject all testimony in favour of the earlier epoch does not seem to be in accordance with the rules of sound criticism, much as it may tend to smooth the path of the historian. The lives of Kieran, and those of Declan, Ailbhe, and Ibar, are unquestionably of great antiquity; and, although containing much that is fabulous, do not bear the marks of documents forged to support a preconceived theory. They are all opposed to Dr. Lanigan's conclusions; and it is assuming too much to suppose that they are altogether without foundation, especially when we recollect that they derive support from almost every historical authority bearing on the ancient Church history of Ireland.'"¹

THE FESTIVAL OF ST. KIERAN

Father Davis informs us that the Feast of St. Kieran has ever been celebrated at Cape Clear as a holiday of strictest observance; and the resident priest of the island never fails to celebrate the Divine Mysteries amid the most crowded congregation of the year. All the male children who are born, and happen to be baptized on or about that day, rejoice in the name of Kieran. In the diocese of Ossory St. Kieran's feast formerly ranked as high as St. Patrick's day. In 1773 Bishop De Burgo issued a pastoral to the clergy of Ossory, stating that among the other holidays retrenched by Pope Clement XIV., in his lately-published Indult, the obligation of hearing Mass on St. Kieran's day and on St. Kenny's day had been removed. The feast is now celebrated in Ossory, being the feast of the patron of the diocese, as a double of the first class.

"The first stone of the new Cathedral of Ossory was laid by Bishop Kinsella, on the 20th August, 1843, being Sunday within the octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and this having been the Feast of St. Mary's parish, in the City of Kilkenny, he founded the church under the

¹ See also, "The Early Birth and Pre-Patrician Mission of St. Ciaran of Saighir, Vindicated by John Hogan, Kilkenny," *Journal Royal H. and Archæol. Association*, January, 1879.

title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But at the solemn consecration of the same church by Bishop Walsh, on Sunday, the 4th October, 1857, it was dedicated to God, and the high altar consecrated under the invocation of SS. Mary and Kieran." ¹

The Bardan, or Bodhran Kieran, the celebrated old mystic bell of the saint, has been replaced, in the Cathedral of Ossory, by a melodious-toned bell, manufactured by Murphy, of Dublin, having the following legend in raised Roman letters around the exterior :—" This bell is dedicated to St. Kieran, patron of Ossory." And thus, after fourteen centuries, by the river called "Hevil"-Nore, has been fulfilled the prediction of the Irish apostle, and

"The hushed ear still, at even time,
May hear his mystic Mass-bell chime."

But, after the diocese and cathedral, his grandest monument is the magnificent diocesan seminary, founded A.D. 1782, *Primogenitum seminariorum*, and most appropriately named after and placed under the protection of the *Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniae*.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

QUESTION REGARDING THE INDULGENCE OF PRIVILEGED ALTAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—When a priest celebrates Mass at a privileged altar on a day which does not permit the celebration of a Requiem Mass, may he apply the *fructus Missae* to a living person, and the indulgence of the privileged altar to a deceased person? The solution will, of course, hold whether the privilege be *local* or *personal*. An early reply in the I. E. RECORD will oblige,

INQUIRER.

Looking at this question from a theoretical standpoint, there would seem to be no difficulty in replying in the

¹ Mr. Hogan, *Life of St. Ciaran*, p. 215.

affirmative. For, in theory, at least, the fruit of the Sacrifice of the Mass is quite distinct from the indulgence of the privileged altar at which the Holy Sacrifice is offered. Hence, one might fairly conclude, that, when a priest celebrates at a privileged altar for a living person, in the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent, or even for a deceased person, for whom he is not bound to celebrate at a privileged altar, he may apply the fruit of the Mass to the person for whom he celebrates, and the indulgence of the altar to any deceased person.' In the year 1848, the Congregation of Indulgences was asked to decide whether the fruit of the Mass, and the indulgence of the privileged altar at which the Mass was celebrated, could be thus divided. The Congregation, instead of giving an authoritative decision, submitted the question to an expert, and ordered his reply to be forwarded to the person from whom the question had come. This reply is published among the *Decreta Authentica*; and as it is of historical interest, at least, we give it, together with the question which evoked it. As will be seen, the reply of the *Consultor* of the Congregation permits the division of the fruit of the Mass, and the indulgence of the privileged altars unless in those cases in which the terms of the indult, granting the privilege, express or imply that the indulgence must be applied to the person for whom Mass is celebrated.

"1548, 31 Januarii.—Viceparochus S. Ensiperii, diocesis Tolosarae, humiliter proponit casum infrascriptum:

An, quando requiritur Sacrificium Missae pro indulgentia lucranda, Missa possit offeri pro uno, et indulgentia applicari pro altero?

Sac. Congregatic habita in Palatio Apostolico Quirinali die 31 Januarii, 1848, respondendum esse censuit:

Communicetur Oratori votum Consultoris.

JACOBUS GALLO, *Secret.*"

"*Votum Consultoris*: Hanc eadem quaestionem enucleandam sibi proponit doctissimus P. Joannes Cavalieri, scilicet an indulgentia et Sacrificium dividi queant? Respondet: 'Decisio pendet ex verbis indulti. Si enim cantat: *qui pro defuncto Missam in tali altari dixerit, liberat animam ejus, &c.*, Sacrificium et indulgentia non possunt dividi, sed utrumque pro eodem defuncto est

¹ See Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 557, b.

applicandum ; si autem *to pro defunctis* in indulto desit, applicatio solius indulgentiae sufficit ad liberandam animam, et sacrificium cuilibet poterit applicari ; . . . si tamen fundator, aut stipem erogans imponat onus celebrandi in altari privilegiato, tunc praedicta divisibilitas locum non habet : per impositionem quippe talis oneris censetur etiam voluisse applicationem indulgentiae. Secus est si sacerdos onus habeat sacrificandi, sed non in altari privilegiato ; tunc quidem adimplet obligationem suam per applicationem Sacrificii, et liber est quoad applicationem indulgentiae, dummodo tamen celebre in altari, cujus privilegium non exquirat etiam applicationem Missae.'

Quae solutio et mihi arridet : nam indulgentia etiam pro defunctis est donum ex Ecclesiae thesauro depromptum, qui constat ex meritis Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, et aliorum Sanctorum ; opera vero injuncta sunt conditio solum, sine qua effectum non sortitur indulgentia, aliud opus injunctum. Pono si applicatio indulgentiae pro solis defunctis concessae necessario conjuncta esset cum applicatione Sacrificii, Sacrificum et indulgentia forent unum et idem ; ergo sacrificium non esset tantum opus injunctum, nec indulgentia in Ecclesiae thesauro deprompta, sed ex valore infinito ejusdem Sacrificii, qui certe ecclesiae potestati non subest, sed voluntati Dei finito modo applicantis ; atqui Sacrificium est tantum opus injunctum, et indulgentia non ex valore, seu fructu Sacrificii eruitur, ergo non sunt unum et idem, adeoque sacrificium et indulgentia dividi possunt (saltem dum aliquid in indulto non exprimitur) et consequenter in hac hypothesi sacerdos potest Sacrificium offerre pro uno, et indulgentiam applicare pro altero. Haec sunt, quae sapienti iudicio vestro, Eminentissimi Patres, subjicienda esse duxi."¹

In practice, however, our reasoning, though apparently strengthened by the Congregation of Indulgences, avails not : for indults granting the favour of a privileged altar always now contain words which imply that the indulgence must be applied to the soul for whom the Mass is offered.² Hence if the Mass be not offered for a deceased, but for a living person, the indulgence is not gained at all. And even in the absence from the indult of such words as are above referred to, the indulgence must necessarily be applied to the soul for whom the Mass is offered. For in the indult granting a privileged altar to priests who have made the *Heroic Offering* no condition is mentioned ; but when the Congregation of Indulgences was asked could such priest apply the

¹ *Decr. Authentica*, n. 348.

² *Beringer* iii^e Partie, iii^e section i.

indulgence to one and the Mass to another, the answer was an unqualified negative.

“Utrum [it was asked] indulgentia plenaria altaris privilegiati personalis (1) debeat a sacerdote, qui actum heroicum caritas emisit applicari animae pro qua missam celebrat? Aut (2) possit applicari pro libito cuivis defuncto?

Resp. Ad primam partem, *Affirmative*; hoc enim modo privilegium altaris conceditur a Summo Pontifice; ad secundam, *provisum in responsione ad partem primam.*”¹

This decision must extend to all privileged altars whether local or personal; for it is unlikely that the Holy Father would grant to others a privilege denied to priests who make the *Heroic Offering*. It seems, therefore, to be certain that the indulgence of a privileged altar is gained only for that soul for whom the Mass is offered. And if a priest celebrates at a privileged altar for several deceased persons, he should form the intention of applying the indulgence to some one of them; for the indulgence of a privileged altar cannot of its very nature be applied to several; and hence in the case made, if the celebrant does not fix on one of them to whom he wishes the indulgence to be applied, there is danger of its being wholly or partially lost.

MAY CERTAIN INDULGENCED PRAYERS BE DIVIDED?

REV. DEAR SIR,—The very salutary instruction given in the last I. E. RECORD, with reference to the indulgences which can be gained by those who wear the blue scapular of the Immaculate Conception, is of truly practical importance. May I most respectfully ask if the six Our Fathers, six Hail Marys, and six Glory be to the Father, &c., in honour of the Blessed Trinity and the Immaculate Conception, may be, so to speak, cut into two parts; viz., three at morning prayers, and three at evening prayers? If so, the devotion will be wide-spread, as comparatively few can spare time to recite at all the same time.

THE PRAYERS FOR THE POPE'S INTENTION

“When a person wishes to gain several plenary indulgences in the same day, for each of which prayers for the Pope's intention are a necessary condition, he must repeat these prayers for each

¹ December 18, 1885.

indulgence." The above quotation is from the last I. E. RECORD. May I ask the Editor which is the least prayers required to be said on these occasions. Will one Our Father and Hail Mary be sufficient in each case ?

LAON.

1. We have no means of deciding definitely the first question proposed by our correspondent. The Congregation of Indulgences, as well as the authors we have been able to consult, are silent on the point ; hence whatever conclusion we may arrive at can be only conjectured. As far, however, as we ourselves are concerned, we are very strongly of opinion that the prayers cannot be divided as suggested by our correspondent. It would seem to be a general rule, that when certain indulgences are attached to the recital of certain prayers, these prayers should be said without interruption. Two notable examples of this will occur to every one. These are the Rosary and the Stations of the Cross. To gain the indulgences attached to the former, it is necessary to recite the five decades without interruption ; and, similarly, to gain the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, one must visit each of the fourteen stations in uninterrupted succession. From analogy, therefore, we conclude that the six *Paters*, *Aves*, and *Glorias* should be said uninterruptedly.

2. Our correspondent must be satisfied with a still less definite reply to his second question. All writers agree in saying that five *Paters* and *Aves*, or other prayers of corresponding length, suffice to fulfil the conditions of praying for the Pope's intentions, but all do not agree in saying that prayers of this length are required. Thus, for example, Suarez would admit that one *Pater* and *Ave*, or even a shorter prayer, is sufficient ; while Theodore, a *Spiritu Sancto*, a classic writer on indulgences, makes the following distinction :—If in the rescript granting a particular indulgence it is stated that in order to gain it one should pray *for some time (per aliquod temporis spatium)* for the intentions of the Pope, a *very* short prayer will not fulfil this condition. But if in the rescript no such clause is to be found, then one *Pater* and *Ave* are amply sufficient. It must be said, however, that there seems to be no foundation for this

distinction, and that the prayers which suffice in one case, suffice equally in all.

The Congregation of Indulgences, though frequently appealed to for a definite decision, has contented itself with stating that the prayers for the Pope's intentions are left to the will of each individual. The following question and reply sufficiently indicate the attitude of the Congregation towards this question :—

Quaer.—Au sufficient quinqué *Pater*, et *Ave*, quae veritari solent ob adimplendam Summi Pontificis intentionem, quando praescriptum est ut visitatur ecclesia vel altare, ibique fundantur preces, quaemadmodum ex gr. pro lucranda indulgentia praescriptum est associatis operi Propagationis fidei ?

Resp.—Preces requisitae in indulgentiarum concessionibus ad implendam Summi Pontificis intentionem sunt ad unius cujusque fidelis libitum, nisi peculiariter adsignetur.”¹

So recently as 1888 the Congregation of Indulgences was again asked to decide the matter, once for all ; but in replying the Congregation contented itself with merely referring to the reply given in 1841, which we have just quoted. From what has been said, then, it may be inferred that, to be quite certain of fulfilling the conditions of praying for the Pope's intentions, one should say more than one *Pater* and one *Ave*.

THE LITANY OF LORETTO IN “ST. PATRICK'S HYMN BOOK”

REV. DEAR SIR,—In *St. Patrick's Hymn Book*, edited by Fr. Gaynor, the Litany of our Blessed Lady is not the same as is found in the Roman Ritual, for in the beginning there are repetitions, and at the end the versicles *Christe audi nos*, &c., are omitted.

Is it lawful for such a Litany to be sung at Benediction ? An affirmative would seem to be given, inasmuch as the *Hymn Book* has the approbation of the Ordinary. But bishops can neither add nor detract from the Roman Ritual. Will you kindly clear up this doubt for me ?

A SUBSCRIBER.

Our correspondent raises two objections to the form in which the Litany of Loretto is printed in Father Gaynor's

¹ *Decreta Authentica*, n. 291 ad 3, May 29, 1841.

beautiful collection of hymns and chants. The first objection regards the repetition of the *Kyrie, eleison* and *Christe, eleison* at the beginning; the second, the omission of certain versicles and responses at the end of the Litany. These additions and omissions appear to our correspondent to be of such moment as to substantially change the Litany, and to render it unlawful to sing the Litany in this form at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. We hope, however, to convince him that he is mistaken.

In the first place, the versicles and responses, which are so often found printed at the end of the Litany after the *Agnus Dei*, do not form a part of the Litany at all, and are not to be found in recent editions of liturgical books. They are, it is true, to be found in some editions of the Roman Ritual; but, according to a very learned writer,¹ they crept into these editions through a mistake on the part of someone. At any rate, they are not to be found in any late edition either of the Ritual or of the *Raccolta*. In the latter, the Litany ends with the third repetition of the *Agnus Dei*; from which it follows, that, in order to gain the indulgence attached to the recital of the Litany, neither the versicle *Ora pro nobis*, &c., nor any prayer is necessary. Hence, with regard to this point, the editor of *St. Patrick's Hymn Book* had more recent and more correct information than his critic.

With regard to the repetitions at the beginning of the Litany, we are of opinion that they cannot be regarded as *additions* to the Litany, since they are merely repetitions of invocations occurring in the Litany. And as only additions, strictly such, and omissions are forbidden, it would seem that repetitions are lawful, especially when, as in the present case, they make for order and harmony.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Dr. F. H. Haberl, in his work, *Magister Choralis*, translated by Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canaan.

Documents

THE NEW "SCAPULAR OF THE MOTHER OF GOOD COUNSEL"

8. RITUM CONGREGATIO

DECRETUM

De Beata Virgine Genitrice Dei Maria, quae a Sanctis Patribus, "Aeterni Consilii opus et Consiliatrix Universalis" salutatur, ea ab Ecclesia praedicata sunt, quae in Sacris Scripturis de divina Sapientia leguntur : "Meum est consilium ; Ego habito in consilio et eruditus intersum cogitationibus." Inde titulus ortum habuit quo ipsa Caeli Regina a fidelibus christianis iam ab antiquis temporibus donata est, "Mater Boni Consilii." Qui mos Beatam Dei Genitricem appellandi ac venerandi Genestani potissimum invaluit ex ea tempestate, cum quatuor abhinc saeculis, sedente Paulo II. Summo Pontifice, speciosa Icon Beatissimae Matris ibidem mirabiliter apparuit. Quin et Pia Unio sub tali vocabulo a Moderatoribus Ecclesiae Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini inibi existentis, de Prioris Generalis Ordinis ipsius consensu, instituta est, quam Benedictus XIV. approbavit et confirmavit, atque inviolabili Apostolicae firmitatis patrocinio munivit, ipseque ac alii Summi Pontifices indulgentiis ditaverunt. His autem temporibus nostris, populorum christianorum necessitatibus urgentibus, mirum quantum huiusmodi cultus ceperit incrementi. Unde factum est ut Christifideles desiderium patefecerint signum aliquod seu Scapulare gestandi a Beata Virgine de Bono Consilio nuncupatum, quo sibi uberius ipsam Bonorum Consiliorum Matrem demereri valeant. Quocirca R. P. Fr. Aurelius Martinelli, Moderator Generalis praefatae Piae Unionis, ab Apostolica Sede humillimis precibus efflagitavit, ut singulis pro tempore Directoribus uniuscuiusque sedis tribueretur facultas benedicendi atque utriusque sexus Fidelibus imponendi Scapulare in honorem Almae Dei Parentis sub enunciato titulo "de Bono Consilio." Quibus precibus ab Eñno et Rñno Dño Vincentio Vannutelli, Causae Ponente, in Ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Coetu subsignata die ad Vaticanum habito relatis, Eñni et Rñni Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, atque audito R. P. D. Augustino Caprara, Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt : "Supplicandum Sanctissimo pro concessione Scapularis iuxta

schema a Sacra Congregatione approbandum et penes eam adservandum favore Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini ; cum facultate subdelegandi et cum Indulgentiis ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro impetrandis : quoad formulam vero benedictionis et impositionis eiusdem Scapularis, ad Eñum Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei." Die 19 Decembris anni 1893.

Facta postmodum de iis per me infrascriptum Cardinalem, Sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefectum, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua, in tot tantisque rerum ac temporum perturbationibus auxilium enixe implorans a Sanctissima Dei Genitrice, exhibitum Scapulare eiusque formulam, ab eodem Eñmo Ponente una cum praedicto Sanctae Fidei Promotore revisam et emendatam, approbavit iuxta mentem Sacrae ipsius Congregationis, simulque facultatem illud benedicendi atque imponendi Patribus Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini cum expetitis Indulgentiis, et cum facultate subdelegandi benigne concessit. Die 21 iisdem mense et anno.

CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S.R.C. Praef.*

Loco ✕ Sigilli.

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius.*

FORM OF BLESSING THE SCAPULAR

FORMULA BENEDICENDI ATQUE IMPONENDI SCAPULARE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS A BONO CONSILIO

Suscepturus Scapulare genuflectit, ac Sacerdos stola alba indutus dicit:

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS

Domine Iesu Christe, qui Magni Consilii Angelus et Admirabilis Consiliarius hominibus per Incarnationem tuam adfuisti: hoc Scapulare Beatae Mariae, Matris tuae a Bono Consilio bene ✕ dicere digneris, ut haec insignia gestantes per gratiam

tuam recta consilia secuti bonis perfrui mereantur aeternis : Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum.

R. Amen.

Postea aspergit Scapulare aqua benedicta, atque illud imponens dicit :

Accipe, Frater, (vel Soror) haec insignia Beatae Mariae Virginis, Matris Boni Consilii ; ut, ea inspirante, quae Deo placita sunt digne semper perficias, et cum electis suis consociari merearis Per Christum Dominum Nostrum.

R. Amen.

Tunc prosequitur :

V. Ora pro nobis, Mater Boni Consilii.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

OREMUS

Deus, qui Genitricem dilecti Filii tui Matrem nobis dedisti, eiusque speciosam imaginem mira apparitione clarificare dignatus es : concede, quaesumus ; ut eiusdem monitis iugiter inhaerentes, secundum cor tuum vivere, et ad caelestem patriam feliciter pervenire valeamus. Per eundem Christum Dominum Nostrum.

R. Amen.

LIST OF INDULGENCES

ELENCHUS INDULGENTIARUM.—PLENARIAE

Plenariam omnium admissorum Indulgentiam utriusque sexus Christifideles lucrari queunt, Animabus quoque in Purgatorio igne detentis applicabilem, in sequentibus diebus, dummodo rite Confessi, et ad Sacram Synaxim accesserint :

1. Die, qua B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris Scapulare suscipiant, vel Dominica, aut in aliquo Festo eam immediate sequenti.

2. Die 26 Aprilis, vel aliqua infra Octavam festi B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris.

3. In articulo mortis, dummodo rite Confessi et Sanctissima Eucharistia refecti corde saltem, si nequeant ore, Sanctissimum Iesu nomen invocaverint.

4. In festis Immaculae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis B.M.V. itemque in festo S. Augustini Episcopi Confessoris Ecclesiaeque Doctoris.

PARTIALES

1. Indulgentiam septem annorum ac totidem Quadragenarum, pari modo Animabus piaculari igne cruciatis applicabilem, consequi possunt Fideles utriusque sexus in festis Praesentationis

et Visitationis B.M.V.; dummodo corde contrito Ecclesiam, vel publicum Oratorium inviserint, ibique aliquod temporis spatium iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis pias ad Deum preces fuderint.

2. Centum dierum indulgentiam quoties corde vel ore, Deiparae Virginis Consilium invocaverint.

3. Item Indulgentiam Centum dierum quoties corde contrito, et pro conversione peccatorum bonum aliquod opus exegerint.

ORDINIS EREMITARUM S. AUGUSTINI

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., referente me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto, suprascriptam benedictionis formulam ab Eñño ac Rñño Domino Cardinali Vincentio Vannutelli, Causae Relatore, una cum R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore revisam et emendatam approbavit, simulque expetitas Indulgentias, in superiori elencho adnotatas, Fidelibus Scapulare gestantibus in honorem B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris, benigne impertiri dignatus est, iuxta eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis Decretum diei 19 Decembris 1893. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 21, iisdem mense et anno.

CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA *S.R.C. Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S.R.C. Secretarius.*

Notices of Books

THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED ANTONY BALDINUCCI. By Francis Golder, S.J. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

THE STORY OF ST. STANISLAUS KOSTKA. By Francis Goldie, S.J. Third Edition, enlarged. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS BORGIA, S.J. By A. M. Clarke. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

We read through these volumes with much pleasure, and we can say they are worthy of the other publications by members of the same Society. Blessed Antony Baldinucci, whose life forms the subject of the first volume, was born at Florence. Soon after

Antony's birth, a certain holy nun had a vision in which she saw St. Ignatius with Antony in his arms. The saint told her that the child would one day become a member of the Society of Jesus. At first it seemed that the vision was not to be realized, but after a retreat entered into for the purpose of finding out God's will in his regard, it became plain to him that he was to be a member of this Society. The novitiate began, and so great was the perfection of the young Jesuit that he was called by the Master of Novices an "angel come down from heaven." During his early religious life he showed an extraordinary love for penance and a great desire to be sent to preach to the Pagans, which later on transformed itself into a love for martyrdom. The records of our saint's missionary life are very interesting; the fruits of his labours were such as should be expected from one so rich in every virtue. His powerful zeal showed itself at the very moment of his death, and in his advice to a brother missionary at this time, we have an excellent picture of the interior state of his soul. He died, having spent thirty-five years in religion, twenty-five of which he had worked on the missions. After the account of blessed Antony's death, the volume contains a chapter on his characteristic virtues, among which his principal one was that of humility, if, indeed, humility means—"a lowly idea of oneself, the shunning of honours, and a love of contempt." He was remarkable for the interest he took in the souls in purgatory; but the centre of his devotion was the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar, in the presence of which his attitude is described as that of an angel. During the reign of Pius IX., the virtues of our saint were declared heroic, and last year during the Jubilee festivities of Pope Leo XIII., the solemn beatification was celebrated in the presence of pilgrims from every land.

The second volume contains the interesting story of St. Stanislaus. In this third edition the Life has been practically rewritten. The appearance in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, in 1892, of the first part of the hitherto unpublished MS. Life of the saint, written by Father Urban Ubaldini, about 1066, showed that it was necessary to revise, and in great part re-write, this new edition. The editor explains how Father Ubaldini had exceptional opportunities for this work. He was the promoter of the cause of St. Stanislaus' canonization, and this official position opened to him all the sources of information regarding the saint. The demand for a third edition of this volume of the Quarterly

Series is a practical testimony to the popularity of the book, which was mainly the work of the late Father Coleridge, S.J.; and the value of the Life is greatly enhanced by the abundant new information regarding the saint, collected by the present editor, Father Goldie, S.J.

St. Stanislaus was born in Catholic Poland, and was connected on his father and mother's side with every family of note in the land. From his birth God's will in his regard was made known to his mother, who saw in a vision the name of Jesus, in letters of gold and encircled by rays of glory, which event was interpreted by her director as a sign of the future sanctity of her child. It was no wonder then that special interest was taken in the young Stanislaus and his dawning sanctity soon justified the hopes that had arisen from this wonderful vision before his birth. When the time came, he was sent with his brother to the Jesuit school at Vienna, where he remained for three years, when his whole time was divided between study and prayer. During this time Stanislaus had been listening to an interior voice calling him to enter the Society of Jesus. He knew that it would be useless for him to ask his father's permission, and, accordingly, without his brother's knowledge, fled from Vienna to join the Society, at Rome. The story of his flight is most touching, the manner in which he managed to avoid recognition on his way being truly miraculous. He was received at Rome by St. Francis Borgia, and began his novitiate on that saint's birthday. Unlike our blessed Antony, during this time Stanislaus never showed that desire for missionary work, but was full of the thought that he was made for eternity. On one occasion, as the Feast of the Assumption was approaching, he expressed his desire to witness the celebration in heaven. The saint got his wish, for on the Feast day his soul was in heaven with our Lady. It is said that among all the confessors who have been canonized by the Holy See, no one had died at so early an age as St. Stanislaus Kostka.

The saint whose life is the subject of the third volume was of even still nobler birth than the subject of the last one; nor were his parents less truly virtuous. His beauty of person, grace of manner, and cultivation of mind, were on a par with his high lineage. No saint, perhaps, ever gave up as much for God as St. Francis Borgia, and God in turn proportioned his gifts to the perfect sacrifice. A mere statement of the facts of the saint's life would be highly interesting, but when clothed in the flowing and

attractive style of the author, the book can be called delightful reading. We can recommend the three volumes with confidence, even to those who may read them from other than a purely religious motive, and we can say with truth that we scarcely ever read anything that pleased us as well. We have not said enough in their praise ; but, they say, " Good wine needs no bush."

J. O'N.

CONNOR D'ARCY'S STRUGGLES. By Mrs. W. M. Bertholds. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THE present volume is a valuable addition to the many good works that have already proceeded from Mrs. Bertholds' pen. The battle of a noble and generous soul against the reverses of fortune is graphically depicted, and the various characters of the narrative are faultlessly sustained throughout. The work is thoroughly Catholic. The deathbed scene in the London home, the religious ceremony in Father Domatti's unpretending little church, must impress any reader with feelings of piety and devotion. The descriptive passages with which the story abounds may be read again and again with increased interest, so real do they seem, and in such simple and pleasing style are they set forth. It is a pleasure to meet with such a book in these days, when we see so many novelists employ all their talent in perverting the minds of their readers.

D. O'C.

THE INCARNATION OF JESUS CHRIST. By Alphonsus De Liguori. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm. New York : Benziger Brothers. London : R. Washbourne. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS book is one of the volumes the centenary edition of one of St. Liguori's Ascetical works. It is divided into two main portions. The first, which is called the " Mysteries of Faith," was written by St. Alphonsus, in 1750 ; while the second, which is styled " Darts of Fire," was not published by him till 1767. Both treat of the Mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption. The " Mysteries of Faith " comprises a series of discourses for the Novena of Christmas, and Christmas day, in which are explained the many humiliations that Christ underwent in becoming man for our sake. It also embraces several series of short meditations for Advent and Christmas ; a number of hymns to the child Jesus, and many indulgenced prayers

to our Infant Saviour. The "Darts of Fire," is a little treatise which St. Liguori used daily, and earnestly recommended to those who aspired to spiritual perfection. It explains the love that Christ bore us in humbling Himself by becoming man, and dying for our redemption. It also contains a large number of pious sentiments, aspirations, and ejaculations which are very useful for our visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

Throughout the whole work there is a deep spirit of devotion to our Lord in his Incarnation. The meditations breathe divine love and conformity to God's holy will in every line. Above all the reader is struck by the beautiful prayers in honour of the Infant Jesus. Childhood is a time of innocence. We must become as little children if we wish to enter heaven. What devotion then can we practise with greater profit than love of the Infant Jesus, since through its means we become like to His holy childhood? We cannot find a more suitable way of exercising this devotion than that which was used before us by so great a saint as St. Alphonsus.

The work is a translation from the Italian. The style is generally easy and flowing. Occasionally the difficulties of a translator seem to have left their mark, though in a less degree than is usually the case. We desire to see this useful work in the hands of all, as well laymen as ecclesiastics, who aspire to perfection.

J. M. H.

A TREATISE OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE: Leading Man by an Easy and Clear Method from the Commencement of Conversion to the very Summit of Sanctity. Translated from the Latin, by Mgr. C. J. Morozzo, Cistercian Abbot and Bishop of Bobbio. By the Rev. D. A. Donovan, O. Cist.

THIS is a translation of an old, and we suspect a somewhat unknown, treatise on the spiritual life. It is now more than two centuries since the original Latin text appeared; and its first impression, as well as a reprint lately made, received the approbation of the Master of the Sacred Palace; a fact which, as the translator remarks, gives a guarantee for at least the soundness of its doctrine. The English translation before us is printed, we may add, with the *imprimatur* of the Coadjutor Archbishop of St. Louis.

Father Donovan's translation deserves a warm welcome. It makes us at least acquainted with the spirit of the past—that spirit which, as history knows, was the fruitful principle of so much sanctity. Indeed, everywhere through its pages the book breathes the grave and earnest piety which characterized the faith of the distant ages in which it appeared and the Cistercian Abbot who composed it. No doubt, the original treatise was chiefly intended for religious, but the main principles of the spiritual life are common to all classes and states; and we have no doubt the present volume will be found useful, not to religious only, but to all who seriously try to serve God and make themselves holy, whether in the world or the cloister. It will be very welcome to those who are anxious for a scientific treatise of ascetic theology. The book is eminently scientific. It is solid, clear and easy, and though comparatively brief is sufficiently exhaustive. To our mind, indeed, it is too much of an abstract character; but then everyone has his own favourites among spiritual books. Some are satisfied with the simple statement of abstract truth. Others require to have it seasoned for them, “ut veritas placeat et suadeat.”

The translation is made into simple, and though unpretentious, very readable English. We warmly recommend it to our readers, and hope the handsome and portable volume of 513 pages will find a ready and extensive circulation.

M. F.

THE COMEDY OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM. By A. F. Marshall, B.A., Oxon. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

THIS clever and humorous little book, purports to be the report of a conference of the representatives of English Protestant sects, held in Exeter Hall, to discover some means of uniting all into one body. Towards the end, an Irishman and a convert appear as the professed defenders of Catholicism. In the dialogues between the various representatives, there is developed the truth that the marks of the true Church, especially unity of faith and apostolicity, are conspicuous by their absence in the case of Anglicanism as well as of the other sects, and that the true Church, the Church of the Apostles, can be only the Catholic Church. The arguments are set forth in the clearest logic, and, when necessary for his purpose, the writer draws freely upon his evidently wide acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, to the

great interest and benefit of his readers. We commend the book to priests for the use of Protestants who intend to become converts. Indeed, it should be read by all Catholic laymen who at any time enter into polemical discussions with Protestant friends.

P. M.

THE NEW SPIRIT OF THE NATION. Edited with an introduction by Martin MacDermott. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

IN the introduction to this delightful little book the editor anticipates the question—"Why should such a collection of poems be published now?" Surely no answer is needed, unless in so far as it would serve to explain why such a collection has not been made and published long since. Those who have read the *Spirit of the Nation*, to which the present publication is but an addition, will not only accept without apology another volume of poems by such writers as Davis, Mangan, Darcy-Magee, and "Mary of the Nation," but will hail them with the enthusiasm which the prestige of these celebrated names is calculated to inspire. Writings which, for their literary merit alone, have won reluctant applause from our political foes, will find a ready access to Irish hearts, whose patriotic sentiments and national aspirations they so powerfully and so beautifully express. The grand old *Nation* newspaper deserves to be remembered; and no more fitting monument to its greatness can well be imagined than a collection of the poems which delighted its readers, and which went far to establish its high literary standing, as well as its political strength. Many of these beautiful poems are already familiar to many readers—indeed such gems could not, under any circumstances, remain hidden for long—but it is time to furnish them in a collection for themselves; they have long enough remained scattered through periodicals and miscellaneous collections of Irish literature where much of their individuality has been lost.

The introduction is not the least valuable part of the work. The gifted editor gives, in the compass of a few brilliant pages, a most interesting history of the poems as well as a succinct but marvellously instructive account of the Young Ireland movement. A short graphic notice is given of each author's life; and these sketches, together with the numerous explanatory notes

scattered throughout the book, give the poems an extrinsic interest which adds immensely to their worth. A criticism of the poems would be out of place here; the names of their authors and the widespread reputation of their source are a sufficient guarantee of their excellence. We congratulate the members of the Irish Literary Society on the manner in which they have carried out an admirable idea, and are only uttering a prophesy already partly fulfilled, when we say that the work will be enthusiastically received as a very valuable contribution to the literature of Ireland.

J. B.

ANNALS, ANECDOTES, AND TRADITIONS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTS. By J. R. O'Flanagan. Dublin: Gill & Sons.

JUST now everything that treats of Irish government is of interest to Irishmen, and the *History of Irish Parliaments*, by Mr. O'Flanagan, should be sure of a very hearty welcome.

Mr. O'Flanagan gives us an account of the different parliaments held in Ireland from the first towards the end of the twelfth century, representing, of course, only the English of the Pale, and of the more important laws passed from the Statute of Kilkenny and Poynings' Law down to the Act of Legislative Union with England in 1800.

Naturally a great deal of attention is devoted to the years 1780-1800, and we have a short life of Grattan, and an account of his determined struggle for Irish Independence.

The appendices contain some interesting notes on the customs of Irish Parliament, and some capital anecdotes, illustrative of the spirit of the times.

H. O'H.

LOURDES: YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, TO-MORROW. By Daniel Barbé. Translated by Alice Meynell. London: Burns and Oates.

MISS MEYNELL deserves our gratitude for introducing us to this delightful volume. It tells us the history of the famous shrine of our Lady at Lourdes, which made the little French town renowned throughout the world. In the opening chapters of the book we get a detailed account of Lourdes as it was before the apparitions—obscure, uninteresting, commonplace; and as it is now—beautified and transformed by the generosity of

devout clients of Mary, the goal of never-ceasing pilgrimages. The famous Grotto, in the midst of the Massabielle rocks, in which our Lady appeared; the stately Basilica, that crowns the rocks; and the beautiful Church of the Rosary, in the Place beneath, with everything of interest in and about Lourdes, are all fully described. In the subsequent chapters we have an account of the repeated apparitions of our Lady to Bernadette Soubirous, a simple country maiden, and of the enthusiasm and devotion they excited among the good people of Lourdes. We are told how, despite the opposition of the civil authorities, the devotion to our Lady of Lourdes grew daily more widespread; how rumours of striking miracles began to be noised about; how the Bishop of Tarbes, in whose diocese Lourdes is situated, appointed a commission to inquire exhaustively into the truth of the apparitions and miracles; and how, in course of time, after duly considering the report of the commission, he authorized the devotion of our Lady of Lourdes in his diocese. There is a special chapter devoted to the miracles of Lourdes, which, we think, might have been much fuller, with advantage to the book. At the end there is given a long hymn, which tells in simple, devotional verse the whole wonderful story of Lourdes.

The book is admirably translated by Miss Meynell, every page reading as if original, and is handsomely brought out by Messrs. Burns & Oates, being enriched with no less than twelve full-page reproductions of water-colour drawings. Altogether it is an attractive volume, and will make a charming gift-book.

P. J. B.

MANUAL OF THE HOLY FAMILY. Compiled from Approved Sources. By Rev. Buonaventure Hammer, O.S.F. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a very useful little manual, containing as it does, besides the ordinary devotions found in prayer-books, the rules of the Association of the Holy Family, as given in papal briefs, and its privileges, an extract from Pope Leo's Brief of June, 1892, setting forth the utility of this Association; a concise summary of Catholic doctrine; an Instruction on Catholic life written by Pope Leo when Archbishop of Perugia; Instructions on the duties of married people; on the duties of Catholics in regard to their parish church, their pastors, Confession and Communion, sick-calls, &c. The concise summary

of Christian doctrine would serve very well to give directors of the Association the main ideas for a series of catechetical instructions to be delivered to the associates. The Manual has the *Imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York, and is specially prepared for the American members of the Association.

P. M.

THE LABOURS OF THE APOSTLES: THEIR TEACHING OF THE NATIONS. By Right Rev. Louis de Goasbrand, D.D. Burlington. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1893.

To the vigour and activity of the American Church we are daily becoming more and more indebted for Catholic literature of the best kind. The volume before us presents in a new form a subject which, to the Catholic mind at least, will in itself be ever new. But it does more. It shows in a remarkably clear and cogent manner the connection between Catholic dogma and the writings of the New Testament, and defines with admirable precision the place which Holy Scripture occupies in the Rule of Faith. The chief source utilized is, of course, the New Testament, particularly, the Acts of the Apostles—indeed whole pages of the Bible are transcribed word for word, but so arranged as to furnish a more connected account of the lives of the Apostles than could be obtained without an amount of patient study from the inspired original. The author, too, has enriched his work with an amount of original matter which not only increases its value as a history, but renders it most useful for exegetical and even for controversial purposes. To say that we agree with the illustrious French-American in all his topographical and chronological opinions, would be to assert a very unusual coincidence, viz.: that two students of Sacred Scripture would arrive independently at the same conclusion on such a multitude of disputed questions. But this is immaterial. The scope of the book is not to settle questions in dispute among commentators, and which probably never will be settled, but to point out the means by which the early Christians were converted. "The way to the truth must be the same now as it was then," he pointedly remarks in the preface. When Protestants can be brought to admit that the early Christians were converted by the preaching of the Apostles, rather than by the reading of the Scriptures, the author's wish will be fulfilled; and certainly the present work seems well calculated to assist in bringing about this desirable result.

We feel confident in predicting that the design and execution of the work, together with the well-established reputation of its author's name, will secure for it a wide circulation not only among Catholics, but among a large number of religiously-inclined persons outside the Church.

J. B.

GOD'S BIRDS. By John Priestman. London : Burns & Oates.

THOUGH all the living things that inhabit the air are the creatures of God, the birds mentioned in Sacred Scripture are specially deserving of the appellation "God's Birds," and it is with these the volume before us deals. A short account is given of each bird with reference to the occasions on which it is spoken of in the Inspired Narrative, and with some useful reflections. Possessed of extensive knowledge, which is tempered by tender piety, and enhanced by a rich imagination and a happy way of expressing his thoughts, the author has given us a charming work. Insensibly, as one reads its beautiful pages—which really contain poetry written like prose—one is carried back in imagination to the land of the chosen people, hears murmuring sounds

"As of the hidden brook,
In the leafy month of June ;"

listens to the sighing of the wind that blows fresh from the Judean hills, and feels one's heart rejoiced by the warbling of many birds that sing unceasingly their Creator's praises.

The book is tastefully got up, and would, we think, be a valuable and suitable prize-book for the young.

P. K.

THE PERFECTION OF MAN BY CHARITY : A SPIRITUAL TREATISE. By Fr. H. Reginald Buckler, O.P. Second Edition. London : Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THIS treatise, as the author tells us in the preface, is "mainly intended for religious persons, in view of placing briefly before them what may be termed the science of their profession." It is divided into two books. Book I., "The Study of Perfection," starting with the consideration of man's ultimate end, viz., Union with God, leads us on to consider Perfection ; the attainment of which is man's proximate end, in its different qualities and degrees. Book II., "The Life of Charity," is more immediately practical. Setting out with the distinction between the *natural*

and the *spiritual* man, and discovering charity to be the characteristic principle of the latter, it goes on to indicate in detail the various means of nourishing, developing, and practising charity; till, finally, the fulness and maturity of this virtue is found to embrace and unite in itself all other virtues. Though primarily intended for those who have been called to, and who wish to make progress in the contemplative life, the work will be found to contain much that is useful to the ordinary faithful.

NEW MONTH OF MARY. St. Francis De Sales. From the French. By a Sister of the Visitation, Baltimore. 32mo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS little volume contains a devout exercise in honour of the Blessed Virgin for every day in the month. To each exercise is appended an illustration taken from the life of St. Francis. The work bears the approbation of Cardinal Gibbons.

THE LITTLE TREASURY OF LEAFLETS: Vols. I., II. compiled by M. and S. Eaton, 49, Dame-street and 95, Grafton-street, Dublin, 1893.

IT is no misnomer to call this little work "a treasury." A more choice collection of prayers and hymns than it contains it would be difficult to imagine. The compilers, who evince a highly cultured taste throughout, have gone to much pains to bring together, in convenient order, the most approved form of prayer for every conceivable occasion; and have selected, from the standard devotional critics, hymns that are hardly less varied. There is also attached, where possible, an indication of the indulgences to be gained by the devout recitation of the compositions. The work, which is neatly bound in rich morocco, makes a most reputable and useful prayer-book. We know few books better suited for a birthday present or a gift at any time to a young friend. We wish it a hearty God-speed, and a large circulation.

J. J. C.

LIFE OF THE PRINCESS BORGHESE. By Le Chevalier Zeloni. Translated by Lady Martin. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is the biography of a noble lady, who, living in the world in the midst of every attraction to earthly joys, devoted herself to the service of God in a singular manner. Gwendalin Talbot,

afterwards Princess Borghese, was the daughter of wealthy and virtuous parents. Her mother was a native of Wexford; her father, Mr. Talbot, who was sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was a scion of an illustrious family that always championed the cause of Catholicity in England. Born to wealth and honour, with singular gifts of mind and body, Gwendalin was beloved by all with whom she came in contact, and at the early age of seventeen she became the bride of an Italian prince. The remainder of her short life was spent for the most part at Rome, where she was a most affectionate wife and a constant benefactress of the poor. Her death, in 1840, was declared a public calamity by the Pope; and rich and poor, prince and peasant, mourned her loss.

The translator has evidently found her task a labour of love, and has creditably carried out her undertaking.

THE NEED AND USE OF GETTING IRISH LITERATURE INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE. An Address by Stopford A. Brooke. Second Edition.

THE REV. MR. STOPFORD BROOKE delivered the inaugural address of the Irish Literary Society, London, on the "Need and Use of Getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue."

The Lecturer points out the high literary merit of some of our early MSS., and offers some excellent suggestions to those who will undertake the work of putting Irish literature before the reading public.

A couple of hours spent in reading and studying the lecture will be indeed well spent.

H. O'H.

HOLY LIVES. BLESSED GERARD MAJELLA. By a Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co.

THIS is a most interesting sketch of a lay brother whose earthly life came to an end before he reached his thirtieth year "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time." After giving a short account of Blessed Gerard's mode of life and austerities, the author devotes by far the greater part of his work to recording the numerous extraordinary miracles it has pleased God to work through the humble Brother, who has been justly styled the Thaumaturgus of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1891 OF THE FUND FOR THE
PRESERVATION OF THE MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.
Edited by Colonel P. D. Vigors, F.R.I.A.I.

RESPECT for the resting-place of the dead, and a desire to safeguard their memorials, are the great ends the compiler of this report desires to promote. The collection is a most desirable one. It gives us a survey of the burial-grounds of Ireland, and brings into prominence the objects of interest to be met with in each. We have a long list of quaint inscriptions, and a short sketch of some of the old abbeys, and of the relics that have survived the ruins of centuries. The work is beautifully illustrated, thus setting before us faithful representations of those monuments of the past which, in many instances, are but too quickly passing away. So good a cause should reckon more supporters. Now that archæological research has received such an impetus, it is to be hoped many others will come forward, and join in furthering this praiseworthy undertaking. Co-operation is required to preserve our graveyards from that neglect now so widespread. The present work cannot fail to direct the minds of the community to their duty in this respect, and the editor deserves the highest praise for his care in amassing so valuable and such interesting information.

D. O'C.

THE REVIVAL OF IRISH LITERATURE. Addresses by Sir
Chas. G. Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and
Dr. Douglas Hyde. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.

THIS little volume contains four addresses on the above-mentioned subject: two by Sir Chas. G. Duffy—(1) "What Irishmen may do for Irish Literature," and (2) "Books for the Irish People"—delivered before the Irish Literary Society, London; one by Dr. Sigerson—"Irish Literature: its Origin, Environment, and Influence;" and one by Dr. Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," both delivered before the Irish National Literary Society, Dublin. As we might anticipate from the nature of the subject, and from the well-known zeal and ability of the lecturers, the addresses are most interesting and instructive. They should be read by every Irishman; nor can anyone read them without feeling himself stimulated to do something in furtherance of the great cause of the national literary revival.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

MAY, 1894

THE FOUR MASTERS¹

THE name of the Four Masters will be always a dear and venerable name in Ireland; and a sketch of their lives and labours must prove both interesting and instructive to everyone who feels the least interest in the history of his native land. That name was first given to the compilers of the *Annals of Donegal* by the celebrated John Colgan; and it was felt to be so appropriate that it has been universally adopted by Irish scholars. It has, indeed, sunk deep into the hearts of the people, and the memory of the Masters is fondly cherished even by those who know little or nothing of their history. As O'Curry has truly said:—"It is no easy matter for an Irishman to suppress feelings of deep emotion when speaking of the Four Masters; and especially when he considers the circumstances under which, and the objects for which, their great work was undertaken."

Just a mile to the north of the estuary of the river Erne, on a steep and nearly insulated cliff overhanging the stormy waters of the Bay of Donegal, may still be noticed by a careful observer the grey ruins of an old castle that in the distance can hardly be discerned from the craggy rock on which they stand. That shapeless remnant of a ruin is now all that remains of Kilbarron Castle for some three hundred years the cradle, the home, and the school of the

¹ This paper was prepared and delivered as a Lecture to the Students of Maynooth in the College *Adi Maxima*. It has been slightly altered in some respects to suit its present purpose.—✠ J. H.

illustrious family of the O'Clerys, from whom three of the Masters sprang. All those who can appreciate scenic beauty, or who feel something of the spiritual power that brings from out the storied past visions of vanished glories to illuminate the present, should not fail to visit Kilbarron Castle. The rock on which it stands is not only steep, but overhanging; and the waves are for ever thundering far below. Before you is the noble Bay of Donegal, the largest and finest in Ireland, flanked as it is on three sides by grand mountain ranges exhibiting every variety of shape and colouring, but open to the west, and therefore to the prevailing winds which carry in the unbroken billows of the Atlantic to the very rocks beneath your feet. Poor D'Arcy M'Gee, influenced by the grandeur of its surroundings, and doubtless even still more by the associations of the past, has described Kilbarron Castle in a sonnet of much grace and beauty. The opening lines describe the scene:—

“ Broad, blue, and deep, the Bay of Donegal,
Spreads north and south and far-a-west before
The beetling cliffs sublime, and shattered wall,
Where the O'Clerys name is heard no more, &c.
Home of a hundred annalists, round thy hearths, alas!
The churlish thistles thrive, and the dull grave-yard grass.”

The “home of a hundred annalists” is fast falling into the sea; but the grey ruin is still lit up with the radiance of an old romantic story that tells how the O'Clerys came to Kilbarron, and how they grew and flourished there. These O'Clerys originally belonged to the southern Hy Fiachrach, or the Hy Fiachragh Aidhne, whose ancient kingdom was conterminous with the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. But they were driven out by the Burkes in the thirteenth century, and were forced to migrate northwards to their ancient kinsmen on the banks of the river Moy, who were known as the northern Hy Fiachrach. Yet even there they were not allowed to remain in peace, for the Burkes and Barretts followed them, and once more the O'Clerys were compelled to seek new quarters. Tirconnell was still the inviolate home of Irish freedom, and its grand mountains could be seen any day from Tirawley rising up in strength

and pride beyond the bay to the north-east. Then it was that a certain Cormac O'Clery, disgusted with his oppressors by the river Moy, put his books in his wallet, and taking his staff in his hand, set out for the inviolate home of freedom in the North. Round by Sligo he walked, lodging probably at Columcille's abbey of Drumcliff; then keeping between the mountains and the sea he crossed the fords of the Erne, and came into Tirhugh, the demesne lands of the chieftains of Royal Donegal. Now the young man being hungry and footsore betook himself for rest and shelter to the hospice of the great abbey Assaroe, which the children of St. Bernard had founded long before in a pleasant valley on the banks of a small stream that falls into the river Erne a little to the seaward of Ballyshannon. Abbey Assaroe, like most of the foundations of St. Bernard's children in Ireland, was a great and wealthy monastery, and its hospice was always open with a hearty welcome to receive the poor and the stranger. But in Cormac O'Clery the good monks soon discovered that they had more than an ordinary guest; and we are told that they loved him much "for his education and good morals," and also "for his wisdom and intelligence." This is not to be wondered at, for Cormac O'Clery, besides being an Irish scholar and poet, was, we are expressly told, a learned proficient both in the "Canon and Civil Law." Now you must not think that you have had the Irish monopoly of these things in Maynooth, and that our ancient Celtic scholars knew nothing about them. The Canon and Civil Law were taught, and well taught, far west of the Shannon fifty years before Cormac O'Clery went to Donegal. Under date of A.D. 1328, the *Four Masters* record the death of Maurice O'Gibellain, "chief professor of the New Law, the Old Law, and the Canon Law." The New Law was the Civil or Roman Law, then recently brought to Ireland from the schools of Bologna; the Old Law was the Brehon Law; and, of course, the Canon Law they had in one shape or another from the time of St. Patrick. This O'Gibellain is described as a truly learned sage, canon chorister of Tuam, and officialis, or diocesan judge, for nearly all the prelates of the West. O'Clery, therefore, would be in no want of teachers to instruct him in the Canon and Civil Law.

Now Abbey Assaroe was only about three miles from what was then Kilbarron Castle ; and a frequent visitor at the abbey was its owner at the time, Matthew O'Sgingin, the historical Ollave of O'Donnell, who had many years before come to the banks of the Erne from his native territory near Ardcarne, in the County Roscommon. He was then an old man ; his only son, Giolla Brighde, the hope of his house, and the intended Ollave of Tirconnell, was slain in battle about the year 1382, and now his hearth was very lonely and his house was desolate, for, save one only daughter, he had no child in his castle by the sea ; above all, no son to be heir of his name and of his learning amongst the gallant chiefs of Old Tirconnell. Just then it was the old man met Cormac O'Clery at Abbey Assaroe, a gracious and learned youth, moreover, one of gentle birth, and well skilled in history, although now a friendless and homeless poor scholar. So old Matthew took young Cormac down to Kilbarron ; he showed him his castles, his lands, and his daughter—let us hope, though last, not least in his estimation ; and he said you can live with me here as my son-in-law, on one condition, that if God blesses your marriage with a son, you shall train him up from his infancy as the intended Ollave of Tirconnell in all the learning necessary for that high office. These terms were not hard ; O'Clery accepted them ; and from that auspicious union was derived the illustrious line of scholars that have shed so much lustre on the literary history of their native land.

The great-grandson of this Cormac O'Clery was called Diarmaid of the Three Schools, because he kept in his castle of Kilbarron "a school of literature, a school of history, and a school of poetry."¹ It is worth recording, too, and remembering, that O'Donnell nobly endowed those schools at Kilbarron ; for we are expressly told that, in addition to the lands held by his ancestors, he also granted to Diarmaid, for the maintenance of his schools, as well as for a house of general hospitality, the lands of Kildoney and Kilremur, along the winding Erne ; and also the rich pastures between

¹ His son Peregrine O'Clery was the author of a *Book of Annals*, which the Four Masters had in their hands, augmented, doubtless, by his successors.

Bundoran and Ballyshannon, lands which, at the present day, according to John O'Donovan, would produce more than £2,000 a-year. So you see our Celtic princes were no niggard patrons of learning and of learned men. And, oh! such a glorious site for a school. How could a man be weary there—roaming through those swelling meadows a hundred feet above the sea, inhaling the bland Atlantic breezes, with the blue of the sky above, and the deeper blue of that ever-glorious sea around him; beyond rise the giant cliffs of Slieve League, gleaming like fairy palaces in the sunlight, and then far away on the dim horizon's verge, where the billows bathe the clouds, is that golden line of light which, even in the peasant's rude imaginings, leads to the Islands of the Blessed far beyond the western waves. Many a time I have seen it in the sunshine, and, when it is far grander still, in the storm; and I can only say that to my taste, at least, Diarmaid of the Three Schools had a far better site for his college at Kilbarron than could by any possibility be found on the plains of Kildare.

That school at Kilbarron flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries down to the flight of the Earls, in A.D.1607, when, as you know, the old proprietors were all expropriated in Donegal, as well as in five other counties of the North; and the ample domains of the O'Clerys of Kilbarron became the spoil of the stranger, and that ancient sanctuary of Celtic learning was left a desolate and dismantled ruin. Now this brings us down to the time of the Four Masters; and we must pass from Kilbarron to Donegal Abbey. It is not a long way, as the bird flies—about seven miles—over the sand-hills, and down by the sea—that far-sounding sea, where the broken billows roar in a fashion that old Homer never heard—past the old abbey of Drumhome, where we have good grounds for believing that two Irish scholars, whose names are known throughout all Europe, spent their youth; that is, Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba; and the blessed Marianus Scotus, the Commentator. Presently, the bay narrows, and becomes like a broad river flowing between fertile and well-wooded banks, especially on the northern shore; and then you suddenly

come upon the old abbey, standing close to the water's edge at the very head of the bay. Little now remains of the building—the eastern gable, with a once beautiful window, from which the mullions have been torn down; a portion of the stone-roofed store-rooms, and one or two of the cloister arches, with their broken columns—that is all that now remains of the celebrated Franciscan Abbey of Donegal. Still, it is a ruin that no Irishman should pass heedless by; not so much for what he will see, as for what he must feel when standing on that holy ground, so dear to every cultivated and thoughtful mind.

“Many altars are in Banba,
 Many chancels hung in white,
 Many schools and many abbeys
 Glorious in our father's sight;
 Yet! whene'er I go a pilgrim
 Back, dear Holy Isle, to thee,
 May my filial footsteps bear me
 To that abbey by the sea—
 To that abbey, roofless, doorless,
 Shrineless, monkless, though it be.”¹

It was founded in the year 1474 by the first Hugh Roe O'Donnell and his pious wife, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance. Under the fostering care of the O'Donnells, whose principal castle of Donegal was close at hand, the abbey in a short time grew into a great and flourishing house, and became the religious centre of all Tirconnell, although Abbey Assaroe still survived in almost undiminished splendour on the banks of the Erne. The despoiling edicts of Henry VIII. did not run in Tirhugh. Hence we find that when Sir Henry Sydney, the deputy, visited Donegal, in 1566, he described the abbey as “then unspoiled or unhurt;” and with a soldier's eye he perceived that it was, “with small cost fortifiable; much accommodated, too, with the nearness of the water, and with fine groves, orchards, and gardens, which are about the same.” Close at hand, there was a landing-place, so that when the tide was in, foreign barks, freighted with the wines of Spain and silks

¹ D'Arcy M'Gee.

of France, might land their cargoes at the convent walls, and carry away in exchange Irish hides, fleeces, flax, linen, and cloth. So we are expressly told by Father Mooney, who must have often seen the foreign ships when he was a boy, and who tells us also, that in the year 1600 there were forty religious in the community, and forty suits of vestments of silk and cloth of gold in the sacristy, with sixteen chalices and two ciboriums. But, in that very year, the traitor Niall Garve O'Donnell seized on the abbey, in the absence of his chief, and held it for the English. By some accident, however, the magazine blew up on Saturday, the 20th of September, at early dawn, and the beautiful fabric was almost entirely destroyed. After the battle of Kinsale, and the flight of the Earls, it passed into Protestant hands, and was partially restored, so that Montgomery, the King's Bishop of Raphoe, proposed to make it a college for the education and perversion of the young men of the north who could not afford to go to Trinity College. This benevolent proposal was not adopted by King James; but about the beginning of the reign of King Charles, in 1623, when some measure of toleration was granted to the Catholics, the building, probably then derelict, seems to have again been occupied by the Franciscans. This I infer from the express statement of Brother Michael O'Clery himself, as well as from that of the superiors of the convent, who declare that the *Annals of the Four Masters* "were begun on the 22nd day of the month of January, A.D. 1632, in their convent of Donegal;" and that "they were finished in the same convent of Donegal on the 10th day of August, A.D. 1636, the eleventh of the reign of King Charles." Colgan also distinctly asserts that they "were completed in our convent of Donegal."

Let us now go back to that Tuesday, the 22nd of January, in the year 1632. It was truly a memorable scene, the first session of the Masters in the library of the half-ruined convent of Donegal. We can realize all the details from the statements of the Four Masters themselves, and of the superiors of the Convent of Donegal. Bernardine O'Clery, a brother of Michael O'Clery, was then guardian of the

convent, and most generously undertook with the assent of his poor community, to supply the Masters with food and attendance gratuitously during the entire period of their labours. He placed the convent and everything in it at their disposal, so far as was necessary for their comfort and convenience. The library, as Sir James Ware tells us, was well supplied with books; and there they took their places in due order according to their official rank, for the antiquarians (as now) were then most jealous of their rights and privileges—all the more so, perhaps, because they were slipping away from them for ever.

Brother Michael took his seat at the head of the table; around him on either side were his venerable colleagues—each with the parchment books of his family and office which were hardly ever permitted to be taken out of the personal custody of the Ollave, lest they might be in any way injured or mutilated. On his right, we may assume, sat the two Mulconrys, Maurice and Fergus, from Ballymulconry in the County Roscommon, historical ollaves to O'Connor, and the first authorities in all the historical schools. Maurice explains that he himself cannot remain long with them, but that Fergus would remain throughout, and have the custody of the books of Clan-Mulconry. Hence, Colgan does not reckon this Maurice as one of the Four Masters, although he gave them his assistance for one month. On the left of Brother Michael sat Peregrine O'Duigenan from Castlefore, a small village in the County of Leitrim, near Keadue. He was Ollave to the M'Dermotts and O'Rorkes; and came of the celebrated family known as the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, because they were erenaghs of that church, as well as ollaves to the chiefs of Moylurg and Conmaicne. He had before him the great family record known as the *Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan*. Next to him sat Peregrine O'Clery, son of a celebrated scholar, Lughaidh O'Clery, and at this time the head of the family, and the official chief of the ollaves of Tirconnell. In better days, when he was still a boy, during the glorious years of the chieftaincy of Red Hugh, his father owned Kilbarron Castle, with all its wide domains, and sat amongst the noblest at

O'Donnell's board in the Castle of Donegal. But now his castle was dismantled, and his lands were seized by Sir Henry Ffolliott and his followers—he had nothing left but his books, which he tells us in his will he valued more than everything else in the world—like a true scholar, he would part with everything—castle, lands, and honours—sooner than part with those beloved books that he had now before him on the table. At the foot of the table sat Conary O'Clery, an excellent scholar and scribe, but still not ranking with the official ollaves present. He seems to have been chosen as secretary and attendant to the official historians, and hence is not reckoned by Colgan amongst the Four Masters properly so called.

And now that the Masters are about to begin their labours, Brother Michael explains in brief and touching words *the object and purpose of their labours*, which was to collect and arrange and illustrate¹ the *Annals of Erin*, both sacred and profane, from the very dawn of our Island's history down to their own time.

“For [he said] as you well know, my friends, evil days have come upon us and upon our country; and if this work is not done now these old books of ours that contain the history of our country—of its kings and its warriors, its saints and its scholars—may be lost to posterity, or at least may never be brought together again; and thus a great and an irreparable evil would befall our native land. Now we have here collected together the best and most copious books of Annals that we could find throughout all Ireland, which, as you are well aware, was no easy task to accomplish. We must, therefore, begin with the oldest entries in these ancient books; we must examine them carefully, one by one; we must compare them, and, if need be, correct them; then as every entry is thus examined and approved of by us, it will be entered by you, Conary O'Clery, in those sheets of parchment, and thus preserved to latest posterity *for the glory of God and the honour of Erin*.

“The good brothers of this convent, poor as they are themselves, have still undertaken to provide us with food and attendance. There is, alas! no O'Donnell now in Donegal to be our patron and protector; but, as you know, the noble Ferrall O'Gara has promised to give you, my friends, a recompense for your labours that will help to maintain your families at home.

¹ As O'Queely puts it, “colligendo, castigando, illustrando.”

As for myself—a poor brother of St. Francis only needs humble fare, and the plain habit of our holy founder. So now let us set to work hard, late and early, with the blessing of God, and leave the future entirely in His hands.”

Yes, let them work for the glory of God and the honour of Erin :—

“ We can hear them in their musings,
 We can see them as we gaze,
 Four meek men around the cresset,
 With the scrolls of other days—
 Four unwearied scribes who treasure
 Every word and every line,
 • Saving every ancient sentence
 As if writ by hands divine.”

Brother Michael in the thread-bare habit at the head of the table, and now nearly sixty years of age, was in his young days known as Teige of the Mountain, and, doubtless, shared the danger and the glory of the dauntless Red Hugh through the battle-smoke of many a desperate day. He went abroad with the exiled earls, in 1607, or very shortly after, and subsequently became a lay-brother in the celebrated Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony in Louvain. Ward and Fleming, members of that community, were just then engaged in collecting materials for the *Lives of the Irish Saints*—those materials afterwards so well employed by Father John Colgan. Brother Michael was an accomplished Irish scholar, and belonged, moreover, to one of those learned families, whose duty it was to make themselves familiar with all the old books of their country. So it was resolved to send him home to collect materials for their work. Brother Michael, of course, obeyed, and spent fifteen years in Ireland collecting those precious materials, without which Colgan could never have accomplished his own immortal work.

During these years of unremitting toil, Brother Michael had a two-fold object in view: first, to collect materials for the lives of the saints as projected by his own superiors in Louvain; and, secondly, to gather at the same time all the books and documents that might prove to be useful in the execution of his own special project, namely, the compilation of the ancient annals of Ireland, both sacred and profane. What I especially wish to call your attention to is the long-continued and unremitting—aye, and unrequited, labour

which he spent in accomplishing this double purpose. At this time no member of a religious order, and especially no friar from France or the Low Countries, could travel through Ireland without constant and imminent peril of his life, because they were regarded as agents or emissaries of the exiled Irish princes. But Brother Michael, with the most heroic courage, faced every danger in order to accomplish his purpose. Even before the *Annals of the Four Masters* were begun, he tells us himself that he spent ten long years travelling through all parts of the country, in order to collect his materials. He visited nearly all the religious houses then in existence; he called upon nearly all the Catholic prelates in Ireland at the time, from whom he got valuable assistance and encouragement; he was a welcome and an honoured guest in the great houses of the old Catholic gentry of Ireland, both Celtic and Norman; he visited the great historical schools kept by the professional ollaves, and being himself one of the craft, he was heartily welcomed in them all. These long journeys he accomplished, so far as we can judge, all on foot, trudging from convent to convent, and from house to house, laden with his old books and manuscripts, which we must assume he carried in his wallet. He had no money to buy books, but he got the loan of several to be afterwards copied at his leisure; many of them he had to copy on the spot, because the owners would not part with them; for in most cases, as he himself tells us, he had no other resource, seeing that he could neither buy, nor beg, nor borrow the precious treasure. "Before I came to you," he says, "O noble Ferrall O'Gara, *I spent ten years in transcribing every old material I found concerning the saints of Ireland;*" and also, as we know from the introductions prefixed to his work, in compiling certain preparatory treatises before engaging in his last and greatest work, the compilation of the *Annals of Erin*, both sacred and profane.

In this preparatory labour he was also careful to secure the co-operation of the greatest scholars of his own time, and especially of the official antiquarians, who were afterwards associated with him in compiling the *Annals*. How unceasingly he laboured during those years we may infer

from what we know he accomplished in the two years, from 1630 to 1632, when he began the *Annals*. The first-fruit of these labours was the work now known as the *Martyrology of Donegal*, which in its present form was completed in the Convent of Donegal, by Brother Michael, in 1630. In the same year was completed the *Succession of the Kings of Erin* and the *Genealogies of the Saints*, a work which was begun at Lismoynty, in Westmeath, and completed in the Convent of Athlone in November, 1630. Next year, Brother Michael and his associates met at the Franciscan Convent of Lisgoole, near Enniskillen, under the patronage of Brian Roe M'Guire, and with the help also of his chief chronicler, O'Luinin, they completed the well-known *Book of Conquests*. O'Clery had previously gone to Lower Ormond to submit his work to Flann M'Egan, one of the greatest scholars of the day, who gave it his most cordial commendation. From Lower Ormond, Brother Michael set out for Coolavin to secure the patronage of Ferrall O'Gara for his projected work, the *Annals of Erin*. Fortified with his promise of pecuniary assistance for the chroniclers, he went off with the good news to Ballymulconry, near Elphin, to engage the services of the two Mulconrys; from Elphin he went to Kilronan to make his final arrangements with O'Duigenan; and thence, laden with his books and manuscripts, and his heart full of hope and courage at the near prospect of successfully accomplishing his great work "for the glory of God and the honour of Erin," Brother Michael trudged home to his own dear old convent down beside the sea.

Is it not true, as the poet says, that :—

"Never unto green Tirconnell
Came such spoil as Brother Michael
Bore before him on his palfrey.
By the fireside in the winter,
By the seaside in the summer,
When the children are around you,
And your theme is love of country,
Fail not then, my friends I charge you,
To recall the truly noble
Name and works of Brother Michael,
Worthy chief of the Four Masters.
Saviours of our country's Annals."

Of the other Masters, the colleagues of Brother Michael, in nearly all his great works, little need now be said. The Mulconrys were generally recognised as at the head of their profession both in learning and authority. We can trace the family for nearly five hundred years as official ollaves to the O'Connors, the chief kings of Connaught. They resided chiefly at Ballymulconry, which is now known as Cloonahee, near Elphin; and the remains of the ancient rath where they dwelt may still be seen to attest their opulence and power. Many offshoots of the family settled in various parts of the country, and all of them were greatly distinguished for their learning. Of these, perhaps, John Mulconry of the Co. Clare was the most famous; for M'Egan of Lower Ormond expressly declares that he had the first historical school in Ireland in his own time. Many of the family also, as might be expected, became distinguished ecclesiastics, one of them being Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, the founder of the great convent of St. Anthony's of Louvain.

The O'Duigenans of Kilronan were also most eminent as historical ollaves, and from numerous references in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, of which they seem to have been the original compilers, we gather that they were for several centuries the official historians of Moylurg and Conmaicne, and as such held large possessions around Kilronan, in the north-eastern corner of the Co. Roscommon.

Such then were the men, "of consummate learning and approved faith," assembled under the guidance of Michael O'Clery to compile the Annals of their country for God's glory and the honour of Erin. For four years the Masters laboured with unremitting zeal in the execution of their great task, or rather for four years and a-half, from January 1632, to August, 1636.

The work was now completed; but it was of no authority until it was *approved*—approved by historical experts, and sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities. It must always be borne in mind that the historian of every tribe, or rather of every *right*, or king, was a hereditary official, who alone was authorized to compile and preserve the annals of the tribe or clan. These officials formed amongst themselves a

kind of college or corporation of a very exclusive character; and the approbation of the leading members of this body was deemed essential to give authority to historical records of every kind, whether dealing with the tribe, or the sub-kingdom, or the entire nation. Brother Michael, therefore, by order of his superiors, deemed it necessary to submit the work of himself and his colleagues to the independent judgment and censorship of the two most distinguished members of this learned fraternity. And here again we have an example of the indefatigable zeal of the poor friar in carrying out his noble and patriotic purpose. The work was completed on the 10th of August, 1632; and the Superiors of the Convent of Donegal formally testify to the time and place of its composition, to the names of the authors, whom they saw engaged on the work; to the ancient books which they made use of as their chief authorities; and also to the name of the noble patron with whose assistance the work was brought to a successful issue.

Then Brother Michael took his staff and sandals, and, putting his precious manuscript in his bag, set out to submit his work to the judgment of Flann M'Egan, who then dwelt at a place called Ballymacegan, which is now known as Redwood Castle, in the Barony of Lower Ormond, County Tipperary, where he had studied in his youth. M'Egan examined the work, and formally testifies, under his hand, that of all the books of history which he ever saw, even in the great school of John Mulconry, "who was tutor of the men of Ireland in general in history and chronology," he never saw any book of better order, more copious, or more worthy of approbation, than the book submitted to him by Brother Michael; which, he adds, no one, lay or cleric, can possibly find fault with. This approbation is dated 2nd November, 1636. Though so late in the season, the poor friar at once set out to visit Conner M'Brody, who then kept a historical school at Kilkeedy, in the County Clare. M'Brody gave a similar testimony, on the 11th day of November, 1636. Then Brother Michael set out to submit his work to the ecclesiastical authorities; and first of all he came to the celebrated Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of

Tuam, who, relying on the official testimony of the distinguished antiquaries to whom the work was submitted, gave it his own formal approbation, and authorized its publication "for the glory of God, the honour of the country, and the common good." This approbation is dated the 17th of November, just a week after Brother Michael was in the County Clare. Then, facing still north, he came to the beautiful convent of his order at Roserilly, near Headfort, and there got a similar approbation from the learned Boetius M'Egan, Bishop of Elphin, himself a Franciscan friar, and a famous Irish scholar. The work was also solemnly approved by Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Roche Bishop of Kildare. Then Brother Michael once more returned to spend his Christmas with the brotherhood in his own beloved convent of Donegal, having completed his great work for the glory of God and the honour of Erin. He felt, it is true, that the darkness of the evil days was deepening around his country; but he had also the satisfaction of feeling that his own great work was accomplished, and never could be undone. When he heard the brothers chant the complin of the dying year, he might well sing, with a full and grateful heart, the *Nunc dimittis Servum tuum, Domine*. His toilsome journeys now were over, and his long day's work was done. He had laboured for God and for his country; and he knew that God would reward him beyond the grave, and that his country would never forget his name.

Neither must we forget the illustrious name of the noble Ferrall O'Gara. Brother Michael himself tells us that it is to him in a special way "thanks should be given for every good that will result from this book in giving light to all persons in general." The poor friars of Donegal nobly did their duty, and more than their duty, in supplying the Masters for four years with food and attendance; but it was Ferrall O'Gara "who gave the reward of their labours to the chroniclers by whom it was written." The poor chroniclers, like the native chieftains, had been robbed of their patrimony, and were now entirely dependant for the maintenance of themselves and their families on the generosity of those

members of the ancient nobility who had still some property remaining. It was Torloch MacCoughlan, of King's County, who maintained the Masters when compiling the *Succession of the Kings*; Bryan Roe M'Guire, Lord Enniskillen, was their patron and paymaster when producing the *Book of Conquests*. These, however, were comparatively small undertakings, and the Masters were not long engaged upon them. But who would be their patron in the great task now before them, which would engage them for years, and cost a large sum of money? To the eternal honour of the County Sligo, such a man was found at Moy O'Gara, in Coolavin. He told Brother Michael to be of good heart, to secure all the help he needed, and that he would give the antiquarians the reward of their labours, no matter how long they might be engaged on their task; and therefore Brother Michael says that, after the glory of God and the honour of Erin, he writes the *Annals* "in the name and to the honour of the noble Ferrall O'Gara;" and he beseeches God to bestow upon him "every blessing, both of soul and body," for this world and the next. The ruins of the old castle of Moy O'Gara, where Ferrall O'Gara then dwelt, may be seen about three miles from Boyle, and not far from the junction at Kilfree. It was a square keep, like so many others, yet not like them; for a halo of literary glory lights up its mossy, mouldering walls. Its very site will be sought and visited by Irishmen in the future, when the castles of its spoilers will have become nameless barrows. We may well re-echo the touching prayer of Brother Michael for the welfare of his soul:—

"Oh, for ever and for ever
Benedictions shower upon him;
Brighter glories shine around him,
And the million prayers of Erin
Rise, like incense, up to heaven,
Still for Ferrall, Lord of Leyney."

Neither should we forget those younger Masters, who have lately passed away, by whose labours those who are strangers to the ancestral tongue of Erin are enabled to profit by the writings of Brother Michael and his associates. Foremost

amongst them stands the ever-honoured name of John O'Donovan, who has translated and annotated the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and thus made that great work accessible to the whole English-speaking world. It was a task requiring great learning and immense labour; and, according to the confession of all, it has been most successfully accomplished. His name will go down to posterity, and most fitly so, bracketed for ever with the immortal Masters of Donegal. Eugene O'Curry also and Petrie, with Todd and Hardiman, gave most valuable assistance to O'Donovan in accomplishing this great work.

It was O'Curry who transcribed for the press in his own beautiful style the autograph copy of the *Four Masters*, and also gave most effective help by explaining, as perhaps he alone could do, ancient and obsolete words in the text. Petrie, to whom in other respects Irish literature is so much indebted, read the sheets as they passed through the press, itself a work of very great labour, and gave useful help in many other ways also. Todd and Hardiman likewise lent their assistance; the former especially, for he spared neither his labour nor his purse in order to bring the work to a successful issue. The publisher, too, Mr. George Smyth, who at his own sole risk undertook this vast work, certainly deserves his meed of praise for making the *Four Masters* accessible to the literary world. We should never forget the ungrudging labours of those great men in the cause of Irish literature; and, certainly, their example should not be without its effect in moving us to do something, each in his own way, be it great or small, to forward the same glorious work.

We are living in brighter days than the Four Masters lived in. Now there is everything to encourage students to pursue the study of Irish literature and of Irish history. A wider and more general interest is being awakened in all that concerns the antiquities of Ireland. Continental scholars eagerly scan the Celtic glosses of our ancient manuscripts, and our old romantic tales are translated and read with the greatest interest. Not so in the time of the Masters. Their lot was cast on dark and evil days. They

had no motive to inspire them but a lofty sense of duty, and the hope of a supernal reward :—

“ Not of fame and not of fortune
Do these eager pensmen dream,
Darkness shrouds the hills of Banba,
Sorrow sits by every stream ;
One by one the lights that led her,
Hour by hour were quenched in gloom ;
But the patient sad Four Masters
Toil on in their lonely room—
Duty thus defying doom.”

All that time Donegal itself was a vivid picture of Erin's woe ; school and castle and abbey were despoiled and dismantled. The six counties of the North were confiscated after the flight of the Earls ; and were just then in process of subdivision and occupation by the stranger. The hungry Scot and greedy Saxon were settling down in every fair valley of green Tirconnell, and the remnant of its owners were being driven to the bogs and mountains. The bawns of the new comers were rising up in hated strength by all their pleasant waters. The gallant chiefs of the North, who at Kinsale had made their last vain stand for Irish independence, were now all dead—some from the poisoned cup of hired assassins, and some from broken hearts. At the very time that the Masters were writing, Strafford was maturing his plans in Dublin for further despoiling the native chiefs, who had yet escaped the sword and the halter. The present hour was dark, and the future was darker still :—

“ Each morrow brought sorrow and shadows of dread,
And the rest that seemed best was the rest of the dead.”

And yet it was in the deepening gloom of those darkest days, when the religion, the patriotism, and the learning of the Gael were all proscribed together, that the Masters sat down in that ruined convent of Donegal—the fit emblem of their unhappy country—to compose with patient and self-denying toil that enduring monument of their country's history, which will be our cherished possession for ever. What men ever laboured under more discouraging circumstances, with more unselfish toil, or for a nobler purpose ? Where

can we find a better lesson than in the simple record of their lives? And where shall we look for men to be inspired with the spirit of the Masters, and to continue their patriotic labour except amongst those who inherit their names, their blood, and their faith—and to whom every old book and every crumbling ruin should speak with a voice stronger and more persuasive than mine—surely they before all others are called upon to share in the noble work of preserving and extending through the coming years a knowledge of the Irish language and literature. The study of our history, our literature, and our antiquities, will serve to elevate and purify the mind; it will occupy leisure hours that might easily be spent in more frivolous, if not more ignoble, occupations; it will lend a new interest to those old storied scenes that are scattered throughout the land; it will clothe in the spiritual beauty of religious and historic association many a broken arch and ivied ruin that in our ignorance we might heedless pass by. And when we are tempted to let our ardour grow cold, then the vision of the Four Masters in that old abbey by the sea, toiling patiently at their self-imposed task, may serve to inspire us to labour with renewed zeal in the same patriotic work for the glory of God and the honour of our native land.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

ST. PIRMINIUS OF REICHENAU

Celtica te misit, suscepit Nordica tellus,
 Censorem genti numen utrique dedit.
 Cui licuit spectare pios in praeceule mores,
 Huic pro censura tam pia vita fuit.
 Plurimus errabat qua nunc jacet Augia serpens,
 Venit ut hic Marsus, vipera terga dedit.
 Templorum celsas eduxit ad aethera moles,
 Expugnaturus Sanctior astra Gigas.

(*Bavaria Sancta*, vol. i., p. 97.)

ABOUT a hundred years after the death of St. Gall a large part of the region he evangelized had fallen away from its primitive earnestness in the practice of religion, and had become a prey once more to the ravages of superstition and

to the evil instincts of nature. The incursions of barbarian hordes from the north and east had wrought havoc amongst the ecclesiastical as well as the civil institutions of the empire of Charlemagne. The rulers of the Church were seriously affected by this general disorder. The disruption of society on a large scale always opens wide the door to abuses unless they are met with a strong hand and vigorously repressed. At the period of which we write the tide had swept almost all before it. Pastors, as Bishop Hefele¹ remarks, had begun to think more of the wool than of the sheep. Strong belief in the rewards and punishments of a future life had faded away or had been choked and smothered in the turmoil of earthly interests that swayed the minds and the hearts of the people. The beneficent influence of the monastery of St. Gall itself was thwarted and neutralized by persecution and tyranny. It was to cope with the prevailing ignorance and the calamitous results of such a state of things that the monastery of Reichenau was founded in the year 724.

Reichenau was the parent house of fifteen or twenty monasteries everyone of which played an important part in the early history of civilization in Germany. From its cloisters came forth monks like St. Meinrad, the founder of the great Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, which worthily maintains even to the present day its religious traditions of more than a thousand years; like St. Wolfgang, the noble Bishop of Ratisbon, who preached the faith through the dark forests of Pannonia; like the blessed Etto of Altenburg, who was taken from his cenobite cell at the call of Charles Martel, and placed over the diocese of Strasburg, which he ruled with admirable success in difficult times, and enriched with schools, monasteries and churches, which attracted the attention and admiration of Europe.* Its halls were illuminated by the wisdom and learning of such illustrious teachers as Hermann Contractus, theologian, commentator, poet, musician, and immortal author of the

¹ *Geschichte des Einführung des Christenthums in Südwestlichen Deutschland*, p. 348.

² *De Viris Illustribus Augiac Divitis*, by Joannes Egon, p. 22.

two antiphons of the Blessed Virgin, the *Salve Regina*¹ and the *Alma Redemptoris Mater*; as the accomplished Walafried Strabo, whose ability and acumen call forth the repeated acknowledgments and admiration of St. Thomas; as Berno, the greatest musician of his age, the forerunner of Guy of Arezzo, and the teacher of a host of ecclesiastical youths, who acquired a knowledge of his art, and helped to propagate it far and wide amongst the people.

The founder of this famous institution, as well as of the monasteries of Altach in Bavaria; of Monsee and Pfeffers in Switzerland; of Gengenbach, Schuttern and Mörsmunster, in the Black Forest; of Schwartzach, Weissenburg, Neuwiller, and Murbach in Alsace; and of Hornbach in Franconia, was St. Pirminius, one of the greatest of the early religious organizers and missionaries in Germany and Switzerland. Although the origin of this saint is involved a good deal in obscurity, there is an old and, in our opinion, a well-authenticated tradition that he was a native of Ireland:—

“Celtica te misit, suscepit Nordica tellus.”

The opinion is supported with more or less misgivings by such writers as Neugart,² Hefele,³ and Schönhuth.⁴ The question is discussed by Dr. Friedrich in his learned *History of the Church in Germany*,⁵ and by Duplessy Mornay, in his *History of the Diocese of Meaux*. The Irish origin of the saint is maintained without any qualification by one of the most learned historians and archaeologists of this century, the late lamented Dr. Greith, Bishop of St. Gall.⁶ It was

¹The *Salve Regina* is sometimes attributed to the Blessed Peter of Monsoro, Bishop of Compostella in Spain, but more generally to Hermann of Reichenau.

²*Episcopatus Constantiensis*, a Trudpert Neugart, Sti. Blasii, 1803, vol. i., p. 69.

³*Geschichte des Einführung des Christenthums in Südwestlichen Deutschland*, p. 338.

⁴*Chronik des Ehemaligen Klosters Reichenau*, Von O. F. Schönhuth. Schönhuth writes:—“Des frommen Pirminius Vaterland lässt sich nicht urkundlich nachweisen, doch ist es wahrscheinlich dass er aus Schottland oder Irland nach Frankreich kam.”

⁵*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. ii., p. 582.

⁶*Geschichte des Altirischen Kirche*, p. 399.

evidently regarded at one time as an undoubted fact by the late Bishop Reeves,¹ although he hesitates somewhat about it in a note at the end of his work on St. Columba, for what reason he does not assert. In addition to the testimony of tradition there are several considerations that seem to us to weigh in favour of Ireland's claim to this illustrious apostle.

In the first place, if he had been a native of Switzerland or of any of the parts of Germany that now lay claim to him, it is not likely that his origin and early life would have been allowed to pass so completely unnoticed by the natives of these localities. Had he come from a distance their silence, on the other hand, is easily explained. They could know nothing about his early life, and it was not for him to lay stress on his foreign origin and education. Pirminius, moreover, was thoroughly imbued with the monastic spirit and with the principle of the Irish missionaries that the best way to propagate religion amongst the pagans and to ensure its continued success, was to establish a monastery in their midst. He had the monastic passion as strong as St. Columba himself. No other of the early missionaries established so many monasteries as he did. The English missionaries trusted more to personal action and individual prestige. They were more secular than religious, and although many of them founded monasteries, they never became so thoroughly identified with them as their Irish brethren.

Again it is significant that whilst Pirminius had his free choice to select any residence he wished in the lands of his patron Sintlaz, he should have chosen an island in the Brigantine lake which was then overgrown with brushwood and whose only inhabitants were wild birds, toads and

¹ In his work on Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 389, Bishop Reeves, speaking of Augia Dives, says:—"It is a remarkable coincidence that this monastery, now Reichenau, should furnish the only narrative of St. Blathmaic's martyrdom, and be the depository of the oldest manuscript of Adamnan. Its familiarity with the ecclesiastical affairs of the far west is accounted for by the fact that this abbey was originally an Irish foundation. Before its suppression, in 1799, it contained many Irish MSS. and the bowl of St. Fintan." In the end of his work, however, he inserts a note saying: for "Irish foundation" read "much frequented by the Irish;" and he refers to Mabillon, who merely speaks of the doubt regarding the origin of Pirminius, and concludes by saying: "Nobis ariolari non vacat." (*Ann. Benedict.*, tom. ii., 79.)

reptiles, in preference to any of the cultivated and inhabited parts of the mainland. Here we recognise one of the most remarkable characteristics of the old Irish Church, which, nurtured in the island of Lerins, in the Mediterranean Sea, always turned with particular predilection to the silence and calm of an island life. Arran and Inisfallen, Devenish and Iniscaltra, are but a few examples of the "Holy Islands" which were specially consecrated to religious purposes in Ireland. Iona itself has been called the Lerins of the North. In happy remembrance of these island homes many of the Irish missionaries to foreign lands sought similar retirement wherever they could find it. Nowhere was this more remarkable than in Germany itself, where several small islands in the Rhine were secured for their monasteries by Irish monks. Hohenau, Seckingen, and Rheinau, succeed one another from Strasburg to Schaffhausen; and for our own part we can scarcely doubt that Reichenau finishes the series, and crowns the list of Irish colonies that were planted and that flourished in the fertilizing waters of the Rhine. Another characteristic of the Irish saint is the "Blessed Well;" and in the case of Pirminius it is not wanting.¹ Neugart tells us about it in his *History of the Diocese of Constance*.

The eulogium of Pirminius, written by Rabban Maur, falls in completely with this theory of the saint's origin, and could scarcely suit any other. The language he uses is, indeed, in the exact formula which was applied to most of the Irish missionaries:—

" 'Deseruit patriam gentem simul atque propinquos,'
 'Ac peregrina petens aethera promeruit.'
 Gentem hic Francorum quaesivit dogmate claro,
 Plurima construxit et loca sancta Deo.'"²

This title of "peregrinus" was given in a special and almost in a distinctive manner to the Irish monks of the period to which we refer. In several ancient documents Pirminius himself is described as a "peregrinus." Thus in

¹ *Episcopatus Constantiensis*, by Trudpert Neugart, vol. i., p. 48.

² Mabillon, vol. iv., p. 124.

the act of donation, made by Charles Martel to the saint, of the island of Reichenau and of some of the lands bordering on the lake, he and his monks are spoken of as pilgrims¹ who came from the direction of Gaul. It does not matter to us whether this document was invented or falsified in the sense contended by Dr. Karl Brandt of Heidelberg.² It is at least a proof of the tradition at Reichenau as to the character and condition of its founders. Again, in a brief of Widgern, Bishop of Strasburg, conferring certain privileges on his monastery of Murbach, he speaks of its inhabitants as "Peregrini," and tells them that if they cannot agree as to the choice of an abbot from amongst themselves they may choose one from any of the other "congregationes peregrinorum jam dicti Pirminii episcopi." In the letter of Theoderic³ authorising the foundation of this very monastery of Murbach, Pirminius is also described as a "peregrinus." We do not maintain, of course, that the Irish were the only "peregrini" in these days; but when there is question of "peregrini" in this wholesale fashion and of whole "congregationes peregrinorum," we believe it could only refer to Irish communities.

In addition to all this the early years of Reichenau and of the other Pirminian monasteries are full of Irish associations. It was at Reichenau that Walafried Strabo wrote, in excellent hexameters, the only account on record of the massacre at Iona, by the Danes, of St. Blaitmaic and his companions:—

"Strabus ego misit quem terra Alemannica natu
Scribere disposui de vita et fine beati
Blaitmaic, genuit quem dives Hibernia mundo
Martyriique sequens misit perfectio coelo."⁴

¹ "Qualiter Vir Venerabilis Pirminius Episcopus una cum monachis suis peregrinis de partibus Galliae in fines Alamanorum ad perigrinandum propter nomen Domini venerat."

² "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Abtei Reichenau, von Dr. Karl Brandt. Heidelberg: 1890.

³ See Trouillat, *Monuments de Basle*, and Grandidier, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Strasbourg*, vol. i., n. 39.

⁴ "Igitur cum et venerabilis vir Pirminius gratia Dei episcopus nostris temporibus cum monachis tuis, Deo iuspirante, pro Evangelio Christi peregrinatione suscepta."

⁵ *Canisius Lectiones Antiquae*, vol. ii., p. 201.

It was here that the famous abbot, Ermenrich of Reichenau, wrote, in the ninth century, that eloquent tribute to the orthodoxy and zeal of the Irish Church, which according to him was wrapped in the mantle of the Old and New Testament, and was so free from any stain of heresy or schism that it was in itself a diminutive image or miniature of the universal Church.¹

Again, it was at Reichenau that Father Stephen White, the learned Jesuit of the seventeenth century, discovered the oldest and most faithful manuscript of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*. He communicated the work to John Colgan, of Louvain, who published it in his *Trias' Thaumaturga*. At the time of the Revolution, when the monastery was suppressed, its books and manuscripts were scattered and many of them lost. It was by the merest accident that this valuable manuscript was discovered at the bottom of a decayed book-chest in the library of Shaffhausen, by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in the year 1845.

But it is perhaps the library of Carlsruhe that tells more eloquently than any other place of the presence of Irish monks at Reichenau from the earliest days of its existence. Dr. Mone in his collection of the *Hymns of the Middle Ages* gives us several specimens of their works. Amongst others there is an interesting hymn to St. Peter, which reveals to us the spirit of these writers and their attitude towards the Holy See of Rome :—

“ Sancto Petro pro merito
Christus regni coelestium
Claves simul cum gratia
Tradidit in perpetuum.
Animarum pontificem
Apostolorum principem
Petrum rogamus omnium
Christi pastorem ovium.”²

We know from other sources that the monastery of Pfeffers, in Switzerland, founded by Pirminius, was also

¹ Mabillon, *Analecta*; and St. Gall, Codex (Manuscript), No. 268, pp. 82-86.

² Mone's *Laturnische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. iii., pp. 68, 74, 181.

much frequented by Irish monks. It was a station for Irish pilgrims on the old Lucmanian way to Rome. St. Fintan of Rheinau was attracted there by the presence of his countrymen, and his biographer was an Irish monk who lived and died within its walls. Still more did the pilgrims of the west flock to Murbach, in Alsace, which Schöpflin calls a "vivarius peregrinorum."¹ Here the Irish monks kept an account of their former teachers and superiors in Ireland. In their annals we meet with such inscriptions as: "704, mors Canani Episcopi; 705, dormitio Domnani Abbatis; 706, mors Cellani Abbatis; 707, dormitio Tighermal; 708, Drocus mortuus; 719, mors Rathbodi; 729, Macflathei mortuus."² Were the early annals of the saint's other foundations available, we have little doubt but that they would furnish similar evidence. All these considerations are further strengthened by the weakness of the arguments used against Ireland. Thus Wattenbach's chief objection is based on the un-Irish sound of the name Pirminius, as if it were less Irish than Fridolinus, Columbanus, Virgilius, Marianus.³ Others, like the historian Hauck, object to Ireland because Pirminius introduced the Benedictine rule into his monasteries. As a matter of fact, the rule of St. Benedict was exactly at that time beginning to supplant the Columbanian rule everywhere, even in the monasteries founded by St. Columbanus himself. With these considerations we leave the question of the saint's nationality. We do not by any means presume to say that it is a matter beyond all dispute; but we believe, with Bishop Greith, that all the probability and all the positive information at hand are in favour of Ireland.

The *Life of St. Pirminius* was written, in the eleventh century, by Waramann, Count of Dillingen,⁵ monk of

¹ *Alsatia Illustrata*, No. 10, p. 10.

² See *Annals of Lorsch*, or *Lauresham*, in *Monumenta Germaniae* of Pertz, pp. 21-22.

³ *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, bis zur Mitte 13 Jahrhunderts*, von. W. Wattenbach, vol. i.

⁴ *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands Erstes Theil*, p. 316.

⁵ This work is attributed by some to Otho of Hornbach, the biographer of St. Boniface. See Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*:

Reichenau, and afterwards Bishop of Constance, who died in the year 1034. A second biography of the saint was composed by a nobleman named Henry De Kalb, who became Abbot of Reichenau, and died in 1237. The work of the former is published by Browsers¹ and Mabillon² in their respective collections. That of the latter seems to have perished; but it still existed in the seventeenth century, for the learned Jesuit Raderus had a copy of it before him when he wrote his sketch of Pirminius in the *Bavaria Sancta*.³

From these sources we gather the information that early in the eighth century things were turning badly in the districts of Rhetia and Suevia. Discipline had all but vanished; religious duties were neglected; churches had fallen into decay, and their furniture had become squalid and unfit for use. A kind of general licence prevailed which drew away the minds of men from spiritual things. Many had even already relapsed into the superstitions of paganism, so that the most energetic action was required in order to stem, and, if possible, to turn the tide. Fortunately a man of strong faith was found in the country itself to put his hand to the good work. This was Sintlaz, a great feudal lord, whose castle looked down on the Lake of Constance, and who realized the grave importance of a Christian life for his numerous vassals and retainers as well as for himself. Looking anxiously around him in search of an ecclesiastic with the training and spirit of sacrifice necessary to carry out his views, he could not find in his immediate neighbourhood a single one. Determined at any cost to find one, he

Mone's *Quellensammlungen*, vol. i., p. 29; and Hefele, *Einführung des Christenthums*, p. 335.

¹ *Sidera Illustrium et Sanctorum Virorum qui Germaniam præsertim Mogunam olim rebus gestis Ornarunt. Scti. Pirminii Epi. Vita.*

² *Acta Sanctorum, O.S.B.*, vol. iv., p. 124. See also Mone, *Quellens.* i. 28.

³ "Warmannus Comes idemque Constantiensis Antistes et Henricus Angiæ Cenobiarcha res a Sancto Pirminio gestas in publicas tabulas retulere; quas religiosus vir Josephus Rieber ex vetustissimis membranis transcriptas ad me misit; e quibus velut a fonte quæ ad Pirminium pertinent, præteritis omnibus parergis et prologis, delibavi." (*Bavaria Sancta*, vol. i., p. 97.)

set out, with a few companions, for Meaux,¹ in France, where Pirminius was already at work.² He represented to the saint the urgent needs of his locality, the decline of faith, the decay of the churches, the children crying for bread, and nobody to break it unto them. Pirminius was much impressed with his tale, and particularly with his sincerity and with the manifest desire which he and his companions showed to render all the assistance in their power. But Pirminius was also a cautious man. Although he was then what was called a "chorepiscopus," he did not count much upon his dignity. He reminded his interviewers of the canons of the Church, which forbade an outsider to preach in the diocese of another prelate without his permission. To secure himself against any hindrance of that kind, as soon as he had made up his mind to accept their invitation, he resolved to pay a visit to Rome, and seek the Pope's authority and blessing for his mission.³ Sintlaz agreed to join him in the Eternal City after a short time, and to urge, if necessary, his demand before the Papal Court. Pirminius was at first received with something like

¹Gallus Oheim, who in the fifteenth century wrote *The History of the Abbey of Reichenau*, states that Sintlaz paid a visit of devotion to the Holy Land, and that it was during this journey he made the acquaintance of Pirminius, who had gone there for a similar purpose. (See Schönhuth, *Cronik des Ehem. Klosters Reichenau*, p. 2.)

²There is a good deal of discussion amongst ecclesiastical writers as to whether Pirminius was bishop at Meaux, in France; or at Metz, in Lorraine; or at Melsheim, near Zweibrücken or Gmunden, in Franconia; or at Melis or Moils, near Sargans, in Switzerland. We think there can be no doubt that he was assistant bishop, or *chorepiscopus*, at Meaux, in France. Cf. Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 338, 339; Mabillon, *A. S. O. S. B.*, vol. iv., p. 124.

³"At vir eximius consulto sagacissimi animi secreto ita respondit: Pia equidem sunt, o viri Deo devoti, quae postulatis, sed in omni re, sicut ipsi nostis, plurimum valet cautela consilii prudentis. Sanctum profecto constat canonibus sacris ne quis sibi aliquid arroget in alterius dioecesi Pontificis. Et quomodo me cogitis illuc migrare, quo neque a Praesulibus illarum partium sum evocatus, neque ab Apostolicae Sedis Antistite destinatus. Quare quem persuadere certatis, ut ego mihimet coelestis accumulem bravii lucra vos eadem intentionem, mecum laborare delectet quatenus itineris Romani laborem simul aggredientes a Summae Sedis culmine desiderati operis censuram studeamus perquirere. His dictis animos eorum ad consentiendum sibi reflexit. Sintlaz domum repe-dabat ac ea quae itineri conducto forent necessaria parare satagebat." (*Vita antiqua apud Mabillon*, vol. iv., pp. 129, 130.)

caution and even distrust in Rome. It is probable that the supporters of St. Boniface, whose well-known devotion to the Holy See made him a "persona gratissima" at the Papal Court, fomented this suspicion. He had never got over the opposition of his Irish brethren in the great Easter controversy, and the prejudice he conceived against them on that account led him into several other quarrels with them in Germany. But "Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos." Pope Gregory II., from a personal knowledge of the stranger, soon changed his opinion; and as a mark of his special favour and confidence, he gave Sintlaz a letter to Theoderic, King of France, advising, persuading, and commanding him to recommend Pirminius to all the bishops in his realm and obtain their consent to his preaching in the countries under their jurisdiction, and doing whatever else he thought necessary for the advancement of religion. Furnished with this authority, the zealous bishop proceeded at once to Switzerland, accompanied by Sintlaz and his followers; and having secured the necessary consent of the local authorities, according to the canons of the Church and the directions of the Pope, he at once set about his mission.

Pirminius was endowed with many natural qualities calculated to win the hearts and to impress the minds of those to whom he addressed himself.¹ He was eloquent and persuasive in his speech, grave, modest and gentle in his manners, but withal firm and fearless in the execution of duty. All who approached him were impressed with the kindness and suavity of his disposition; and the crowds who were drawn at first through curiosity to hear him soon recognised in him the genuine and unselfish spirit of the pastor.

When he had by these qualities once secured the goodwill of the people his first concern was the establishment of a monastery which should be the centre of his labours and

¹ "Multa erant in Pirminio quae illi passim mortales concilabant: mira vis dicendi, ratio cum virtute vivendi, animosque hominum cum modesta gravitate, quam suavitas temporabet, tractandi. Quae res efficiebant uti magnos animorum motus cieret, conciones populorum frequentaret, multos a peccandi licentia avocatos ad innocentiam traduceret, magnos denique operae fructus domi faceret, famaque viri nominisque sanctitas longe lateque differretur." (*Bovaria Sancta*, fol. i., p. 96.)

should be animated by the spirit which had brought him away from everything he loved and cared for in the world. It was then that he fixed his eye on the wild and neglected island which was covered with tangled brushwood, and was then a refuge for fowl, birds, serpents, and snakes. When he proposed to fix his dwelling there, Sintlaz remonstrated with him, and pointed out the impossibility of living in a place which had never been inhabited by man, and which was the horror of the whole locality on account of the vicious and noisome animals that were sheltered there. But Pirminius in his turn gently reproached him for the weakness of his faith. Did not Christ possess all power in heaven and in earth? Did He not grant to his elect to tread on the adder and the basilisk, and to trample on the lion and the dragon? His men were soon at work on the island, Before the blessing of the saint and the axes and spades of his labourers, the poisonous tribe soon disappeared. A house was built, and an oratory suited for the divine office arose alongside it. The whole foundation was dedicated to the "Blessed Virgin Mary and to the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul." The island that was once so sterile and rough soon became smooth and fertile. Instead of the briars and tufted brambles fruit trees and vines were planted all around. Civilization of every kind followed in the footsteps of the Benedictine monks, in these days, and soon Pirminius was able to furnish his new home. Forty monks and fifty books are said to have arrived there together. For three years Pirminius and his companions laboured in this fruitful vineyard, renewing both materially and spiritually the face of the country around them.

Political troubles then came upon the new institution. Theodebald, the son of a German duke, rebelled against Charles Martel, who was then mayor of the palace under the weak scion of the Merovingians who occupied the throne of France. He wished to make use of the monastery and its monks to propagate his rebellious ideas amongst the people. Pirminius firmly refused to lend himself to such proceedings, and was expelled from the island and the country. He appointed Etto, the son of a German nobleman, to take his

place, and turned his own energies and exertions elsewhere. It was then that his activity made itself felt all over the central part of the Continent. He founded a great number of monasteries, beginning with Murbach in Alsace, whither he had been invited by Count Eberhard, brother of Etto, his successor in Reichenau, pushing his conquests as far as Altdorf on the banks of the Danube, and ending at Hornbach, where he had been brought by Wernher, feudal lord of the district. Walafried leaves no doubt as to the place of his death :—

“Primus in hac Sanctus construxit moenia Praesul
Pirminius, ternisque gregem protexerat annis.
Hujus quisque velit sanctam cognoscere vitam
Ipsa sepulchra petat, satis ipse probabit in Hornbach.”

Under the title of *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii de Singulis Libris Canonici*, we possess a short work written by the saint,¹ which is a very important historical and literary document of the eighth century. He shows in this work a wide and accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He is particularly eloquent on the sufferings and passion of our Lord, and on the object for which they were borne :—

“Christ goes freely and without compulsion to suffer for our salvation. For us He bore insult, blows, stripes, thorns, and treachery. For us He was nailed to the cross. For us He bore that parching thirst which was embittered by vinegar and gall. For us His sacred side was pierced with the lance. At the ninth hour He yielded up His spirit, and blood and water flowed from His side; the blood for the salvation, and the water for the baptism of the world.”²

The regulations which he lays down for the observance of the people are valuable from an historical point of view, as showing the sort of superstition and the evil practices that were then most prevalent,³ and the difficulties the

¹ Cf. Caspari. *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota*, i., p. 151.

² See *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* von Dr. Alb. Hauck, Professor in Erlangen. *Erster Theil*, p. 320.

³ “Non ad petras neque ad arbores, non ad angulos neque ad fontes, ad trivios nolite adorare nec vota reddere.”

“Membra ex ligno facta in trivios nolite mittere quia nulla sanitate vobis possunt praestare.”

“Karactires, herbas, sucino nolite vobis vel vestris appendere. Tempistrarias nolite credere nec aliquid pro hoc eis dare.”

“Praecantatores et sortilogos, karagios, aruspices divinus, ariolus, magus, maleficus, sternutus et aguria per aviculas vel alia ingenia mala et diabolica, nolite facire et credere.”

missionaries had to overcome in withdrawing the people from such gross observances.

But it is with Reichenau that the name of Pirmin has remained most closely associated. He was the founder and the father of that great school that sent forth so many archbishops and bishops in these centuries of the Middle Ages, that nurtured so many scholars, poets, philosophers, theologians. Ziegelbauer¹ proudly tells of the large number of books—large for the time—that were collected there towards the end of the ninth century. It was there that Walafried wrote the famous *Vision of Wettin*, and described the “Hortulus” with its herbs and flowers; it was there that Berno wrote *De Mensura Monochordi*; that Hermann composed the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and the *Salve Regina*. As many as six hundred monks at one time filled its cloisters. Princes and barons sent their sons in crowds to its schools. Richly endowed by successive emperors,² its wealth excited the cupidity and jealousy of the revolutionists of last century to whom it fell a victim in 1799. The island, however, remains still religious and Catholic. The buildings of the monastery are used partly for secular and partly for religious and educational purposes. Its church contains many ancient treasures. In its sanctuary is the tomb of Charles Le Gros, who died there in 888. It is but natural that the whole place should look neglected. Nothing could be more desolate than these lonely cloisters from whose walls the frescoed portraits of ancient abbots and long-departed monks look gravely down, calling back to the soul visions of the monastic virtue of bygone years, and evoking memories that are all the more vivid on account of the silence and gloom that reign through these deserted passages. What different impressions one feels when he ascends the eminence close by. Beneath it hundreds of boatmen ply their oars in the clear and placid lake. On the shore beyond lies Constance, with its historic cathedral, near which one can still discern the hall of the great council that gave peace

¹ *Historia Literaria Benedictinorum*, vol. i., p. 569.

² It is said at one time to have counted amongst its dependents not less than four archdukes, twenty margraves, and fifty-one feudatory lords.

to the Church in 1414. On the other shore is Gottleben, in the strong towers of whose rugged keep John Huss was carefully immured. If there be on all sides here indications of prosperity and religious civilization, how much of it is not due to the exertions of the great and good Pirminius? On the island, at all events, his services are not forgotten. His festival there is one of the great events of the year; and even though his name should be one day forgotten there, it can never be effaced from the honourable place it holds in the history of Christianity in Germany.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE NATURE AND PUNISHMENT OF VENIAL SIN.

THE idea of writing on this subject was first suggested by an allusion we came across in one of last year's issues of the I. E. RECORD, to which we shall refer presently; and, but for a variety of untoward circumstances, this paper would have been in the printer's hands months ago. Ours is an attempt, albeit a feeble one, to obtain a clearer understanding of what *venial sin* is. This will appear to some as a very unnecessary and quite superfluous undertaking. Is it not in the presence of us all? To this it might be answered, rather does not its true nature lie hidden? It seems to be simplicity itself, intelligible to all the world, and yet, in the ultimate analysis, according to many, as we shall see, it is something inaccessible. Our subject-matter is one which may be approached from different sides; but in order to attain to our immediate object in view, it will be useful, and, we believe, highly interesting, to contrast and compare the workings of great minds on this very question, and then bring about a reconciliation between their apparently conflicting definitions. This being done to our satisfaction, if not to that of others, it will serve as a groundwork for the discussion of the other question, which will be

to elucidate, as clearly as we can, the doctrine of Scotus, as to the punishment of venial sin. The title, therefore, of our paper is a fairly accurate index to its contents. We shall confine ourselves scrupulously to these narrow limits, and it will be observed that we are treating as extraneous matters all questions which, though possessing a certain affinity with our present research, are to be found sufficiently well threshed out in our well-thumbed manuals of Moral Theology. These, therefore, may and will be eliminated without our prejudicing, to any appreciable degree, the unity of our study, or detracting from the cogency of the arguments we make use of.

What we may term the characteristic feature of sin in general, as Werner¹ points out, is the fact of its being an act or action against a law. That this is so, is evident from the moment it is granted that a certain act or action conformed to the law is morally good; for then it follows in logical sequence, that every act or action in opposition thereto must be morally bad. But as the human conscience presents a two-fold aspect—a moral and a religious one—so also sin may be considered from a psychological or a theological point of view. Considered in the latter sense, sin is a violation of the law *ἀνομία, ἀδικία, ἁμαρτία*, and, therefore, an offence against God; whilst, on the other hand, if we view sin from a psychological standpoint, it is an act of egotism, having at its root or source self-love, *φιλαυτία, conversio ad bonum commutabile*. Here we must hasten to draw the line of demarcation between a small and inconsiderable transgression, and a rebellion properly so called; between a slight deviation from the path of duty, and a complete disavowal of all those relations which bind the soul to God. Setting aside the more glaring revolt, we propose to search out the nature of the lesser or venial sin. And, at the outset of our inquiry, we ask ourselves is it necessary to remind the reader that we are confronted by those who utterly deny the very existence of venial sin? It is a well-known fact that heretics, whose name is legion, Wickliffe,

¹ *System of Christian Ethics*. Ratisbonne, 1850.

Luther, Calvin, &c., have arisen and sought by specious arguments, to prove that such a distinction of sin should be erased from the code of Christian morals. We shall not delay to investigate the grounds on which they base their rejection of this particular Catholic doctrine; nor shall we be at any pains to refute their objections, persuaded as we are, that these are familiar to our readers. Let it suffice to say, that—firstly, both Holy Scripture and the fathers declare that certain sins dissolve the friendship between man and God, and exclude from the heavenly kingdom, whilst others do not; secondly, that the twentieth proposition of Baius, “No sin is, of its own nature, venial, but every sin deserves everlasting punishment,” has been condemned by three popes.

It may be as well to direct attention, in passing, to the opinion of certain Catholic theologians, Gerson among the number,¹ who have favoured views which approach perilously near, one would say, to this condemned doctrine. They have not hesitated to maintain that no sin is of itself (*ex natura*) venial; but that all sins are mortal, and, consequently, deserving of eternal death. Still, notwithstanding this uncompromising attitude, they admit that, *de facto*, certain classes of sins are venial, either by reason of the parvity of matter, or imperfect deliberation, &c., not because of the sin itself, but because God in His infinite mercy abates, out of condescension, His just and lawful rights. Their contention, therefore, is that if God so willed, we should forfeit His friendship by every sin we committed. A glance at this doctrine shows how they escape the condemnation fulminated against the heretics above mentioned, for they, unlike the heretics, recognise the existence of venial sin. But it is of no small moment to recall the fact that Herincx,² and Suarez,³ demonstrate how God, by virtue of His absolute power, and the unlimited jurisdiction He exercises over creatures, could abolish all such distinction of sins; and, hence, they teach that, in a

¹ P. 3, *de vita spirituali*.

² *De peccatis*, Disp. 7, q. 7.

³ *De peccatis*, Disp. ii., n. 9.

sense, it does depend on His mercy that every sin is not grievous.

But what is venial sin? Before entering upon an answer to this question, we must make one further remark; *i. e.*, that reference to the writings of the fathers in this respect often proves misleading. With them mortal and venial sins are terms which assume quite a different meaning to the modern one. Hence, unless this be borne in mind, a confusion of ideas is likely to arise; indeed, scholastic writers have more than once completely failed to grasp the true sense of certain passages, owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of this distinction. Petavius, in his edition of Epiphanius, lays stress on this interpretation: "The fathers," he says, "mean by mortal sins (*mortalia, capitalia, lethalia*), not, as we do, those sins which deprive us of grace, but sins of an aggravated character, which were specially named in the canons and synodal decrees, as being subject to certain penalties. To these they oppose "lighter and daily sins," comprising some which are now called mortal, and some venial sins. Or, again, they distinguish between mortal sins for which public penance was due, and the daily faults of good people. Thus, Tertullian,¹ St. Augustine,² &c.

And now to answer the question what is venial sin? St. Augustine evidently hesitates in defining it, for, as to the difference between mortal and venial sin, we read in his *Enchiridion*, cap. 75: "Ista non humano sed divino pensanda iudicio;" and in *De Civ. Dei*, cap. xxi., "until the present time, strive as I may, I have never been able to obtain a satisfactory solution of this difficulty." "Ego usque ad hoc tempus cum inde satagerem ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. Et fortasse propterea latent ne studium proficiendi ad omnia peccata vitanda pigrescat." But St. Bonaventure,³ after demonstrating how venial sin does not consist in the aversion from or contempt of God, goes on to say that venial sin is neither directly against the law of God, nor does it set up the creature as its last end; but, he

¹ *Pudicitia*, 19.

² In Joannem *Tract.* xii., *ad finem*.

³ *Sent.*, lib. ii., *Disp.* xlii., art. ii., q. 1.

continues, because venial sin is committed beyond (*praeter*) the command of God, an obstacle intervenes between the creature and its proper relations with God. It follows, consequently, that man, through venial sin, withdraws from the way of the commandments in a certain sense, and also dallies with (*morose adhaeret*) what he ought simply to pass by. In other words, two distinct elements are discernible in venial sin : a certain divergence (*elongatio*), and a certain delay (*retardatio*). If, however, it be objected that venial sin is against God's prohibition, the Seraphic Doctor replies, that speaking accurately, that is said to be against the prohibition of God, to whose opposite the prohibition obliges ; now, venial sin is not of this kind, and, therefore, is not directly forbidden. It must be added, nevertheless, that venial sin is bound up, as it were, with the prohibition ; and, as the same divine puts it, " magis proprie dici debet cohibitum quam prohibitum." And, in proof of this opinion, he gives the following illustration :—God forbids concupiscence, saying : " Thou shalt not covet," *non concupisces* ; in which prohibition He does not include the first movements of concupiscence, but the following of them up, according to Ecclesiasticus, xviii. 30, " Son, go not after thy lusts ;" but, at the same time, it is clearly made manifest that the movements of concupiscence are neither good nor pleasing to God.

St. Thomas¹ explains his mind on the question when he says that mortal sin is against the end of the law, whilst venial sin is against the means to that end. Mortal sin is irreparable, not absolutely, but relatively to the individual guilty of it, for the man guilty of it loses every principle of spiritual vitality ; so that he is unable to recover life of himself, as is the case with one who has suffered bodily death. Renewal, therefore, cannot come from within ; but must necessarily proceed from some external source. Whereas venial sin, which is a disease of the soul, not its death, may be repaired by means of the grace which is still left.

¹ 1, 2, q. 88, art. 1.

Scotus¹ takes exception to the first part of this explanation. He lays down as a principle that mortal and venial sins may be committed against those things which are means to the end; *e.g.*, in a theft; whilst, on the other hand, venial sins may be committed against the end; for instance by passing doubts which arise unbidden to the mind regarding the mysteries of our faith. Then he advances his own views on the matter, which will be found closely akin to those of St. Bonaventure. That transgression, he holds, which is called mortal, on account of its causing death to the soul, is directly opposed to that ordinance or command without which it is impossible to attain to life eternal; and it is this ordinance or command alone which properly merits the name of precept. But there exists a second species of ordinance which, while bearing a certain relation to the end to be obtained, *viz.* life eternal, is not a necessary, but rather an advisable (*utilis*) one; and, therefore, it does not come under the strict sense of a precept, but rather under that of counsel. Therefore he defines venial sin as being against a counsel rather than a command. Foreseeing that this definition would be open to an equivocal interpretation, he guards against hasty conclusions likely to be drawn from his words by subjoining "not that there is no precept, for instance, against stealing both in matters of a great or small nature, but that the one who is guilty of a trifling theft does not thereby act against the necessary attainment of the end, nor does the thief in this case fall from the principle of spiritual life. In other words, venial sin acts after the manner of an obstacle which intervenes between the act and its proper relation to God; just as the interposition of a solid body will oftentimes prevent the rays of the sun reaching a given object directly. The light is more or less impeded, it is true, but it is not shut out altogether.

Hence it is that both mortal and venial sin are against the precept; but with this difference, that the law or precept binds at times necessarily, *viz.* under a heavy penalty; *i.e.*, that of losing sanctifying grace, if it be contravened; and,

¹ 2 Disp. 21, q. 1, *utriusque scripti*.

again, at times it imposes a lighter obligation, so that the one who acts against it does not incur God's displeasure, but only elicits an act which is less intense and less meritorious than it might otherwise have been. And thus the most merciful God has not willed so to burden human weakness that every time it should act against the law it should fall from grace; and, in consequence, the law does not, properly speaking, appertain to or influence all human acts, but rather the perfection with which they ought to be equipped; which perfection, however, is *hic et nunc* wanting. The Divine purpose is, that these should be *de consilio*, and that they should not be in opposition to any precept whose impletion in the present order of things is necessary to attain to our end.

Vasquez¹ argues from the answers given by St. Thomas to the objections raised against his definition, that the Angelic Doctor in this matter seems to have taught the selfsame doctrine; he only expresses himself differently.

Whilst Cajetan² with more than usual ingenuity, but with less than his accustomed perspicuity, objects that it is utterly false that venial sin is against a counsel, since anyone may, *suppositis supponendis*, marry; and, therefore, act against a counsel of perfection, and yet not sin. It is evident from the foregoing explanation of the text how egregiously he misses the point.

After having more or less satisfactorily shown that these definitions of venial sin, though varying in form resemble each other in reality, we pass on to the consideration of the second, we may say the main, question of this paper—the *punishment* of venial sin. Here we discover that on many points perfect and absolute unanimity reigns among those who treat the subject, whilst on others the difference of opinion could scarcely be more sharply defined.

The punishment due to venial sin is temporal, and may concern both this life and the next.

1. All are agreed that the punishment of venial sins never extends to the diminution of even one degree of

¹ 1, 2, Disp. 143, c. 2.

² Disp. 21, q. 1.

sanctifying grace; for, in the supposition that this were so, the multiplication of venial sins would bring about its total destruction in time, which is denied by all. Nevertheless the fervour of charity suffers. Venial sins interfere largely with those perfect acts of love of God, and with that thorough detestation of sin in which holy souls find their delights.

2. Again, it is admitted by all as certain enough that temporal punishments are inflicted by God in this life for venial faults, in order that, through them, the elect may be purified and rendered worthy of an immediate entrance into His kingdom. Nay, what is more, that death itself has been the punishment, as appears to have happened to the prophet, who, being led away by another, eat bread in the land of Israel (3 Kings xiii.); the well-known cases of Oza and Moses occur to the mind also. But even in the absence of such examples who could doubt the divine power of inflicting such penalties?

3. Besides this God can, and often does, withhold in punishment of venial sin certain special and more abundant graces.

But what of those who depart this life in venial sin? These are to be classed in two different categories, viz., those who die in the Lord, and those who die in mortal sin. Concerning the first mentioned there can be no doubt as to the punishment due to venial sin being temporal. But as to the second class, viz., those who die in mortal sin, and are besides burdened with venial sins, opinions are divided.

Father Clarke, S.J.,¹ alludes to this diversity of opinion, but he does no more than mention the fact, as he said at the time its discussion would have led him too far afield. We shall, therefore, take up the thread of the question where he left it.

St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and others hold that the punishment due to venial sin, in the case of one who dies in mortal sin, will be eternal. The eternity of punishment, they say, is not due to venial sin *per se*, but *per accidens*,

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. xiv., No. 6.

owing to the presence of mortal sin. This is so well known, that it frees us from the necessity of bringing forward the proofs whereby they uphold their teaching. Scotus,¹ however, with the Scotists Henno,² Herincx,³ Montefortino,⁴ Maestrius, Poncius Navarrus, and Coninck, &c., maintain that in no case, in no supposition, whatsoever, will the punishment due to venial sin be eternal; the punishment is temporal, and, therefore, will have an end. We shall endeavour to condense their arguments; and, therefore, instead of quoting their *ipsissima verba*, or rendering the text literally into English, we shall extract the sense, stating it in the most appropriate language at hand. No elaborate network of subtle ratiocination is attempted. Their reasoning is based on a simple yet solid foundation, which may be thrown into the following syllogistic form.

No one, they say, is, or can be, justly punished above his deserts; in fact, everything goes to show that the contrary rule is followed in the ordinary course of divine Providence, which is ever prone to punish less than more severely. Now, they continue, it is granted that temporal punishment alone is due to venial sin; therefore, eternal punishment is, and ever will be, unproportionate to it. Their opponents have no fault to find with this *per se*; but they ask, does not this leave the case of those who die in mortal, as well as in venial sin untouched? No, certainly not; for the Scotists, in their turn, inquire, does the state of damnation increase the demerits or malice of venial sin (on which alone depends the increase of punishment)? If it be answered, as it must be answered, in the negative, then this particular sin remains in itself venial, to which only a temporal punishment is attached; which, therefore, in spite of its surroundings, will have an end.

Against this conclusion some will start another objection: how can the debt of punishment due to venial sin ever be paid, seeing that the lost souls suffer unwillingly? If this

¹ 4 Sent., chap. xxi., q., n. 6.

² *De peccatis Disp.*, 11, q. 6.

³ *Disp. VII. de peccatis mort. et ven.*, q. 12.

⁴ Tom. iii., par. ii., q. 87, art. 5.

objection were found to be valid, it would prove too much, which, as we know by experience, is as dangerous, if not more so, than proving too little. Let us suppose the very ordinary occurrence, that one is sentenced to a term of imprisonment. What is required of the culprit? Nothing more than the completion of the term, when the debt of punishment lapses of itself, at the least when the sentence imposed has to be fulfilled *per modum satisfassionis*; for Scotus admits that the question would bear another complexion had it to be fulfilled *per modum satisfactionis*. One is tempted to ask the rather embarrassing question, if the will enters as a necessary element, then the lost souls do not undergo or pay the punishment due to mortal sins; and yet is it not admitted by all Catholic theologians that they suffer as much as divine justice has decreed? Why not, therefore, apply the same principle to the punishment of venial sins?

Another will find fault with our conclusion, and endeavour to prove its infeasibility on account of the *guilt* of venial sins ever remaining on that soul. It cannot repent; therefore it must ever endure the punishment. This objection, like the foregoing, needs only to be carefully sifted, in order to show that sophistry rather than sound reason underlies it. It is true, that which postulates the punishment (*dignitas poenae*) which was due, but which now has been fully paid, remains; in other words, that still remains which is worthy of punishment, whether to be gone through or already accomplished, but not of any new punishment. But, this having been paid, the obligation of suffering for this particular *reatus*, or guilt, is taken away, although there remains the stain or habitual fault, in the supposition, of course, that this is separable from the *reatus poenae*. The subsequent example brings this out clearly. Let us suppose an inferior offends, either grievously or slightly, his superior, and is condemned to undergo a certain punishment proportionate to the offence. When this has been fulfilled he is acquitted, he is free from the debt of punishment, even supposing the superior does not receive him back into his favour and good graces. But others will urge, when the offender perseveres

in his sin, continues to show his bad will, as long as he does so, so long will he be liable to punishment. Now, they hold, this is the exact position of the lost; therefore they must suffer for ever, even for venial sin. If we draw the obvious distinction between those who are *in via* and those who are *in termino*, this objection falls to the ground of itself. The objection would hold good with regard to the first, but not with regard to the second. As the lost are no longer capable of merit or demerit, even supposing they could commit new and more grievous sins, they would not, therefore, have to undergo new punishment.

Some assert that in order to satisfy for sins we must be in the state of grace, of which the lost are deprived; but this is proved to be erroneous if we remember how many fulfil the penances imposed upon them in the state of mortal sin. Here then we have an instance of the non-necessity of the state of grace to satisfy for the punishment imposed. From what has been said it is, perhaps, superfluous to add that no grace or favour is extended to these souls, in this respect; for, although it will come to pass that afterwards they will be less severely tormented than at first, the reason is that they will have paid to the full the debt of punishment demanded of them. In justice this is due to them. Without enlarging on this conclusion, or dwelling on its far-reaching consequences, we would merely remark that we fail to understand how this opinion can be called by De Lugo¹ *sententia durissima*, as it must appeal to the unbiassed searcher after truth as the more humane of the two.

One advantage, we trust, will be gained by this *exposé* of Scotistic teaching: it will tend, in some measure, to destroy certain deep-rooted prejudices. Moreover, we hope, at some future period, with the permission of the Editor, to lay before our readers a short sketch of the life of Scotus, and to gauge his influence on Catholic thought, especially as Wadding's edition of his works is now being re-published in Paris by Louis Vivès.

F. ANDREW, O.S.F.

THE NEW NUT-BROWN MAID

A BALLAD OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

OF the history, authorship, and exact date of *The New Nut-Brown Maid*, little can be said positively, for little is definitely known. It has been republished in the present century, so far as the writer is aware, but thrice only. First, in the twenty-ninth number of the publications of the Roxburghe Club, in 1820, of which there are said to have been printed but eight-and-thirty copies, one of which may be consulted in the British Museum Library; next, for the Percy Society, in 1842, under the editorship of Edward F. Rimbault; and lastly, by another benefactor to English song, in his *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, by W. Carew Hazlitt, in the year 1866. In each case, it is believed, the editors either followed one another in the text they employed, or followed a copy common to all of them, with the exception of their several uses of commas, and capital letters; and all, in turn, practically are forced to acknowledge that the information which they possess, and can impart, on the question, is of very limited proportions. The common source to which each editor was indebted, says Mr. Rimbault, was a copy formerly in the library of the late Thomas Caldecott, whose collection of Early English poetry was well known to the lovers of this species of literature. Sir George Freeling, he adds, was favoured by the loan of it, when in that gentleman's custody; and from his accurate transcripts, the reprint of the Percy Society's edition has been made. The following version, however, it is believed, is the first effort, and it only pretends to be tentative and humble effort, to reproduce the ballad-verse in a form somewhat approximating to the language of the present day. As such, it is offered to the more learned in Early English literature with becoming and apologetic diffidence.

The New Nut-Brown Maid, writes Mr. Rimbault, is a moralization of the beautiful old ballad of the *Nut-Brown Maid*, which was introduced to popular notice, and according

to some authorities was spoilt in the process of being modernized, in the last century, by Prior, and was edited in 1760, by Capel, in his *Prolusions*. The only work in which the ballad has yet been discovered, is Richard Arnold's *Chronicle of the Customs of London*, supposed to have been printed about 1502. *The New Nut-Brown Maid*, in the opinion of Mr. Hazlitt, is by no means equal in merit or interest, to its original. It is, says Mr. Rimbault, an extremely close "parody" upon the elder poem, and exhibits one of the most curious specimens of a practice very common in the sixteenth century, that of turning popular songs into pious ballads. The production consists, Mr. Hazlitt adds, of a dialogue between Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which the latter intercedes with the Saviour for mankind; and contrives, after considerable importunity, to win pardon for the world on its repentance. It is a remarkable instance, he thinks, of the way in which a species of literature condemned by the saints as profane, and subversive of religious sentiment, was treated, in a special case, so as to satisfy the scruples and to answer the purpose of the godliest reader. The practice obtained, as it is well known, from the very earliest days of the Christian Church, in the Greek, and we believe in the Armenian hymnography; and in Scotland, Mr. Rimbault states, in common with the usage of England, France, and Germany, and probably of Italy, the practice obtained at an early period of writing new words to old and popular secular tunes.

The New Nut-Brown Maid can hardly be thoroughly appreciated, or its story fully understood, without a knowledge of and a reference to its great prototype, the old *Nut-Brown Maid*. Into an account or criticism of the latter, however, this is not the place to enter. It must suffice to say, that the origin of the elder ballad appears to be lost in the dim and distant past. In all probability, it was not a ballad of native growth. In any case, the leading idea which predominates it seems to have influenced the verse of more than one continental nation, whether as an original literary production, or as a translated ballad. In the advertisement to the reprint of Arnold's *Chronicle of London* in the beginning

of the present century, the author tells us that "there is preserved in the works of Bebelius, the Poet Laureate to Emperor Maximilian I., published in Paris, 1516, a Latin poem entitled *Vulgaris Cantio*, which is avowedly a translation from an old German ballad. This poem, the writer declares, in the form of a dialogue between a lady and her lover, contains such striking and repeated coincidences of thought and expression with the ballad under discussion, that this conclusion is irresistibly forced upon the student, viz., that the English scribe had seen the German original. Moreover, a translation of the Latin version appeared in France in the year 1546. The earliest discoverable date of issue of *The New Nut-Brown Maid* being at the opening of the sixteenth century, and the comparative slow process by which at that era, perhaps at all eras, any new ballad poetry becomes popularized in a country, and still more, by which such ballad poetry is subjected to parody, in the strict sense of the term, and becomes imitated—these considerations tend, in the writer's opinion, to make a critic antedate both the original and travestie; and, perhaps, the actual date of creation may be placed a century earlier. And this opinion is further supported by internal evidence. *The New Nut-Brown Maid* contains a very large admixture of words of both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman origin, as if it were written at a time when both languages were fighting for the mastery, in the period before they became more generally fused in the common Early English tongue of the latter days of the Middle Ages. However this may be, it is clear that both languages supply the vocabulary of the poem; the Anglo-Saxon being represented by the short terse terms Fere, Tene, Moch, Glede; and the Anglo-Norman introducing more of the Latin element into the compound words, Reprefre, Supply, Apaged, and Abrazed.

It has been avowed that the following reprint aims only at a low mark in literary criticism, viz., to give the average reader a more or less readable version of this beautiful, curious, and edifying ballad. In attempting to fulfil his intention, the writer has been forced to take certain liberties with the text of the ballad. He does not pretend to defend

himself on critical grounds. He rather would take his stand upon utilitarian arguments. If anyone feel himself to be offended by the perusal of this imperfect and conditional gloss, he may easily satisfy his literary conscience by turning to a more exact text in any one of the three editions named above. But, the object of the writer is not critical. It is devotional first, and edifying secondly, in order. And he is disposed to think that, although the critical faculty may be excited, and perhaps a higher gratification may be granted to the reader who spells, weighs, and explains the language of the original; yet, that a more devout and a not less instructive lesson may be learned by those who condescend to peruse the simulation. In any case, each student may please himself; and, if the critical intellect prefers to see the final letter "e" affixed to some words and the "y" used for the "i," or "u" for "v" used in others; or, if it cares to interpret for itself, and as it proceeds the simpler quaintnesses of "to lere," "than," "lief," "wold," and "shold," or "persever;" yet, it may still think that such lines as "By longes the blynde," the Roxburghe black-letter edition dignifies Longes with a capital; or, "What tyme poure reason is;" or, "Neuer tontente His highness for to allow," demand a scholiast's aid. And, it may be added, if an interpretation can be offered by the reader, where the writer is too ignorant, in company with more than one expert, to cast light upon these words, the average reader will be benefitted. But, both classes may join in appreciating the piety of the old poem; and one, at least, may take an object-lesson from a study of the ballad, in the manner in which our common mother-tongue grew, developed, and was enriched; and the way in which different terms and expressions came to lend themselves to fresh, if not to different, and even to opposite ideas. Of the latter feature in *The New Nut-Brown Maid* it may suffice, parenthetically, to refer to a few figures of speech: "If he were put to bliss," in Stanza xvi., seems to mean "If he were put from, or deprived of bliss:" "Sathan, the deceivable," indicates, not as we should understand, one who could be deceived (or the victim), but one capable to deceive another (or the tempter): and,

"What is offended," apparently is intended to convey "What gives offence." It is only needful to say further, on this topic, that the writer has endeavoured to make the fewest possible changes in the text, compatible with making the sense clear to the reader; that he has with a light heart and good conscience altered the spelling to meet the requirements of the time, although he has adopted the old form where the exigencies of rhyme, as required by the eye, demanded this concession; that he has printed the two shorter and consecutive lines which rhyme, in each stanza, in one longer one, reserving, however, the initial capital letter of the second line in each case; and that he has entirely failed to grasp the meaning of a few lines, which he has reproduced *literatim*, and which he commends for their interpretation to readers more learned than himself.

It is not often that a reader is enabled to compare in literature the type with the prototype, the new religious colloquy with the old secular ballad. In the case of the new and old versions of *The Nut-Brown Maid*, Mr. Carew Hazlitt has rendered this comparison feasible and easy, as he has reprinted both versions—the one at the end of his second, and the other at the opening of his third volume. It will not, it is hoped, be considered beneath the dignity of the I. E. RECORD, if the privilege granted to Mr. Hazlitt's readers may be shared, at least to an extent, by those of the *Journal*. The comparison, indeed, has a scientific, as well as a pious side; and it will not be amiss to trace the mode by which a religious, devotional conference between Archetypal Manhood, and she who has been termed the "Eternal Feminine," if one may be allowed reverently to use the phrase, became evolved from the secular duet between Man and Woman. Two stanzas only need be quoted. Here is the opening one:—

Be it right or wrong, These men among On women do
complain;
Affirming this, How that it is, A labour spent in vain
To love them well, For never a dell They love a man again;
For let a man Do what he can, Their favour to attain,
Yet if a new Do them pursue, Their first true lover than
Labours for nought, And from her thought He is a banished
man.

The concluding stanza reads thus :—

Here may ye see, That women be In love meek, kind, and
stable,
Let never man Reprove them than, Or call them variable ;
But rather pray God that we may To them be comfortable :
Which sometime prov'th, Such as loveth, If they be charit-
able ;
For since men would That women should, Be meek to them
each one,
Much more ought they To God obey, And serve but Him
alone.

THE BALLAD.

I.

JESUS CHRIST.

Right and no wrong, It is among
That I of man complain,
Affirming this, How that it is
A labour spent in vain
To love him well, For never a dell
He will Me love again :
For though that I Me sore apply
His favour to attain,
Yet if that shrew Do him pursue,
That callèd is Sathan,
Him to convert, Soon from his heart,
I am a banished Man.

II.

MARIA THE MAID.

I say not nay, Both night and day,
Sweet Son, as ye have said,
Man is un-kind, His faithful mind
In manner is half decayed ;
But nevertheless, Through right wiseness
Therewith be not apayed ;
Yet mercy true Must continue
And not apart be laid ;
Since ye for love Came from above
From off your Father's throne,
Of loving mind Toward mankind,
To die for him alone.

III.

JESUS.

Then I and ye, Mother Marie,
 Let us dispute in fere ;
 Right heartily I you supply,
 Your reason let me hear :
 With man un-kind Hath never mind
 Of me that bought him dear ;
 If his folly Should have mercy
 Against all right it were :
 I am by right The King of Light,
 For man my blood outran ;
 Ye know apart, Yet from his heart
 I am a banished Man.

IV.

MARIA.

Herein your will For to fulfil,
 I will not soon refuse ;
 To say the truth, More is it ruth,
 I cannot man excuse ;
 To his own shame He is to blame
 His life so to misuse :
 Yet though rigour, Without favour,
 Would him therefore accuse,
 Mercy I pleat, That is more great
 Than rigour ten to one ;
 Since of good mind Toward mankind
 Ye died for him alone.

V.

JESUS.

The cause stood so, Such deeds were do,
 Wherefore much harm did grow
 To man, and I Came for to die
 A shameful death, ye know,
 Upon a tree, To make him free,
 This love I did him show ;
 Yet to my law, For love, nor awe,
 He will not bend, nor bow :
 Thus, my dear Mother, For man my brother,
 Let me do what I can
 Him to convert ; yet from his heart
 I am a banished Man.

VI.

MARIA.

O Lord of Bliss, Remember this,
Man's mind is like the moon ;
Is variable, Frail and unstable,
At morrow, night and noon :
Though he un-kind Have not in mind
What ye for him have done ;
Yet have compassion Of our salvation
Forsake not man so soon ;
A while him spare, He shall prepare
Himself to you anon ;
With heart and mind, Loving and kind,
To serve but you alone.

VII.

JESUS.

I can believe He shall remeve
His sin a day, or twain ;
But little space That God of grace
Will in his heart remain ;
It shall aslake, And he will take
His old usage again :
So from his thought I, That him bought,
Shall be expulsed plain :
This will he do, Sweet Mother, lo,
Hold ye all that ye can ;
Upon his part, Yet from his heart,
I am a banished Man.

VIII.

MARIA.

Sweet Son, since ye, To make him free,
Would die of your good mind ;
Your heart sovrain, Cloven in twain,
By longes the blynde :
And all was done That man alone
Should not be left behind ;
Your goodness ever Doth still persever,
Though he have been un-kind ;
What is offended Shall be amended,
Ye shall perceive anon ;
He shall be kind, Yielding his mind
And love to you alone.

IX.

JESUS.

Mother, indeed, My sides did bleed
For man, right as ye say,
Yet, young and old, He never wold
Unto my laws obey ;
But to fulfil His wanton will,
Wrenching from me alway :
From his delight, By day or night,
He will make no delay :
Lo, Mother, he Refuseth me
And turneth him to Sathan ;
Thus from his thought I, him that bought,
Am made a banished Man.

X.

MARIA.

Both old and young, He hath done wrong,
I grant, Son, to the same ;
Knowing at large In Sathan's barge,
Impairing his good name :
Since we him love, A great reprove
It is to him and shame ;
I do confess, Thy right witness
He greatly is to blame :
But I commence Afore clemence ;
For man mine action ;
Let rigour rest, Mercy can best
Determine this above.

XI.

JESUS.

Consider now, Sweet Mother, how
Man is a wild outlaw ;
Rusheth about, In every rout
Working against my law :
And if the devil Tempt him to evil
Thereto soon will he draw,
And all mischief Is to him lief,
Withouten love or awe :
To me or you, Though for his prou
Ye do to all ye can,
When all is sought, Quite from his thought
I am a banished Man.

XII.

MARIA.

Though, as ye say, He disobey
Your commandment and love,
Yet if love make Him to forsake
His sin and weep therefore ;
With full contrition, For his transgression,
His heart oppressing sore :
Contrite and meek, As David speak,
What ask ye of Him more ?
My Son, my Lord, Your prophet's word
Pray you think upon ;
And ye shall find Man meek and kind,
To serve but you alone.

XIII.

JESUS.

My heart and maw To read and draw,
And me with oaths to bind,
Chooseth not he ? Grace or pity
In him can I none find :
The cruel Jews Were to me shrews,
But he is more un-kind ;
Since for his prow, He knows well how
I died of loving mind :
Of me each member He doth remember,
With oaths all that he can ;
Thus oft I find Me in his mind,
But else a banished Man.

XIV.

MARIA.

Full well know ye Against these three
Man feeble is to fight,
The devil, his flesh, The world all fresh,
Provoke him day and night
To sue their trace Which, in each case,
Is wrong and never right ;
That thy stability, Of his fragility,
Against them hath no might :
Though man that frail is, Swears by Arms, Nailes,
Brains, Blood, Sides and Passion ;
Sweet Son, regard Your paines hard,
Ye died for him alone.

XV.

JESUS.

Now for man's need Since I would bleed,
 And great anguish sustain,
 In stony ways, Both nights and days,
 Walking in frost and rain,
 In cloud and heat, In dry and wet
 My feet were bare both twain ;
 Though I for love To man's behove
 Endured all this pain :
 That I therefore Should spare the more,
 No reason find ye can ;
 Rather I shold More straight him hold,
 And as a banished Man.

XVI.

MARIA.

Yet, my Son dear, I pray you hear,
 What time poor reason is ;
 Man's soul to cure, Ye did endure
 Much pain, I know well this :
 To man all vain Should be your pain,
 If he were put to bliss ;
 For plain remission Is my petition,
 Where man hath wrought amiss :
 Ye be his Leech ; I you beseech
 To salve his sores each one,
 That he un-kind May change his mind,
 And serve but you alone.

XVII.

JESUS.

Hither or thither, He careth not whither,
 He go him to incline
 To wickedness ; From all goodness
 He daily doth decline :
 In cards and dice He counts no vice,
 Nor sitting at the wine ;
 To fight and swear, To rend and tear
 Asunder me and mine :
 Lo, thus he doth, To make me wroth,
 The worst he may or can ;
 And I am twind Out of his mind,
 Right as a banished Man.

XVIII.

MARIA.

My dear Son dear, Since ye the clear
Fountain of Mercy be,
Though man be frail, He may not fail
To find in you pity :
He will, I trust, From worldly lust
Turn his sweet soul to me ;
And in short space So stand in grace,
That I his soul shall see
To bliss ascend That hath none end,
There to remain as one
That hath been kind, And set his mind
To serve but you alone.

XIX.

JESUS.

Man grieves me sore : For less nor more
Will he once do for me ;
Once in a year A good prayer
He saith not on his knee :
The poor may stand With empty hand
For alms there will none be :
Both day and night He flies the right,
But folly he will not flee :
His proper will For to fulfil
He doeth all he can ;
But from his thought I, him that bought,
Am even a banished Man.

XX.

MARIA.

If man for you, Nor his own prou,
Will to no grace proceed,
Mercy or grace, Afore your face,
He none deserves indeed :
But I, your Mother, For man your brother,
Make instance in his need :
Though he deserve To burn and starve
In the infernal glede ;
Spare him for me, And ye shall see,
That he shall turn anon
From his folly Incessantly
So serve but you alone.

XXI.

JESUS.

Why should I so? Nay, let him go,
My dear Mother, Mary ;
Since his delight Is to be light,
And deal so un-kindly :
For you nor me He will not flee
From vice ; nor him apply
My words to hear, That bought him dear,
On cross most painfully :
Both young and old, He hath been bold
To grieve me that he can ;
But my precept Was e'er unkept,
And I a banished Man.

XXII.

MARIA.

For ruth and dread, Mine heart doth bleed,
Man in nowise will be
By reason said, Nor yet apayed
From his offence to flee :
For though that I, For remedy,
Do all that lies in me
To have him cured, Yet so endured
With sin and vice is he,
That, to be short, What I exhort,
Not heard is ; yet anon
I trust he shall Make well his thrall,
And serve but you alone.

XXIII.

JESUS.

So rude and wild, And so defiled
Is he, past shame and dread,
That to what law He should him draw,
He scarcely knows indeed :
Yet better were For him to lere
Some virtue and proceed
To grace, than say Another day,
" Alas, my wicked deed
Hath me betrayed " : Lo, thus, good Maid,
The Daughter of Saint Anna,
Man hath exiled From him your Child,
Right as a banished Man.

XXIV.

MARIA.

When all to all Shall come, he shall,
I trust, from vice abrayed ;
And flee therefro, Which hath him so
Encumbered and arrayed :
He shall repel Sathan's counsel
That oft hath him betrayed ;
With full compunction, Take thy injunction,
That to him shall be laid :
Of hard penance, And him advance
To such remission,
Full reconciled To you, my Child.
To serve but you alone.

XXV.

JESUS.

My commandment, Never content
His highness for to allow,
His angry braid Will not be laid
For me, nor yet for you :
Mine heart to tear He hath no fear,
But dare it well avow ;
Pride with him goth, In heart and cloth,
How say ye, Mother, now ?
He thinks great ease Me to displease
By all the means he can ;
But when my will He should fulfil,
I am a banished Man.

XXVI.

MARIA.

Son, though man's blood Be wild and wode,
Frail as a fading flower,
Regarding nought How ye him bought,
Out of the fiendes power ;
With heartless mind Ever inclined
To be a transgressor.
Against your law ; And though he draw
Himself to sin each hour ;
Ye may not so His soul forgo,
Since ye sitting on throne
Would for his love Come from above,
To die for him alone.

XXVII.

JESUS.

Mother, your love—I see thee prove,
 To man is kind and true ;
 To have his life Brought out of strife
 Kindly for him ye sue :
 And if he wold, His vices old
 Forsake and take virtue ;
 I would for ruth, Seeing the truth
 And love that ye him shew,
 Grant him remission, Upon condition
 That he forsake Sathan ;
 That I may find Me in his mind,
 And as no banished Man.

XXVIII.

MARIA.

Son, your pity And charity
 Was well perceived and seen ;
 When your pleasure Was to endure
 To lie my sides between
 Nine months, and than Be born as Man :
 And to bring him from tene,
 In grave be laid, And me your Maid
 To make of Heaven Queen ;
 And condescend Thus at the end
 To grant man your pardon
 At my request, Wherefore should rest
 Great laud to you alone.

XXIX.

JESUS.

The poor at need To clothe and feed,
 Part of his rent and wage
 He must bestow, Remembering how
 All came of one lineage.
 Forsaking sin, He may me win ;
 And to mine heritage
 I shall him take, His soul to make
 My spouse in marriage :
 For to perséver With me for ever ;
 With joy she may say than,
 That she hath won A king his Son,
 And not a banished Man.

XXX.

THE TRANSLATOR.

Regard and see, O Man, to thee
 God is most favourable;
 Eschew thou than, Reprove no man,
 Beware of deeds damnable;
 In any wise, Ever despise
 Sathan, the deceivable;
 Thy soul beware, Out of his snare
 Never be found unstable:
 Perseveringly, Reason apply,
 Justly let all be done;
 Endless solace Shall he purchase
 That serves but God alone.

“Thus endeth the book of *The New Nut-Brown Maid upon the Passion of Christ*. Imprinted at London, by John Skot (Scott), dwelling at Foster Lane, within Saint Leonard's Parish.”

NOTES.

- I. 5. Never a dell; never a bit.
- II. 4. In manner; in essence or substance.
 6. Apayed; content, satisfied.
- III. 2. Dispute in fere; argue together, in company.
 3. I you supply; I suppli-cate, or pray you.
 11. Apart; a part, alone, of yourself.
- IV. 9. Mercy I pleat; I plead.
- V. 1. Such deeds were do; were done.
- VII. 1. He shall remeve; remove.
 5. Ashake; slacken, mitigate.
- VIII. 4. Belongs the blind; the original reads,
 By longes the blynde,
 the meaning of which is obscure.
 7. Persever; persevere.
 9. What is offended; what gives offence.
- IX. 3. Wold; would.
- X. 5. A great reprove; reproof, disgrace.
- XI. 3. Rout; route, way.
 7. Lief; pleasant, agreeable.
 9. Prou; in the original “prowe,” advantage, benefit.
- XIV. 3. The world all fresh; beautiful, attractive.
- XV. 7. Behove; behoof.
 11. Shold; should.
- XVI. 2. What time poor reason is; another obscure line.
 6. If he were put to bliss; put from, deprived of bliss.
- XX. 6. Instance; pressing, urgent request.
 8. Infernal glede; glow—as of an ash.
- XXII. 3. Apayed; content, satisfied.
 7. Endured; hardened.

- XXIII. 5. To lere ; to learn.
 XXIV. 2. Abrayed ; wakened, startled.
 XXV. 2. His highness for to allow ; perhaps, allow him to seek the commandments.
 3. Angry braid ; angry reproach, outburst of temper, &c.
 7. In heart and cloth ; inwardly and outwardly.
 XXVI. 1. Wode ; mad.
 XXVII. 5. Wold ; would.
 XXVIII. 1. Than ; then.
 6. To bring him from tene ; from grief, injury, or trouble.
 XXIX. 4. Linage ; lineage.
 XXX. 6. The deceivable ; the deceiver.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF MAY

WE have hitherto been treating of the Church's year in which she sets before us the life and death of our Divine Head, Jesus the Anointed, who is the King of saints and the pattern and author of all holiness. He is the Alpha and the Omega, the very soul of liturgical worship ; and it is sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, that we have seen and loved Him in the many-sided beauties of His mortal and glorious life. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for evermore : and we have been contemplating Him as our Holy Mother the Church reveals Him to us in those two books she puts into our hands as containing the full expression of all the praise and prayer, worship and adoration, which she offers to the Divine Majesty. "For we would not have you ignorant, brethren" (1 Cor. x. 1) that we priests do not need any other devotional books besides our Breviary and our Missal, for in them we can find all the means of our sanctification and instruction ; and time is not long enough to exhaust the teachings and beauties of these two books which are the Church's very own work, and her own official and authorized manner of addressing her Divine Head and of treating with Him about the salvation of the world. What other *unauthorized* and

private book of prayer can venture for a moment to compare with these two books? Why do we waste our time in using books like those when we have the incomparable Liturgical books which contain the words of the Holy Ghost and of His Spouse the Church? Would that we priests had a real love for these books, and studied them more fully, for they are our life companions and are the means whereby we enter into our official relations with the Most High. Would that the time we give to private vocal prayer were given to the prayers of the Church; would that we prayed as she prays, in the simple, direct, sober and reverential manner which marks all her dealings with God, in whose presence she knows the creature is utterly abased, and should have no place for mere emotion and passion. Would that our prayers were after the model our Divine Master gave us when He said: "Thus shalt ye pray: Our Father," &c. (St. Matthew vi. 9). Our modern prayers run riot through the whole gamut of artificial feelings, and if we use them we cannot help feeling the force of the too-frequent false sentimentality which runs through them, and we seem to base our hopes of being heard upon our much speaking. Whereas the prayers of Holy Church are like echoes of the Pater Noster, and draw out in language measured and sober the meaning of these divine petitions. There is a dignity and a simplicity about them which is eminently befitting a creature, and in them we can find all our possible wants supplied.¹

We now come to the study of our Divine Master in His saints as we have it day by day in the *Proprium Sanctorum*, and we hope month by month to give notes, brief and scanty perhaps, of some of the thoughts these Masses suggest to us when viewed in the light of our Breviary. We will find that each saint teaches some lesson which closely concerns our priestly life, and the lesson coming to us in

¹ We have been led on to make this digression from the main point of this paper on account of the bearing it really has with the subject in hand, and because its importance is often overlooked. These "*Horæ Liturgicæ*:" do not profess to be anything more than outlines of such devotional studies on the teaching of the Missal as any priest, with the aid of his Breviary, can work out for himself.

connection with the Sacrifice of the Mass points out to us that our Lord would have us consider and practise these particular virtues which He practised and exercised in the person of His saints. For we must remember that the good works of the saints are the good works of Jesus. It is He who doth great things in His saints, and their good works only exist and have any value as being done by members of that Body Mystical of which He is the Head. *Per Ipsum, cum Ipso et in Ipso.*

May 1. *SS. Philip and James the Less, Apostles.* The chief lesson we gain from this Mass is faith in our Blessed Lord. Coming as this feast always does in Paschal Time, we are called upon to rejoice in the triumph of two of the witnesses of the Resurrection of the Christ, of two of those who saw Him, as St. John says (1 i. 1), touched Him and conversed with Him. So come we with joyful alleluia to adore the King of Apostles. The Introit recalls what we have learnt in our II. Nocturn about the labours and tribulations of the Apostles who bore testimony of their Master before kings and princes, and suffered much for His namesake. In much tribulation did they sow the seed of the Gospel, St. Philip in Scythia, and St. James in Jerusalem. Bitter was their cup of suffering, one being cast from the highest point of the Temple, and killed by a fuller's club, and the other crucified and then stoned to death. But their faith sustained them, they knew their Master would not forsake them. They cried unto Him, and He from heaven heard them, and now in the number of the Just do they rejoice in the Lord, and eternal songs of praise becometh them for their witnessing unto righteousness. So, in union with them, rejoicing in the eternal love, "that never-fading Paschal Joy" (*Hym. ad Mat.*) with which the Christ, most clement King, possesses their hearts, let us pour forth to His name the thanks we owe (*cf. Hym. ad laud.*) by praising the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The Collect calls upon us to rejoice in faith on this feast day, and thereby to renew our fervour. We rejoice because they have come out of much tribulation, and we renew our fervour by following their example of faith in our Blessed

Lord. As they have walked so must we, if we would gain the *æterna Christi munera*. The Epistle paints a vivid picture of the life and death of those whose souls are filled with a holy faith. The fragrance, as of balsam, of their lives, and the days of their affliction here below are the proofs that they were *testes fideles*, and preached what they had seen (cf. *Hym. ad laud*). In the last words of the Lesson we get an echo of the Antiphons at Lauds when we think of the eternal rewards of the never-ending Alleluia the saints now enjoy as the reward of their faith. The same thought runs through the Gradual, and now all heaven unites in proclaiming the wonders of their happiness, which is the reward of their faithful and true witness to Jesus the Anointed. With this thought of heaven, what a deeper meaning now have the words our Lord spoke to St. Philip. The faithful apostle sees Him now, and in Him the Father and the Father's love, and is united for ever with that Master the God-man whom he has so truly served.

The Gospel (St. John xiv.) are words full of encouragement to us who are called to tread the way of the Apostles, and they stir up our faith in the Good Master we serve. Why should our heart be made afraid when we know what manner-of God ours is? We know who the Master is we serve: we know that He has lovingly prepared a place for us in His Church by our holy vocation; and that He is in our midst, and that where we are in our poverty and misery He also is; we know He has prepared another place for us, a kingdom which has no end; that where He is in glory we also may be; for He has called us here below to the higher way, only that we may have the higher reward in heaven. We know where He has gone; and we know, none better, the way that leads to Him; and we cannot, like St. Thomas, plead ignorance; for, morning after morning, He Himself takes us by the hand, and points out the day's journey for us, and sets along the route the Seven Hours as halting-places, where He cheers us up with a visit to the Jerusalem which is above, and refreshes us with the food of prayer, and unites us together with Himself, so that, as members of His Body Mystical, we can reach the Father. Seeing Jesus is enough

for us, and we want nothing more, for having Him we have the Father ; for loving Him, the Father comes, and, together with Jesus and the Holy Ghost, He takes up His abode in our heart. What marvellous force and power we get from faith in the abiding presence of God in our heart. This alone is enough to make us men of God, and speak no longer our own poor words, but the words which come to our lips from our Divine Guests ; no longer to do our own works, but to let God do His works in us and by us. If we have faith in Jesus the Anointed, and abandon ourself wholly and utterly to the influence and working of the Blessed Trinity abiding in us, what mighty things shall we not do ; what conquests of souls, what a spreading of God's kingdom upon earth, what a true apostolate, for we shall be living in Jesus, asking in His name, and existing simply as the willing instruments of His gracious designs. Well, what is this all but saying that by means of this true faith in our good Master we shall at last be living "as becometh the ministers of the Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God?" (1 Cor. iv. 1). To the soul that lives by faith, heaven and the eternal assembly of the holy ones, show forth the wonders of our priesthood, of a priesthood which will be fruitful and adorned by every good work. We are about to begin the Great Sacrifice, and are going to show forth *the* great wonder of the Lord, and prove the truth of God in the assembly of the saints by doing what our Lord did, and saying what He said : "This is My Body. This is My Blood." The reference to "the assembly of the holy ones" reminds us of the adoring angels, who are awaiting the Mass, and it will help to increase our faith in Him with whose priesthood we are clothed. Our sins deserve all manner of evil, so we are reminded in the Secret ; but the Mass, which is the great mercy of God towards man, is a means of turning away punishment, and propitiating our Maker. What would the world be without the Mass? What should we be, careless, cold, and negligent, as we now are, if we had not the Mass to keep up, at any rate, a little glimmer of faith in our heart? *Misericordia Domini quia non sumus consumpti* (Jer. iii. 22).

The Communion has now a more personal meaning, that Jesus is in our heart. How long has He not been with us, and still we have neither known nor heeded Him ! But now, love has opened our eyes to the light of faith ; we hold Him in our heart, reigning there as Lord and Master ; and we know Him to be the Son of the Everlasting Father, for none other than God can fill our heart as Jesus does. So do we know that He is in the Father, and the Father is in Him ; and, oh ! thought of thoughts, this very same Jesus, who abides in the Father, and in whose created soul there dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, is now living in us, and of His fulness we are at this moment receiving with lavish generosity, unless we are ourselves putting hindrances in His way, and are checking the current of His loving-kindness. As we are filled, so says the Post-Communion, with heart-giving mysteries, so may we, by the prayers of the holy Apostles, profit by the wonders wrought in us, and lead a life of faith, as they did. In our humility, we ask this boon of the Father, *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* ; knowing that this same Jesus, our Priest and Victim, will Himself work in us, and be the instrument of the works the Father, who abides in Him, will work in us by the Holy Ghost.

May 2. *St. Athanasius, C.P.D.*, shows us the effects of a living faith : calmness, light, readiness to suffer everything ; all of which are virtues which our priesthood demands in an eminent way, for we are all called, in our measure, to be as the great Athanasius was, champions of the Word made flesh, and like him to stand against the whole power of the world and the kings thereof, who rise up against the Lord and against His Christ. Our saint's voice still rings through the midst of the Church, and is embedded in the Creed we say at Mass, *Consubstantialē Patri*. The spirit of wisdom and understanding with which the Lord filled him, helped him to expose and defeat all the subtle attacks of heresy upon the faith. The glorious title of Doctor of the Church, as a robe of glory, clothes him who was eminently pious and prudent, continent, and humble. (*Hymn ad Mat.*) To confess before men his Lord was indeed a good thing for St. Athanasius ; for not only was it his salvation, but also

the salvation of the whole Church ; and for centuries has he enabled millions of souls to sing the new song to the name of the Most High, the song of truth and of faith.

The Collect reminds us that he was in very truth the confessor of the Lord (*Hymn ad Mat.*), and the faithful bishop of the flock ; no hireling who flieth when the wolf approacheth, but a true shepherd, ready to lay down his life, if need be ; ready to spend and be spent in resisting the attempts to ravage the fold. He, as the Epistle tells us (2 Cor. iv.), preached not himself, but Jesus the anointed, the God of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds. He was the means chosen by God by which the splendour of eternal truth should shine out amidst the darkness of error, to the enlightenment of the knowledge of the clearness of God in the face of the anointed Jesus. Faith is the treasure we have in a frail vessel which is our will : for we can, if we will, break the vessel and lose the treasure. Faith is a direct work of divine grace, the *sublimitas virtutis Dei*, and is not of our own doing ; though, of course, we have to co-operate with the workings of grace. So having this great treasure, whether we, like St. Athanasius, suffer all manner of tribulations, we are not straightened ; whether we, like him, are stripped of all our worldly goods, and are driven out of home and country, we are not needy ; whether persecuted and flying away, we are not deserted by God ; if cast down to the lowest depths, we do not perish, for by holding steadfastly to the rock of faith we possess our souls in calmness and peace, because we see God and His adorable and loving will in all that befalls us. In the light of faith we see that our priesthood demands that we should be victims along with the sacred Victim of our sacrifices ; therefore, like this holy doctor, we always carry about in our bodies the image of the dying Jesus by the spirit of holy mortification, that His blessed life may be made manifest in us. Oh ! that all priests were truly men of faith, and set themselves deliberately to practise this virtue, and prayed ever with the Apostles : " Lord, increase our faith." (Luke xvii. 5.)

Then, indeed, would the whole course of our life be cleansed ; then would we be really men of prayer ; then would

our Office be a garden of delights, our Mass rich in fruit, the measure thereof heaped up and overflowing into the bosom of the Church. Let us ask St. Athanasius, by his glorious defence of the divinity of our Risen Lord, to obtain for us that we may rise again to the new life of faith in Him who is "the author and finisher of our faith" (Heb. xii. 2). The glorious song of the eternal priesthood comes as the Gradual to remind us that we above all others must be men of faith, ever ready to suffer anything for God's sake, for we know with certainty that the crown of life is awaiting us.

The Gospel (St. Matthew xviii.) tells us that persecution awaits the man of faith. If our life, like that of St. Athanasius has to be a hunted one, well what matters it, for our faith tells us that God our only good is to be found in one city as well as in another; we may go through the whole of Israel, and wherever we are we shall be brought face to face with Him. So this practical lesson of faith, the sense of being ever in the presence of God; nay, more, the having the presence of God ever *in us*, will be our stay and comfort in any trial that may befall us. We, the servants, cannot expect to be treated better than our Master; and by our very ordination we have bound our own bodies, built up the altar, and have laid ourselves thereupon as a victim ready for sacrifice. We are obliged to say, unless we are faithless priests: "With Christ am I nailed to the cross" (Gal. ii. 19). So to us who are so closely united to our great High Priest it is given to know the hidden things of God; things which the eyes of others see not, we see if we are faithful to our call.¹ The choicest delights of the soul are meant to be ours, and we possess them when we abandon ourself unreservedly to the perfection our calling requires; then do we go into the inner cellars of divine love, into the true spirit of our priesthood, and there become inebriated with the goodly wine which the King has laid up in store for His friends. This is the

¹ Father Baker, the great Benedictine contemplative writer used to say—

"Mind your call,
It's all in all;"

meaning that our whole sanctification is according to God's will bound up in our vocation.

wine which bringeth forth virgins, and maketh glad the heart of God and man ; this is the chalice of salvation, which is so goodly, and which strengthens us, so that we fear not them who can kill the body, but only fear Him who can kill the soul.

Full of the same thought of our priesthood comes the Offertory, and the thought of our utter need of God's hand to help us and His arm to strengthen us is suggested. What would St. Athanasius have been without the grace of faith, and what are *we* unless the Lord builds the house of our soul on this foundation, that He is the Anointed, the Son of God ? How can we enter upon the Mass and perform our priestly office unless we are full of faith ? Holy Athanasius help us by thy prayers to get a lively faith in the tremendous mystery we are about to celebrate. What God says to us, now that He is within us, in the darkness of our heart, let us put forth in the light of day, and live according to His gracious inspirations ; the secrets of His love for creatures of which He now whispers in our ear, and gives us such a striking proof, let us proclaim to all the world that they too may taste and see how sweet the Lord is. St. Athanasius' burning faith is not a dead, spent force. He speaks still in the Church, and the truth he saw in the darkness of surrounding error, now in the midst of an unbelieving generation shines out clear as a beacon of safety to a world distracted by false teachers. In clear and unfailing tones his voice rings out, and tells us that Jesus the Anointed is the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father. So we may note that faith, as regards others, ends not with the grave. When we pass the gates of life eternal, faith is, of course, changed into vision ; but the effects thereof still remain below, and still are capable of leading on and helping other souls " amidst th' encircling gloom." The voice of the teacher is never stilled ; " being dead he yet speaketh," and by his faith he gives life and healing to countless millions yet unborn. Such then is the effects of the life of a priest full of faith, a never-ending work for the spreading of God's kingdom.

May 3. *The Finding of the Holy Cross*. " Holy Church celebrates a glorious day when there is found the triumphal

wood in which our Redeemer, breaking the bonds of death, overcame the crafty serpent" (1 *respon. ad Mat.*), It is fitting during these Paschal days we should celebrate the glory of that *dulce lignum* which is above all cedars, the most worthy of all trees planted in the midst of Paradise, at the sight of which all hostile hands flee away. It is not difficult to see the lesson our Lord would have us to learn in this Mass: the glory of the Cross, the honour of the Sacrifice in which we are called to take our share as co-victims with the great Victim Himself.

The Introit at once strikes the note of exultation at the thought that *our* glory is that of being victims. In the cross we can find health, life, and resurrection, and through it we are saved and set free. Our ordination obliges us to travel along the road to Calvary, and to present our bodies as well-pleasing holocausts to the Divine Majesty. What a merciful God He is who gives us this wonderful gift and honour! When we enter heart and soul into the interior dispositions which animate our great High Priest at the moment when He offers Himself through our ministry, then is the countenance of the Most High turned towards us, and the light thereof shines upon us, and we are made acquainted with the joys of His mercy.

The salutary effects of a crucified life, such as ours must be, are referred to in the Collect, and we are reminded that it is along this way that we have to travel towards eternal life. Would that we were really lovers of the Cross, nailed to it together with Jesus the Anointed, and finding our glory in its shame! Then would we be other men to what we are, real heroes instead of the cowards we are in our Master's army. See the wonders the love of the Cross worked in the holy martyrs and the holy bishop whose feast we commemorate. The martyrs died for love of Him who hung on the Cross, and the holy bishop spent his life in bearing the Cross in humble imitation of Him who bore it along the road to Calvary. May their prayers save us from the evil of fearing or shirking the Cross!

Not content with putting the example of the saints before us, Holy Church again gives us the example of the Eternal

Priest, and charges us who share in His priesthood to have the same mind as was in the Christ Jesus, who emptied Himself and humbled Himself even to the death on the cross. Oh, wondrous love to call us to share in His glorious work! Oh, folly to refuse to imitate Him with Whom we are so closely united! If our priesthood be one with His, surely it is but little to ask of us to have the same mind that is in the Anointed Jesus, to unite ourself entirely to His intentions, to seek the things which he seeks, to desire and love what He desires and loves. To do otherwise, to separate our will by a hair's breath from His most holy will, is a woeful wrong, and an injury to His boundless mercy, which chooses us, without any merit on our part, as fellow-workers with Him in the glorious office of worshipping the Father by the most perfect, supreme, and adequate form of worship which His adorable holiness can demand: *omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. This oneness of mind between the great High Priest and ourself is known when we realize that we are victims together with Him; when we are filled with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and obedient to our call, even unto death. A true priest can tell what is the glory of the Lord Jesus, the Anointed in God the Father, for he knows by experience, through the overwhelming sense of the infinite majesty of our Lord, which takes possession of his soul when he resolutely abandons himself to the most perfect harmony with the Divine Will, and offers himself *in spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito* in sacrifice along with the Divine Victim. Then, indeed, as in Abraham's mystic sacrifice (Gen. xv. 17) between the two parts of the sacrifice, that is to say, between the essential Victim, Jesus the Anointed, and the integral victim, the priest, the glory of the Lord passes as the splendour of a lamp which enlightens the gloom of earth, and makes visible the hidden things of God.

So as the spirit of sacrifice is an integral part of an office, so let us proclaim it aloud in the Gradual, that the kingly priesthood to which we are called is that of the Cross, which means the way of suffering. Our Lord, our Head, reigneth from the tree. Naught else could bear the King of heaven and of earth save the *dulce lignum*; neither can earth bear

us, but we must needs be raised up above it by the same sweet wand, and together with Him be fastened thereunto. Alleluia. Praise to God for calling us to the likeness of His Son.

The Gospel (St. John iii.) tells us of the new life given to us. When we came from the altar that day we were marked with the priestly character, we came from before the bishop's feet clad in the mystic robes of sacrifice, wearing the various marks of the Sacred Passion and Death, which we are consecrated to show forth. Then we were new-born in the Holy Ghost, and our ears are made open to His voice, and we were set as masters in Israel to teach men the King's highway of the Cross. Do we know by experience what we teach to others? Are our eyes continually fixed upon that to which we bear witness? Do we speak to our people of the heavenly things of the Cross, and teach them, by our own example, how to lead the life of sacrifice? Are we, like the Son of Man, lifted up on the cross, that so by us, men may escape perishing, and have life everlasting? We are about to renew the Great Sacrifice by the might of the right hand of the Lord, which worketh wonders; so the Offertory reminds us that we have been lifted up out of our own nothingness, by God's right hand, to the sublime dignity we hold, and are gifted with an eternal priesthood, which dieth not, but abideth for ever, and will be the cause of our eternal happiness in heaven. But the enemy will attack us, and will set snares to trip us up, in order to rob us of the grace we have received. Well, in the hour of combat, the cross will be the standard of our victory, and will remind us that our best protection is the spirit of sacrifice and mortification. By this spirit the holy martyrs and bishop we commemorate in the Secret, overcame and issued triumphantly from the strife with the most wicked one.

When we have our Lord within us in Holy Communion, we ask Him to give us the fulness of the love of the Cross. We do not ask for any cross, but for *the* cross which He, in His love and wisdom, sees is the best for us. How often do we rebel against this cross, and, instead of generously abandoning ourself to His will, and taking lovingly and cheerfully from His hands the cross He chooses, we throw away the

treasure, and fret and complain, and pretend that any other cross than the one He has chosen we would, indeed, have loved and borne; but this precise one is too heavy, and is not suited to our wants. What folly, as though He does not know better than we what is the best and safest way of becoming conformed to His likeness. Let us, then, ask the Crucified, whilst He is in our heart, to give us a generous abandonment to His will, and the same mind that was in Him when He prayed to His Father: "Not My will, but Thine be done." This is the true spirit of the Christian priesthood; and, if we cultivate it, it will be a very armour of justice, by which we may, as the Post-Communion says, be delivered from the malignant devices of the enemy.

May 4. *St. Monica, Wid.* The lesson of this Mass is that of confidence and perseverance in prayer, and also of the duty of prayer for sinners. The lessons in the second Nocturn tell us how St. Monica steadfastly continued in prayer for her erring son; and we know that it is to her perseverance the Church owes one of her most glorious doctors. Why is it that in our flocks so many sinners remain in the filth of their sins, and by their lives scandalize the little ones of the Christ? Without looking into other reasons, we may content ourselves with this one, which concerns ourselves: the cause, in great measure, lies in ourselves; we do not pray enough for our people; we do not intercede enough, and specially for the sinners of the flock the Holy Ghost has committed to our care; yet to do so is the very nature of our priesthood. We are appointed to stand between the outer court and the altar; to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead; to be in the midst of the plague-stricken, and cure them by the ministry of reconciliation. Alas! exterior works so press down upon a priest nowadays, that he is sorely tempted to abandon the interior life; for he is so choked up with the cares of the things of this world, that it is with difficulty that prayer finds room. To overload a man with exterior work, to set him in a bustle of ceaseless activity, and to make him take part in the fierce battle for existence, is a favourite wile of the devil, who knows that we often waste our real strength in the struggle,

and neglect to turn our eyes to the hills whence cometh help. “In quietness and peace shall your strength be,” says the Holy Ghost ; and it is just this very supernatural quietness and peace which comes from prayer that the devil fears the most, and strives to destroy by setting us amongst a whirl of work and labour. What does the history of the Church tell us, but that all her triumphs have been achieved by men who found the secret of success in the exterior works they undertook for the love of God ; not in a senseless, dogged spirit of plodding, not in absorbing their whole being into a feverish activity which the world worships as the new God-Work, but in the spirit of prayer, calm and peaceful, in which they spent many hours each day ; so many hours which would seem to us to be out of proportion to the task which lay before them. And yet it was in this lengthened prayer that they found their strength. We are apt to consider ourselves as the chief workers in anything we do, and fancy that all depends upon our exertions. God alone is the chief worker ; we are only His instruments, and too often but bad and clumsy instruments, who will not let ourselves be guided by the hand of the Artificer, but try to do the work in our own way. The saints never made this mistake ; but in the practice of prayer recognised their Master as the great Agent, and left themselves in His hands to work as He willed, and in His strength ; hence their great success. Pre-eminently among the works of God is that of the conversion of sinners, and it is one which we are bound, as priests, to advance ; and those of us who are in the ranks of the pastoral clergy, and have souls committed to our care, are specially directed to pray for the conversion of the sinners of the flock. Do we do so ? Do we say an Office for this purpose ; do we offer the Holy Sacrifice ; do we speak to God about the various sinners we have to deal with ; do we take up individual cases, and pray without ceasing for them, and tire not until we bring back the wandering sheep to the Sacred Heart ? Do we pray : *Da mihi animam pro qua rogo, et populum pro quo postulo* ? St. Monica, in this Mass, teaches us the duty of persevering prayer ? If we imitate her in this, we shall get the same reward that she did ; and

we will see the reward of our efforts in children brought back to their loving Father's house. Oh, would that we realized this more, and set ourselves earnestly to the work of saving souls in the way that God wills! Surely prayers for the conversion of souls *must* be heard, and God must surely send us the answer to our prayer—grace to change the heart. If we do not see the result in this world, still one can feel sure that our prayers have, at least, rendered the ultimate salvation more hopeful.

The beautiful Collect of this Mass is most consoling to our heart, and fills us with trust that God, who is called "the comforter of mourners and the salvation of them that hope in Him," will hear the prayers we pour forth for those sinners for whom we are responsible. The Epistle bids us learn to rule over our house, and how to reduce to obedience the unruly. Cut off as we are from family ties, we can put all our trust in God, and be instant in prayer, and petition day and night for our sinful children, otherwise we deny the faith, and are worse than the infidel. The Gradual refers to the spiritual beauty our souls gain in the sight of God if we are constant in this necessary work of prayer for sinners, and it tells us of the success we shall achieve; we shall set out prosperously, and shall reign by God's grace over all our flock "on account of truth, meekness, and justice." To stir us up to this work the Gospel brings before us, on one hand, the thought of God's great love for the sinner; and, on the other, His readiness to compassionate the tears of the Pastor who bemoans his son dead in sin. Interceding for sinners spreads grace upon our lips, for never are our words so pleasing to the Most High as when we pray for sinners; and great will be our reward for thus praying; it will be, the Offertory says, for ever and for ever. Surely, we, who in Holy Communion have received so much, should be set on fire with the love of justice and hatred of iniquity, and be, therefore, zealous for the better gifts, souls who are above gold and the topaz stone. Let us, like Him whose own special work it is to seek and save sinners, pray God to give us this truly pastoral solicitude for the souls of our brethren, whose keepers we are, and for whom we shall have to render an account.

May 6. *St. John before the Latin Gate*. Courage and patience in the trials which beset the priestly life, are the lessons to be learnt from this Mass. As the blessed disciple had to drink of His Master's cup, and be ready to be a martyr in will, at least, so must every true priest make the perfect sacrifice of himself along with the Sacred Victim, and be ready to do or suffer as his Lord appoints; for he knows that as long as his Divine Master deigns to make use of his services, he will not be left without grace to bear with courage and patience any trial that may befall him. The final triumph is certain if he keeps humbly to his Lord's side, and is generous in making any sacrifice that is asked of him. As we are told in the Epistle, the path of the just is marked by constancy and patience under suffering, and the reward they get is to be counted among the sons of God, and to have their lot together with His saints. They will flourish as the lily, and will be multiplied as the cedar, and will bear the flowers of an eternal bloom in the garden of the King; for they, as the Gospel tells us, have drunk of the chalice of their Saviour—that chalice, of which we drink morning by morning, and in which we pledge ourselves to follow our Master along the way of sacrifice. Oh, blessed promise! "Ye shall indeed drink of My chalice;" and our reward for so doing will be no earthly one, but one which the Father Himself will give—the reward of sitting down to the banquet with the Eternal High-Priest in heaven. Let heaven and earth confess this wonder and this truth in the assembly of the saints, now at this moment when we are going to prepare the great sacrifice, and drink afresh of this cup. After we have so drunk, shall we not rejoice and hope in the Lord, who has taken up His abode in us? Shall we not draw courage and patience from Him who says: "Fear not, for I am with you"? Will He not be ready to give us generous hearts in dealing with Him who has dealt with us so generously? Surely, He is waiting at this very moment to give us all we ask, if we but only take the trouble to make our requests.

May 8. *The Apparition of St. Michael*. An important fact, often forgotten, is that we offer the sacrifice *cum angelis*

et archangelis, and in their sight we praise God by the Eucharistic Offering. So the perpetual presence of the angelic host around the altar whereon Jesus the Anointed is offered, is brought before us in this Mass, that our heart may be stirred up to emulate the burning love of the holy angels who bend in rapt adoration, while we, who are made a little lower than they, exercise an office far greater than any allotted to their most pure ministry. We have only space to gather a few flowers from this Mass. *Potentes virtute qui facitis verbum ejus*: we, as God's messengers to mankind, are powerful in the might of His strength, and to *do* His work is the very end of our priesthood. We *do* His work by using the very word of our Lord, the ineffable words of consecration, which bring about that wondrous act, and give to the Eternal Majesty all honour and glory. Therefore, in gratitude for the priceless gift of the priesthood, our whole being: *omnia que intra me sunt*, should be a sacrifice of praise to the Most High. Grace and peace come to us from our Lord, through these blessed spirits who stand ever in sight of the Father's face, and they help us by their gracious assistance to be witnesses faithful and true to the Anointed One Himself. Were we not so engrossed in worldly things, we should experience, as many holy men have felt in a sensible manner, the help of these ministering spirits, especially at the time when we stand surrounded by them at the altar, and they are hanging upon our words, to adore their King. A beautiful lesson of humility is shown to us in the Gospel. We are called to an office far above the angelic nature, and so we need greater holiness if we would keep our place in the kingdom of heaven—we need a purity equal to theirs—nay, greater, for we have to do close at hand with what they, at a distance, bend down in awe before and worship. Therefore, our calling being so holy, nothing should be allowed to interfere with the paramount claims of our priesthood, for it is more precious than even an eye, a hand, or a foot. At the Offertory, we are reminded of the incense of prayer, which the angel of the Mass, St. Michael, offers, the *incensa multa*, and also of the perfume of virtue and good dispositions which should

now ascend in the sight of God; for we offer to the Eternal the sweet savour of the prayers and good work of the whole Church in whose name we stand before the altar. In the Communion, we call upon these loving spirits to aid us to thank our Divine Guest, and to help us to realize His gracious designs in our regard.

May 17. *St. Paschal Baylon, C.*, gives us a lesson of deep devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament; and the Collect of the Mass should be often upon our lips, and we should pray that the sweetness he experienced in this heavenly banquet may also be ours. We need pray for this, alas! for custom and habit tend unfortunately to lessen our taste for this heavenly food, and unless we take care to keep ever fresh this princely spirit, given to us in ordination, we may even descend to so great a depth as to loathe this Bread of Angels which contains in itself all sweetness; and then how awful our state!

May 18. *St. Venantius, M.*, comes, a boy-saint, to encourage us again along the way of sacrifice, and to renew in us, by his wonderful combats, the spirit of generosity and heroism. If he, a mere lad, could be such a glorious witness to our Lord, with only the grace of his ordinary state, what great saints should we not be were we only faithful to the abundant and lavish outpouring of grace which is given to us with our priesthood and renewed in each Mass.

May 19. *St. Peter Celestine, C.P.*, gives us a practical lesson in humility and love of prayer. He found that the cares of his high office told against the spirit of devotion; he was oppressed, and could not pray with his usual fervour; so he gave up all, even the Papal dignity, to regain what was far dearer to him than all the world could offer. What do we do? Do we give up *anything* we find hindering our fervour; or do we vainly try to serve two masters by giving half a heart to God, who demands the whole, and the other half heart to the world, which knows in gaining a part it gains the entire man? May the saint's example teach us not to cling to *anything*—position, study, work, friends, money, or any occupation which we find hinders our attention and devotion to our Mass. Our other work will be of no value unless it finds all its force and strength in prayer. If we seek

first the kingdom of God and His justice (and His kingdom is *within* us), all else He promises will be added unto us.

May 20. *St. Bernardine of Sienna, C.*, renews in us the love of the holy name of Jesus; and in the Collect we ask that, by the saint's pleading, we may have the spirit of the love of Jesus poured forth in our hearts. Our Lord came to cast fire on the earth; and where will He look to find this fire kindled, if not in the heart of those He so graciously calls His friends? May we be consumed with the desire of showing forth the praise of His glorious name by our godly life and obedience to the spirit of our priesthood!

May 26. *St. Philip Neri, C.*, the dear Apostle of Rome, the pattern of priestly perfection, and the glory of the pastoral clergy, gives us many lessons in his beautiful Mass. One especially is that of holy joy in the thought of God's love. The love of God is poured forth in our hearts by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and joy is one of His fruits which must needs be where He is in all the fulness of His presence. It was this joy in the love of God which was St. Philip's great characteristic; it was in this joy that he ran on in the way of God when his heart was enlarged. Too often do we neglect to cultivate this fruit of the Holy Ghost, and yet it is the very sunshine of God's love; for how can gloom and sadness exist when we realize who our God is, and what a dear, dear Father He is whom we serve. St. Philip's life was one great transport of love, and in his Mass the joy which inundated his soul used to make his very body thrill with exultation in the living God. How is it that we, priests of the Victim of Love, so often repel the little ones of His flock by harshness of manner and sharpness of speech, and, perhaps, by uncalled-for rebukes which break the broken reed and quench the flax which has just begun, maybe, to burn with divine love? It is because we have forgotten the virtue of holy joy, because we do not give ourselves up to the love of God. Did we do so we would seek to communicate that joy to others, and would be unceasing in giving thanks in all joy in the Holy Ghost. This love of God, this well-spring of joy, is that true wisdom which the Epistle speaks of, and which St. Philip set above

kingdoms, seats, and riches, and which he laid above health and beauty, for its light cannot be put out. It is an infinite treasure to mankind, and makes us sharers in the friendship of God. Let us, therefore, approach by love to our God, and be illuminated with the light which maketh joyful our heart. The fire of love will come from on high, and will enter into our very being, and teach us in all joy what a God ours is, and what a delight it is to serve Him. The Offertory gives us an important lesson. If we do not cultivate the fruit of joy our spiritual growth is stunted, and we crawl along the way, and make but little progress. But if we allow our hearts to be widened with loving joy we shall be lifted up above the dust that defiles us in the way, and, like a giant who rejoices to run his course, we shall make vast strides along the road, and the dust of life will never rise up to our heart, but will remain beneath our feet, where it does us but little harm, for our good Master will wash our feet and make us wholly clean. The lesson of joy is again repeated in the Communion, where we have Him the joy of the Father, the jubilee of the Holy Ghost, a joy all ours, and one no man can take from us.

May 27. *St. Augustine, C.P.*, teaches us the true spirit of Apostolic Charity, and reminds us that the gifts we receive in our ordination are not to be hidden away, but are to be used for the spreading of God's kingdom on earth. There is also another lesson which is greatly needed, so it seems to us, in these days when we are engaged in rebuilding the walls of our Sion and renewing the work of *St. Augustine*: obedience to authority and a loving care to be in the mind of the Church. *St. Augustine* did the Church's work of evangelization in the Church's way, and won England to the faith on the lines of the Sacred Liturgy. Now-a-days men's minds are full of craving after novelty, and are impatient of what is old. The solemn offices sufficed for all the wants of the people, and brought up a flock joyful in the Lord and trained in all virtue. The greatest number of our saints were brought up on the liturgical services of the Church, and found therein all the spiritual food they needed. But now, alas! the mysteriousness of worship, which is a

craving of human nature, must give place to a morbid desire of emulating the false worship of Protestantism with its Book of Common Prayer. Some, alas! among us are willing to despoil the Bride of her vesture of gold, and huddle upon her the rags of the sects which try and expose to the vulgar gaze the beauty of the King's daughter which is all within. Do they not remember that the true idea of worship, of sacrifice, is bound up with the liturgical services, and that the immediate result of taking away the old services of the Church has been to destroy all idea of sacrifice as the highest act of worship? Let us pray to St. Augustine to teach us in all humility to carry out the Church's work in the Church's way, a way which has always been successful, and been blessed by God, because it is done in obedience. But of this new way we know nothing of it. Where are its fruits? what saints has it made, what nation brought to the fold? It is time, surely, that this truckling with the heretical spirit comes to an end, and that we no longer forget the rich heritage of the liturgical services of Holy Church for the meretricious and vulgar services of the sects "who cut themselves with their knives after their own manner" (3 Kings xviii. 28).

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

I. THE USE OF THE COPE

II. THE ORNAMENTS OF THE ALTAR DURING A REQUIEM MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Having read with pleasure, in the July number of the I. E. RECORD, your decision *re* use of *amice*, *surplice*, and *alb* at Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, I am prompted to request your opinion also with regard to the use of the *cope*.

I have reason to believe that some priests wear the cope when blessing a *marriage*, whether the ceremony takes place immediately before Mass (followed, of course, with Mass and nuptial blessing), or whether it be performed *extra missam*, without nuptial blessing. It seems to me that I have heard of priests to wear the *cope* even at baptisms performed solemnly in the church. I have seen priests wear the cope on the occasion of the *blessing of statues, reception of sodalists*, when they also wore the *cope* whilst *preaching*. Can this be done?

Some priests say that only *surplice* and *stole* are to be worn on such occasions, and at marriages *extra missam*. In the ritual mention is made only of surplice and stole. Indeed, Wapelhorst says that if the marriage takes place immediately before Mass, the priest ought to wear the chasuble. “Induere debet etiam planitiam.” Now, can the cope be used instead? In referring to the article *de vestibus Sacris*, I find that Wapelhorst says: “Pluviale adhibetur a presbytero . . . et in benedictionibus quae fiunt in altari.” Can marriages be considered as such, and, therefore, can the officiating priest wear the cope? A blessing is given; the ring is blessed. Bishops frequently wear the cope whilst preaching; why cannot priests do so?

Also will you kindly say if the rubric which forbids flowers on the altar during a Requiem Mass is really obligatory; and when a Requiem Mass is to be celebrated at the high altar, decorated with flowers, which could not conveniently be removed, would it be against or beside the rubric to place a small violet curtain or veil on stands, on the lowest step of the altar table, at each side of the tabernacle, and thus shade off the flowers? Would not this

suffice to satisfy the spirit of the rubric, or is it always obligatory to carry out the preceptive rubrics to the very letter?

Trusting to find in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD your esteemed decisions on these points, I am, rev. sir,

SACERDOS WELLINGTONENSIS.

New Zealand.

1. The cope should not be used unless in ceremonies and on occasions of great solemnity. Hence the rubrics relating to the sacred vestments prescribe the use of the cope only in processions, in solemn blessings, such as the blessing of candles, ashes, and palm, which take place at the altar; in Lauds and Vespers, when solemnly recited; by the assistant priest at a Pontifical Mass; and in giving the Absolution after a Requiem Mass. From other parts of the rubrics, and from the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, we learn that the cope is also to be used when giving the *Asperges* before Mass on Sundays, and by the assistants of the officiant at Solemn Vespers. But the obligation of using the cope on these occasions is not the same as that of using chasuble, or any other of the sacred vestments, in celebrating Mass; for whereas the latter obligation—as far, at least, as regards any of the principal vestments—is of the gravest kind, the former is only very slight, unless in a few cases. Among these are, a solemn procession of the Most Holy Sacrament; and Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, given with the monstrance. In both these cases the officiant is bound to wear a cope; but in the other cases the use of the cope is prescribed only *si habeatur*.

It is clear, therefore, that the Church is not so strict about the use or non-use of the cope as of the chasuble, or even of the stole; and it would, consequently, seem a not unwarranted inference, that she might permit its use in other solemn ceremonies besides those of which mention is made in the liturgy. But we have not been able to find any authority to support this inference; nor, we may add, any to condemn or overthrow it. It is true, as was shown some time ago in these pages,¹ that a preacher, though of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. xiii., p. 935.

rank of a canon, and though preaching in the presence of a bishop, is forbidden to wear a cope while preaching. It is also true that chanters *as such* are forbidden to wear a cope. But except in these two cases we cannot find that the use of the cope has been forbidden. Consequently, though not prepared to approve of the use of the cope unless in those cases for which it is prescribed by the Rubrics, we are still less prepared to condemn its use by a priest, who, for some special and worthy reason, wishes to add solemnity to the baptismal or nuptial rite, or even to the foundation of a sodality or confraternity—provided, of course, that in no case does he wear the cope while preaching.

2. In replying to this question it is necessary for us to distinguish between a solemn and a Requiem Mass. With regard to the ornaments of the altar at a solemn Requiem Mass, we have the following directions in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* :

“Si velit Episcopus celebrare die anniversaria omnium defunctorum, vel alias quodcumque pro defunctis haec praeparantur et fiant: videlicet. Altare nullo ornatu festivo, sed simpliciter, et nullis imaginibus, sed sola cruce et sex candelabris paratur.”¹

Though these directions seem to require the absence from the altar of ornaments of every kind during the celebration of a solemn Requiem Mass, we believe that all that is really required is that the ornaments should not be visible. Hence when flowers, &c., placed on the altar for the purpose of ornamenting it, cannot be conveniently removed, we are of opinion that the plan suggested by our correspondent may be adopted even in a solemn Mass.

But, with regard to private Requiem Masses, the case is very different. Nothing is here prescribed, nothing forbidden, so far as the ornaments of the altar are concerned. No doubt, it would be becoming if in private Requiem Masses, *praesente cadavere* the altar were denuded of its ornaments; but there is no law requiring this. Hence a priest celebrating a private Mass at a funeral, need have no

¹ Lib. ii., c. ii., n 1.

scruple in celebrating at an altar adorned in the usual festive way. And if this be true when there is question of a Mass *praesente cadavere*, surely it is still truer when there is question of the ordinary *Missa Quotidiana*. Indeed in this latter case we think, that that order and decorum on which the rubrics insist so strongly would forbid the altar to be denuded of its ornaments each time a priest wishes to celebrate an ordinary Requiem Mass. For in the first place such a Requiem Mass is merely a votive Mass, and according to Gavantus, and indeed to the common teaching of Rubricists, the ornaments of the altar should correspond in colour and in quality to the *Office* of the day, not to the Mass which a priest may select to say on a semi-double or simple feast, or on a feria. Who ever heard, for instance, of its being required to change the white or red antependium and tabernacle veil on the semi-double feast of a confessor or martyr, because a certain priest celebrating at the altar wished to celebrate in black vestments? In many churches several priests celebrate at the same altar on the same day; and on a semi-double each priest is free to use whatever colour of vestments suits the particular Mass he wishes to say. Now, would it not be utterly unreasonable to require the antependium and tabernacle veil to be made to correspond with the colour which each celebrant choose to use? But the flowers and other ornaments of the altar are precisely on the same footing as the antependium, &c. For either the *Office* of the day permits the altar to be adorned with flowers, or it does not. If it does not, of course they should be removed, not merely during the celebration of a Requiem Mass, but also during the celebration of the Mass of the day, or of any other Mass which the day permits, unless a solemn Votive Mass. But if the *Office* of the day permits the use of flowers, &c., on the altar, then, according to the best authorities, the altar should be permitted to retain its usual ornaments, even during the celebration of a private Requiem Mass. We have already, it will be remembered, excluded from this conclusion a private Requiem Mass celebrated at a funeral; for in reality this Mass takes the place of a solemn Requiem Mass. Hence, though there is

no strict obligation to remove the flowers, &c., from the altar, we believe that a priest would be justified in so doing, and would even act laudably.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE CELEBRANT OF TWO MASSES ON THE SAME DAY.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following *quaeritur*, which has been causing trouble to many *sacerdotes* in these parts recently?—

Q. A curate, celebrating in two different chapels, has to consume the Sacred Species after his first Mass; at what particular time is he to do so? will it be immediately after the Last Gospel, or will it be after the *De Profundis* and papal prayers? In an old *Ordo*, of perhaps fifteen years ago, a decree is given that he must absorb the contents of the chalice, *post ultimam evangelium*. Does recent legislation of our Holy Father Leo XIII. alter this law? Or, in fine, must a priest saying two Masses absorb the contents of the chalice immediately after the Last Gospel; or must he wait till the end of the prayers after Mass to do so? A reply in the May issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

CLOYNENSIS.

In replying to our correspondent, we think it better not to confine ourselves within the strict limits of his question, but to place before our readers the directions which a priest should observe in his first Mass, as well when he celebrates twice on the same day in the same church, as when he celebrates twice on the same day in different churches.

In the first case the celebrant consumes the Precious Blood, as usual, but takes more than usual care to completely exhaust the chalice; and, in particular, to leave none of the consecrated species adhering to the lip of the chalice. He then places the chalice on the corporal, saying meantime the prayer *Quod ore sumpsimus*, &c., and covers it first with the paten, then with the pall. While saying the prayer *Corpus tuum*, &c., he washes his fingers either in a vessel placed on the altar, or in one brought to the Epistle corner of the altar by the Mass-server. Some writers¹ state that wine as

¹ e.g., De Herdt, vol. i., n. 284, 3. Bouvry, pars. iii., sect. vii., art. i., n. 2.

well as water should be used for this ablution of the fingers.

Consequently, according to these writers, in case the celebrant washes his fingers in a vessel prepared on the altar, this vessel should contain a mixture of wine and water; and in case the vessel is brought to the altar by the Mass-server, he should bring along with it the cruets, and pour both wine and water on the celebrant's fingers. There seems, however, to be no ground for stating that wine should be used. The words of the rubric referring to this matter certainly contain nothing to support this statement . . . *abluat (celebrans) digitos in aliquo vase mundo*, is the only direction bearing on this point. Besides the argument derived from the silence of the rubrics, which of itself is conclusive, we have the positive statements of many writers, including Martinucci,¹ to the effect that the celebrant is to wash his fingers *in vasculo aquae*. In this country the prevailing and perfectly legitimate practice is for the celebrant to wash his fingers in a covered vessel of water placed on the altar. Usually a second covered vessel containing a purificator for wiping the fingers is placed beside the first. But manifestly this one can be dispensed with, as the purificator used in the Mass will suit the purpose. The second vessel is required only when Communion is administered at other times than during Mass.

Having washed his fingers, and wiped them in the purificator, the celebrant turns back the first fold of the corporal; replaces the chalice, still covered with the paten and pall; folds the purificator, and places it in some convenient place; and, finally, covers the chalice with the veil. He then joins his hands, bows to the crucifix, and goes to the missal.

The chalice being unpurified should be treated with the greatest reverence. No one is allowed to touch it who is not in Holy Orders, and it should not be placed anywhere without there being a corporal or a pall beneath it. Never-

¹ Lib. ii., cap. xiv., n. 19.

theless, the celebrant is not required to make any special reverences on account of the presence on the altar of the unpurified chalice.

The second case—that, namely, in which a priest celebrates two Masses on the same day in different churches—is the one to which our correspondent's question refers.

With regard to this case, it is interesting to know that as late as the year 1815, the Congregation of Rites issued a decree forbidding the use of two chalices by a priest celebrating two Masses on the same day in different churches, and ordaining that the chalice used in the first Mass should be left unpurified, and be carefully and reverently carried by the priest to the place where he was to celebrate the second Mass. This legislation remained in force up to 1857, when the decree, of which we purpose giving here a summary, was issued.

According to this decree the celebrant consumes the Precious Blood at the usual time, and in this as in the former case takes particular care to exhaust the chalice as completely as possible. He then places the chalice on the corporal, covers it with the pall, and joining his hands says the prayer, *Quod ore sumpsimus*, &c. Having finished this prayer he washes his fingers in the vessel of water prepared for that purpose, and wipes them with the purificator, saying meantime the prayer, *Corpus tuum*, &c. After this he removes the pall from the chalice, which he immediately covers in the ordinary way—that is, with purificator, paten, pall, and veil—and then proceeds with the Mass. Having finished the last Gospel, and before descending from the predella, he again uncovers the chalice; and if on examination he finds, as he usually will, that the remains of the Precious Blood, which had during the consumption adhered to the sides of the chalice, have now collected in the bottom of the chalice, he absorbs them with great care. The words of the Congregation with regard to this second absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood are very strong, and seem to impose a very grave obligation. We give them here for the satisfaction of our readers, and to enable each one to

convince himself by their perusal of what grave import they are :—

“Si itaque divini Sanguinis gutta quaedam supersit adhuc, ea rursus ac diligenter sorbeatur et quidem ex eadem parte, quæ ille primum est sumptus. Quod nullimode omittendum est quia sacrificium moraliter durat, et superexistantibus adhuc vitæ speciebus ex divino præcepto compleri debet.”

When the celebrant has satisfied himself that he has absorbed all that it is morally possible to absorb of the remains of the Precious Blood, he receives the water-cruet from the Mass-server, and pours into the chalice at least as much water as there had been wine. He then turns the chalice gently round, so that the water may certainly touch every part that had been in contact with the Precious Blood and pours it into a vessel prepared for the purpose. He should take care to pour the water from the same part of the chalice, from which he had previously consumed the Precious Blood. He then covers the chalice, says the usual prayers, and returns to the sacristy.

Such is the practice rendered obligatory by the decree of 1857. But our correspondent wants to know whether, owing to still more recent legislation this practice should not be slightly modified. Briefly, he wants to know whether, the absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood is to take place immediately after the last Gospel, before the celebrant descends from the predella, or whether it should not be deferred until after the prayers which the Holy Father has ordered to be recited after Low Mass.

Though we have not seen this question discussed anywhere, we have no hesitation in saying that recent legislation has made no change on the practice ordained by the decree of 1857 ; and, consequently, that the chalice is to be purified immediately after the last Gospel, and not after the prayers. For these prayers, though ordered by the Pope, were never intended as an addition to the Mass, as is clear from the fact that they are ordered to be said *after* Mass. Consequently, all the ceremonies connected with the celebration of the Mass must precede these prayers. And this absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood, is, according to the

ree of 1857, essentially connected with the sacrifice. Hence, this is to be done, and the chalice is to be purified before the priest goes to the foot of the altar to recite the *Profundis* (in Ireland) and the prayers ordered by the pope.

PRAYERS AT BENEDICTION DURING THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following questions in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD:—In the book, *Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Functions*, in the note on the chapter devoted to Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, it is said that, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and during the Octave, the prayers in honour of the Blessed Sacrament should be sung at Benediction.

1. May the Litany of the B.V.M. be sung at Benediction during the Octave of Corpus Christi?
2. If so, what prayer should be said after the Litany?

VICE-CAPELEANUS.

1. The Litany of the B.V.M. should not be sung at Benediction on the Feast or during the Octave of Corpus Christi.

2. *Provisum in priore.*

D. O'LOAN.

Notices of Books

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Three Lectures by the Archbishop of Melbourne. Melbourne: Thomas Everga, 154, Little Collins-street.

It appears there are some Protestant Churchmen in Australia, who still harbour the delusion that the present Anglican Church is the moral and legal representation of the ancient British Church, and that this old British Church had an Eastern and not a Roman origin. The Protestant Bishop of Melbourne some short time ago told his audience at a meeting of the Diocesan Festival of the Anglican Church, that "They [the Anglicans] belonged to the ancient Church of Christ, which, as long ago as A.D. 314 sent twelve bishops from England to France to represent them at the

council to be held there." Catholics have reason to be grateful to his Lordship. This attempt to pilfer our ancient graves and disrobe the dead, has called forth a protest from His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Carr, which is a most seasonable contribution to the Catholic literature of the Colony. "I have not," writes the Archbishop in his preface, "entered into the controversy without sufficient reason. The repeated assertion made by distinguished speakers at representative gatherings as to the identity of the Anglican with the ancient British Church, left no choice between silent acquiescence or public protest." "The title of these lectures," His Grace adds "is not mine. Before the delivery of the first lecture the title had become so stereotyped in the public press that any change would lead to confusion."

In the first of these three lectures the author proves-- (1) that British Christianity did not originally come from the East; and (2) that no matter from what source it came, it was not the parent of the present Church of England. In the second lecture, and in the first part of the third lecture, he shows what the ancient British Church really was, namely, that it was Roman in doctrine and discipline; and the remaining portion of the last lecture lifts the curtain on the edifying proceedings that have italicized the origin of the present Anglican Church on the page of history. With admirable judgment the Archbishop strings together in those lectures a series of quotations from Protestant historical works, which settles the points in dispute. They are, in fact, a Protestant refutation of the Anglican claim to apostolical succession through the ancient British Church.

Those who studied under Dr. Carr in Maynooth, will recognise in this, his latest work, the easy flowing style, the lucid order, and the logical sequence which characterized his theological lectures. Here and there gleams of imagination illumine the chain of argument. Towards the close of the third lecture he says: "I have not noticed the argument that the retention of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and of some collects taken from the ancient liturgy, proves the continuity of the Church of England. Those are only a few spiritual stones from the antique but immortal pile of the Roman Church; and I thought, with La Mennais, that the Arab who comes forth from the desert and steals some fragments from the base of the towering pyramid and then disappears into the wilderness from which he emerged, might with as much reason claim the

ownership of the mighty monuments of the Pharaohs." Those lectures are more than a crushing reply to a baseless and foolish assertion. They are a learned historical desideratum of permanent value on a most interesting subject, and we sincerely hope their circulation will not be confined to the Australian Colony. The Anglican Bishop of Melbourne and his supporters will hardly repeat the statement which occasioned the controversy. We think they will pause before they commit themselves to any other theories which can be tested by the witness of history.

T. P. G.

PURGATORY. Illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the Saints. By Rev. F. X. Schouppe, S.J. London : Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

FROM the dim land beyond the grave, where numberless souls are satisfying God's justice in the cleansing fires of Purgatory for sins committed and forgiven, there comes to us unceasingly the cry "Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you, my friends." Why is it that this cry is so often unheeded? Why is it we become forgetful so soon of friends "not lost, but gone before"? The principal causes of our forgetfulness, says Fr. Schouppe, "are ignorance and lack of faith; our notions on the subject of Purgatory are too vague; our faith is too feeble." To give the faithful a clearer idea of Purgatory, to show how the souls there may be aided by our efforts, and to excite in us a lively interest in those souls, is the object of Father Schouppe's work on Purgatory. The tender devotion to the suffering souls that induced the author to publish his book, led him also to request its translation into English, and the outcome of that request is the excellent volume now before us.

Where Purgatory is; what is the nature of its sufferings; the condition of the souls detained there; their certainty of beatitude; the duration of their sufferings; and what the faithful can do to alleviate these sufferings—such are the questions Father Schouppe undertakes to discuss. In clear, simple language, free from the hard phraseology of the schools, the author treats these questions, basing his conclusions on the opinions of the greatest theologians, and bringing forward in support of his views numerous well-authenticated revelations made by God to his favoured servants.

Writing with a practical end in view, Father Schouppe devotes several beautiful chapters to showing how the faithful, without sacrificing the merit of their good works, may effectually aid the souls in Purgatory. In the merciful designs of providence we can do great things for those holy souls. And yet "how many Christians do little or nothing for the departed! And those who forget them not, those who have sufficient charity to aid them by their suffrages, how often are they not lacking in zeal or fervour?"

By offering or assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, by the worthy reception of the Blessed Eucharist, by indulgenced prayers—many of which are indicated in this work—in various ways all of us may afford assistance to the suffering souls. Then the author adduces powerful motives why that assistance should be given. Those captive souls are dear to God; they are friends whom we perhaps loved in life; they will be our companions for eternity. Again the sufferings which they endure are terrible, while a little charity on our part will relieve these sufferings, and hasten their happy termination.

Solid, instructive, practical, and interesting as a romance, this book will go far to dispel the vague and erroneous ideas entertained among the faithful on the subject of Purgatory. Its careful perusal will repay the thoughtless Christian, the devout Catholic, and the zealous priest. The thoughtless Christian who thinks nothing of committing deliberate venial sin, it will warn of the terrible punishment that awaits him in the life to come; to the devout Catholic it will show that the Purgatory which awaits him, though it be a land of suffering, is also a land of hope and consolation; while it will afford invaluable assistance to the priest who wishes to teach his people how they may help their suffering brethren beyond the grave, and hasten their admittance into the presence of the Eternal God.

P. K.

A CATHOLIC LIBRARY. London: Burns & Oates.

NOT of ponderous tomes, but of five small unpretentious-looking volumes, is this library composed. Yet these five volumes are probably the best books any Catholic can have in his possession. Merely to give the titles of the works will sufficiently prove the truth of the assertion. *The New Testament* naturally comes first in the series; *The Book of Psalms*, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and revised by Cardinal Wiseman, comes next;

The Imitation of Christ and the Spiritual Combat are the third and fourth volumes; while *The Devout Life* of St. Francis, designed to show those who are living in the world that they may dwell in the busy haunts of men without imbibing a worldly spirit, even "as the phoenix hovers in the flames without burning its wings," completes the collection.

Each volume is neatly bound and well-printed: and will serve as an excellent *vade mecum* for priest or laymen.

AUGUSTE COMTE, FONDATEUR DE POSITIVISME, SA VIE—
SA DOCTRINE. R. P. Gruber, S.J. Traduit de l'Allemand
par M. l'Abbé P. L. Mazzoyer. Paris: P. Lethielleux,
10, Rue Cassette.

THE present work of Father Gruber tells the life of Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivism, and explains his doctrines in their twofold period—the period of Positive Philosophy, and the period of Political Positivism.

Comte was born (1798), in Montpellier, in the department of Herault. He was of pious Catholic parents, yet in his early youth he forgot the ways of God. At the age of fourteen he had entirely lost the faith. At sixteen he entered the Polytechnique School of Paris. Compelled to leave because of his insubordination, he led for some time an adventurous life in Paris. While in this state he met Henri Saint-Simon, whose disciple and helper he became. Saint-Simon was a fanatic who undertook a "physico-political" reformation of France. Comte, attracted by the strange doctrines of this enthusiast, thought that he too had a mission to reform the social world. After this the story of his life is entwined with the history of his doctrines. He died in Paris, 1857.

The Positivism of Comte had two periods—the philosophical, and the political, or social as it should properly be called. In the first period he taught that all consideration of final causes, essences, and even God Himself, was to be excluded from philosophy, since without these the laws that guide the universe can be fully explained. The social period of his Positivism is characterized by his profession of a new religion, the object of whose worship is humanity composed of the great men of all ages. This religion was to teach men their duties towards the state and one another—hence its name, Political or Social Positivism.

Comte entertained a hope of winning from the Church its greatest defenders, the Jesuits. They and the Positivists were to set up a church whose chief was to be the General of the Jesuits, and whose spiritual metropolis was to be Paris. He was rudely awakened from these ambitious dreams by the reply which he received from the General of the Order, before whom Sabateer, a disciple of Comte, laid these plans.

Father Gruber relates the life and doctrines of Comte as a faithful historian. It was not his ambition to refute these doctrines; hence he devotes only a few pages of his work to a critique of Comte's system of Philosophy. We consider the best refutation of Positivism to be a clear exposition of its tenets. Hence, though, generally speaking, we cannot approve of the publication of modern errors, we can recommend to our readers the clear and interesting little book of Father Gruber.

J. M. H.

MANUALS OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.—Vol. I. THE PRIEST IN THE PULPIT. Adapted from the German of Rev. Ignaz. Schench, O.S.B. By Rev. Boniface Luebberrmann. London: Burns & Oates.

Pastoral Theology, as a distinct department of theological studies has not hitherto received in this country an amount of attention commensurate with its importance, whether from the more advanced ecclesiastical students in the colleges or from priests already labouring in the sacred ministry. To the characteristic zeal of our Irish priesthood, however, we owe it to say, that we do not wish to be understood as denying that pastoral subjects, and some even of the more important questions of Pastoral Theology, have been studied with the utmost care both in college and on the mission. Of this neglect, a partial cause, at least, has been the want of a complete and scientific manual on the subject in the English language. Here again we should not be misunderstood, for we do not forget that there have been published works, and works too of avowedly great merit, some dealing with special questions, and others covering nearly the whole range of a pastor's duties. As instances, we may cite, on the one hand, the works of Fathers Potter and M'Namara; and on the other, the *Allocutions and Pastorals* of Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, and *The Priest on the Mission* of Canon Oakley. But with no work in the English language are we acquainted which can claim to be a complete and scientific manual on the subject.

The publication of such a work has been the aim of Father Luebberrmann in translating the handbook of the German Benedictine. Two facts may help to give some idea of the merits of the original: (1) the ninth edition has already left the press; (2) it is frequently referred to by Fr. Lehmkuhl, who says of it: "quod inter compendia theologiae pastoralis cum laude effertur." The work in its new form will be complete in three volumes—I. *The Priest in the Pulpit*; II. *The Priest at the Altar*; III. *The Priest in the Parish*, of which only the first has appeared and is now before us.

More than a fourth of the present volume is introductory, explaining, briefly, the nature and literature of pastoral theology, and at length, the qualifications of a pastor. These the author divides into natural—among which (what seems at first sight peculiar) he places divine vocation,—supernatural, and ecclesiastical. This part is exhaustive, and deserves the closest study, from clerical students. The remainder of the volume is divided into two books, which are again subdivided into chapters and articles.

The first book, dealing with homiletics, discusses the nature of the pastor's teaching office, and the obligation of preaching; sets down principles for selection of subject-matter, for its developement, with a view to conviction and persuasion, and for its arrangement in the sermon; explains the qualities of style and delivery, and the peculiarities of the different kinds of sermons. The treatment of the questions in this portion of the work is clear and sufficiently full, though, we may add, not so exhaustive or so elaborate as the treatment in Father Potter's books.

The second book, dealing with catechetics, discusses nearly the same questions *mutatis mutandis*, in reference to catechetical instructions. This portion of the volume is excellently treated, though the language is sometimes very technical.

To our zealous students and priests we can safely recommend *The Priest in the Pulpit*, which should be found to be a very useful manual; and while we congratulate Father Luebberrmann on the success of his first efforts in favour of pastoral theology, we express a hope that the forthcoming volumes will reach its high standard of excellence.

J. F.

MARY QUEEN OF MAY. By Brother Azarias. The "Ave Maria." Notre Dame, Ind.

Mary Queen of May is a collection of essays that appeared in the *Ave Maria*. In it the author gives a short account of the Blessed Virgin in her relation to the faithful on earth, the blessed in heaven, and the holy souls in purgatory, on whose sufferings she looks with eyes of tender compassion, and for whose release she is ever praying. Brother Azarias writes in clear, forcible style, and shows great learning and accuracy of thought.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE DIVINE EXPIATION. By Rev. Kenelm Vaughan. Published in Chelsea, London.

THIS little book consists of a paper read recently by Father Vaughan before the International Eucharist Conference, held at Jerusalem. The writer explains the origin and object of this brotherhood, which is a union of secular priests who unite their lives with our Lord's Life of Expiation on the altar by sorrow for sin, by self-mortification, and by intercessory prayer for the world. Now, as in the days of Jeremias, the hearts of men are growing cold, the people are turning from their God, and wandering in the paths of sin and infidelity. As the great prophet of old devoted himself to works of penance, to lamenting over the sins of the people, and exhorting them to repent, so this union of priests in our own days is intended to satisfy the divine anger for the insults that are being offered to God unceasingly, and to avert from men the awful consequences of their evil deeds. Blessed by the Pope, commended by cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, this great and glorious work cannot fail to prosper; and we feel confident that Father Vaughan's appeal for fellow-workers who will live in intimate union with our Lord in the Tabernacle, and "lay open the iniquities of men to excite them to penance," will meet with a warm response.

P. K.

THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR PULPIT USE.
Fr. Pustet & Co. New York: Cincinnati.

THIS book will be welcomed by preachers who desire a handy edition of the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and principal feasts throughout the year, printed in large clear type.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

JUNE, 1894

FROM CATHOLICISM TO KANTISM, AND BACK¹

A WRITER in the *Revue Philosophique*, a French positivist periodical, in an article on the neo-Thomistic movement inaugurated by the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, wrote a few months ago:—"Les deux faits plus importants au point de vue qui nous occupe, sont la condamnation de Rosmini et la conversion d'Ausonio Franchi." Those who have followed the history of scepticism in Europe during this half of the century will at once recognise Ausonio Franchi as the man who since 1852 has done more than any other writer to spread the philosophy of Kant in Italy. For some years the writer of this has been more or less acquainted with Franchi's teaching, but did not know his personal history till the publication of the first volume of his *Ultima Critica*, in August, 1889. One who, I believe, had a good deal to do with his conversion kindly gave me the volume just as it came from the press; and from him also I learned for the first time that "Ausonio Franchi" was a *nom-de-plume*, or rather a *nom-de-guerre*, assumed by Cristoforo Bonovino when he left the Church and became a champion of rationalism. Both as a professor and a writer he has been known to the public by that name only, for forty years. He has just completed the third and last volume of his *Ultima Critica*, as he

¹ *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte I^{ma}. *La filosofia delle scuole Italiane*; *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte II^{da}. *Del Sentimento*; *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte III^{za}. *Il Razionalismo del popolo*.

calls it, and has finally hidden himself from the world in a monastery at Genoa. Its scope is similar to that of the *Retractationes* of St. Augustine; it is Franchi the penitent taking to pieces the writings of Franchi the rationalist.

The three volumes form a singularly able contribution to Christian apologetics; and, when read in the light of the author's life, the publication of the work is an argument for grace and faith, as well as an object-lesson in the wanderings of a great mind under the light of unaided reason, and in the humility of a noble heart under the influence of supernatural grace. It is not an easy thing for a man of great name and following to draw his pen across his writings of forty years, and scribble over them—"all false;" to tell those who at his teaching had ceased to believe in the supernatural, and against the principles of his teaching to believe in himself, that he has been misleading himself and them all the while. That is, in short, what he has done in the work of over eighteen hundred closely-printed pages the title of which I have placed at the head. It is hardly necessary to say that many who used to glorify him in his apostacy have attributed all sorts of bad motives to the returned prodigal; but many also have taken the lesson, and searched their own hearts. Some Catholics too have said that silence would better become him, and have accused him of vanity. But he has made no complaint. The work has been written under the encouragement of the Holy Father, and under the conviction that a public reparation was due of him. Indeed, to lay open unsparingly the mistakes of a lifetime must be more a penance than a pleasure to an old man. The purpose of this article is to trace the history of his wanderings away from faith, and of his return to it again. His life is an instructive lesson; in a sense, more convincing than direct argument.

He was born in Pegli, in 1820. At an early age he felt called to the ecclesiastical state, and in due course became a priest.¹ He passed the early years of his priesthood at

¹ It is a duty to state here that, during the apostacy, his personal conduct is known to have admitted no other stain on his character. It is a testimony in his favour that the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which gave no quarter to Gioberti and others, always referred to Franchi with respect.

professor in Genoa. But he gradually allowed himself to be carried along by the cry of nationalism which then rang through Italy, and, as a means of giving effect to that cry, adopted the rationalism which was then stealing fast across the Alps from Germany and France. In his early manhood he witnessed the proximate causes and immediate results of the first act in that drama called the *Risorgimento Italiano*; a time ranging from the public life of Gioberti to the ministry of Cavour. Two influences distinct and opposed, but equally efficacious, then combined to leave upon him a deep impression by which his life was formed and ruled. At first it was all hope and joy; then it was all fear and sorrow. Who or what was accountable for the ruin of Italy, he and his friends asked themselves. Some laid the blame on the princes, others on the people; some on the priests, others on the demagogues. He was persuaded that such a calamity could not have been caused by the errors or the wrongs of individuals; that it was due to causes more general, deep, and powerful; that it sprang from principles. He set himself to seek those causes, and he found them, as he thought, in two institutions of tyranny—the Church and the State; the former with its theological dogmatism, the latter with its political despotism. Therefore, he and his friends declared war against those two authorities, which, they imagined, conspired to hold the people in spiritual and temporal bondage; a war all the more relentless because of the blessings which those two powers took away, and of the evils they brought by keeping Italy from being a nation, and the Italians from having a common fatherland.

Henceforth they thought only of the combat. Each was to engage in battle with the weapons, material or mental, which his disposition or training enabled him to manage best. Franchi was one of those, and the mightiest of them, whose weapon was the pen. Now, books written for such a purpose must, of their nature, contain a criticism negative and destructive; they are written to show that certain teachings are false, certain institutions evil, and to persuade the public to repudiate the one and abolish the other. With constructive criticism they had nothing to do.

As Franchi himself graphically expresses his own feelings at the time:—Who was to build up when the ruin was made, or how, was a question to be considered when the battle was fought and won; that is the work of masons, not of soldiers. Unfortunately, their's is not the only instance of similar statesmanship by which sanguine patriotism has been misled, and people have suffered. However, the disastrous result of the Pickwickian politics which has been shaping the destiny of Italy from Cavour to Crispi was one of the things which opened Franchi's eyes to his foolishness. It is by a special grace of God that he has recovered himself from that state of mind into which he allowed himself to slide. It is, as a rule, the desperate doom of such men

“To know the change and feel it,
When there is none to heal it,
Nor numbèd sense to steal it.”

At the age of thirty he wrote a series of private letters in reply to a work by a Turin professor called *Un'idea della filosofia della vita*. It was not his intention to publish them. They were written as a justification of his changed opinions before the tribunal of his conscience. Their purport was to compare Christian dogmatism with the criticism of Kant. At the request of a few friends with sympathies like his own he gave those letters to the public, in 1852, under the title of *La filosofia delle scuole Italiane*. He was now well on the warpath. He became at once the leading champion of rationalism in Italy, and for ten years books and pamphlets followed fast from his prolific brain in defence of the new philosophy of which he had become a prophet. He has got the credit of having founded the sceptical school in Italy. At any rate, from that time onwards, with an ability and a vigour worthy of a better cause, he assailed what he called “the absurd system of theological metaphysics.”

With the same intent he established a weekly critical review called *La Ragione*. Its aim was to form a new generation which would take rationalism for its religion, trust to socialism for the salvation of society, and acknowledge scepticism as the only philosophy worthy of human reason

His ideal was, a pure democracy enlightened by science and comforted by a new religion, without external worship, without a priesthood, and without poor. For one thing he must get credit; he had the courage of his convictions. He never wore a mask. With uncompromising logic he passed from the speculative liberalism of Gioberti to the practical Jacobinism of Mazzini; and, casting aside the lingering sentiment which thinly veiled the position of those with the name of God, he proclaimed an "anti-theism," which consisted "in humanizing God and deifying man." His transition from Christian philosophy to rationalism affords an instructive object-lesson. The process by which he passed over shows how our will can influence our reason; that the wishes of our will, the longings of our heart, the desires of our passions, steal in upon the mind, and seduce it unawares into paths which if left to itself it might never enter, and into conclusions whose intrinsic value could never secure assent. Hence comes this psychological fact: we sometimes discuss with ourselves the merits of an action, and so indifferently sincere do we deem ourselves to be, that we feel it a duty to provide a fair plea for righteousness before our conscience gives the sanction we seek for. Yet, how often is there behind the veil, and but thinly screened away, a spring other than conscience, whence has come the first motion to undertake the process of justification. These ethical pleadings are too often but a mere puppet-show, and wilfulness is the conjuror hidden behind. If we would reflect on why we take so much pains to plead for the action we wish to justify, the self-deception would often disappear. "*Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît point,*" is one of the sentences truths formulated by Pascal. But, let us hear from Franchi how this was verified in his case:—

"A psychological and moral analysis of the great complexity of sentiments and affections, thoughts and judgments, desires and wishes, which prepare and effect the abandonment of philosophical and religious doctrine, and the adhesion to its contrary, is of its nature most difficult, and very rarely does it turn out to be exact and complete in every part. But it becomes impossible when he who undertakes it is not sufficiently matured in study, is inexperienced in the secrets of the interior life, or in fathoming

the human heart, and is too near the terrible struggle from which he has come off conqueror and conquered at the same time, so that his mind is not yet in that state of dispassionateness which allows one to be an impartial judge in his own case. Then, in good faith, and with a good will, he deceives himself. He tells, it is true, all he knows, but he does not tell all that is. In inquiring the reasons of his change, those occur to him which help to justify it; those which would censure it escape. Hence, the account which he gives of it is truthful, but incomplete; and it can well happen, often does happen, that in those things omitted, because unnoticed, is concealed the principal cause of the things mentioned. If that cause were discovered, the reasons given would have another aspect, and they would be explained and judged differently."

By that criterion the reasons which he gave for abandoning Christianity must be corrected. The first assaults of doubt came to him from the contrast between the theological opinions of authors. Those opinions, of course, concerned dogmatic questions freely discussed, or the application of moral principles. They were opinions, not dogmas; and it was illogical to conclude that therefore anarchy of reason existed in the Church, or that they arose, as he said in his *Filosofia delle scuole Italiane*, "from a spirit of sectarianism rather than from the spirit of truth." It was not the design of the Divine Founder of the Church that men should know all things, or that the Church should teach all things. The gift of the Church was, not that it should teach all things, but that whatever it would teach should be infallibly true. As it was the design of Christ to set a limit to dogma, it follows that men should be free to use their own light beyond it. That is real free thought, not the counterfeit which is known by that name. If one allows himself to think apace in all things, and take up conclusions, true or false, as they come, he does not exercise free thought, but free will, or rather free wilfulness. Indeed, the true definition of "free thought" is the licence to think not so much what we *know* to be true, as what we *will* to maintain. Strictly speaking, the expression "free thought" has no meaning. If we are told that $2 + 2 = 4$, we are constrained to assent by the evidence of its truth. Does the constraint make us less free? Once we accept the fact of a divine revelation and of a divine institution on earth to

teach it, we are logically pinned to the fact that the world is in possession of truth just as it emanates from eternal Truth Itself. To assent to such teaching is not to dwarf the intellect, but to perfect it. Like everything else in nature, the mind was made for something. It was made for truth; and if made for truth, it is perfected according to the measure of truth it possesses, no matter how it gets it; and, of the two, it is a greater privilege to draw truth direct from the fountain than to wait till through risk and effort it blossoms on the brain. Those, therefore, who accept dogmatic teaching do not lose their freedom nor dwarf their intellect. "You shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free," is sound philosophy as well as good theology. Those who believe in dogma are free to think according to their light outside the circuit of its teaching, paying due regard, of course, to disciplinary laws of prudence, and provided they do not allow wilfulness to warp the real convictions of conscience. In other words, it must be the *bona fide* conclusion of the intellect, not an impulse of the will. With many who affect to be scared by dogma and are loud in asserting the sacredness of "free thought," much that is set forth as conviction is more the work of the latter than of the former. That precisely accounts for the curious inconsistency of such persons, that whilst they will be taught by nobody, they undertake to teach everybody. One who is in earnest in search of truth is naturally ready to acknowledge an error and to set it right. He who embraces a conclusion mainly because he wills it, is not so ready to let it go. That is in the nature of things. In the matter of theological opinion the same spirit of truth might well animate persons holding widely different views. They might freely embrace one opinion in preference to another, or through more mature study pass from one opinion to another without trenching on any vital principle of Christian philosophy or theology. And it was so with Franchi for a time. But after a while he passed on to test the truth of principles which lie at the very foundation of religion, science, society, and life. How he managed to get over the impassable chasm by any approved logical method, he at that time

stopped neither to ask nor answer. He reasoned on as if difference of opinion on open questions involved difference of fundamental principles in questions which are vital. But there was an extraneous element—*una nuova disposizione o circostanza*—which came into play, turned the disposition of his soul, and had transported him from faith and doubt to denial without his feeling how unnatural was the perilous step he had taken. What that *nuova disposizione o circostanza* was, let us hear from himself:—

“It was politics, that current of liberalistic ideas, more or less revolutionary, which in 1846 began to agitate Italy, and culminated in the insurrection of 1848 and the catastrophe of 1849 . . . At first, God, Christ, the Church, were spoken of with respect; after a time they were spoken of as vulgar superstitions. The only articles of the new creed were, Italy, independence, liberty, unity, reform, progress, rationalism, democracy. Nor were those articles mere thoughts that occupied the mind; they were passions that inflamed the heart, warped the conscience, bent the ethics of the Gospel to the politics of the revolution. Hence came a new life, to be conformed no longer to the rigour of Christian discipline, but to be accommodated to the elasticity of worldly convenience. With such dispositions I pursued my studies; but the new studies, being directed by the new dispositions, could have no other result than the substitution of a political for a Christian creed.”¹

And so it was. Under these influences he re-examined, he tells us, the ancient philosophical and theological doctrines, and not in the books of the masters of those sciences, but in the books of enemies.² The natural consequence came. He quickly drifted into the position which he formulated in this proposition: “The supreme criterion of all truth is in the reason;” that is, as he explains, in the individual reason; which in practice appears as the pleasure, passion, or caprice of each one. “*Così*,” he says, “*la mente*

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 258.

² In the battle between faith and science (more correctly, between faith and certain scientists), the same happens often. With a whitewash of philosophy, ignorant without knowing it, and conceited, how many there are who are ready to follow the newest theory of the hour, without being able to weigh its value for themselves! Not to the works of Christian apologists, but to the writings of rationalists, do they go, to find, forsooth, what faith has to say for itself. They make an act of faith in some philosopher of fashion, and call it “independent thinking.”

trovò quel che cercava, perché cercava quel che l'animo voleva."¹ What he then called his "intellectual and moral emancipation" was now complete; but, as he says in his *Ultima Critica*, the "moral emancipation" came first, and then the "intellectual;" first, rebellion of the will against the divine law, and then rebellion of the reason against Christian faith. A real intellectual and moral emancipation should be, freedom of the will from the slavery of vice, and freedom of the intellect from the slavery of error:—

"But [he asks] is there a vice or an error, even one, to which a Christian is bound by his law or his faith? No, not one. Is there a virtue or a truth, even one, from which he is shut out by his law or his faith? No, not one. Therefore, to be emancipated from Christianity does not mean to have freed the will from vice and the intellect from error; it means rather to be freed from the obligation of cultivating those virtues and accepting those truths which can no longer be harmonized with the new dispositions and the new life. Then discipline becomes slavery for the will, faith becomes slavery for the intellect. The will gets the habit of taking vice for virtue, the intellect of taking error for truth. The one rebels against discipline to enjoy the liberty of vice, the other rebels against faith to enjoy the liberty of error. Behold the liberty which in the dictionary of modern science and civilization bears the high-sounding title of intellectual and moral emancipation! If it has brought material advantages to many, is there even one who can say before God it has made him morally better?"²

From this, his unbending logic bore him to "the denial of the supernatural order, of all positive theology, of every theocratic authority, of all divine revelation;"³ that is, to a "rationalism which is implicitly atheistic," as he himself translates it in his *Ultima Critica*; for, he says, "take away the sum of all these negatives, and nothing remains but the denial of God." "And it all comes to this;" he continues,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

² *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 260.

³ *Filosofia delle scuole Italiane*, p. 91. I remember noticing a curious illustration of the religion of rationalists on the title-page of a work of Franchi's, which I saw a few years ago in a book-shop in Rome. The title of the book was, *La Religione del Secolo XIX. da Ausonio Franchi*. Some wag had crossed off the *da*, thus making it to mean—*Ausonio Franchi, the Religion of the Nineteenth Century*. It was really the logic of his position then.

"that to revive Italy it was necessary to destroy God! that the national life of Italy should be the death of all religious faith in the Italians!"¹

That is the system in which, as he wrote in 1852, he thought he should find "the harmony of the mind and heart, peace of soul, an imperturbable peace." Thus he hoped, or rather dreamed. It was a long dream, but not "imperturbable." The reality of life first woke him up. He had thought out theory to its last elements; he had come to its confines, and logic could take him no further. He should either see his dreams reduced to reality and enjoy them, or else retrace his steps—like Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*—"a sadder and a wiser man." He saw the reality, in the manner of government and in the state of society which was the outcome of the theories of the patriots and social reformers with whom he worked. From what we have seen, we may take him as a witness prejudiced on its side. And what is his evidence? That their patriotism was parricidal—of God and country; that the system which promised to produce "disinterested love of goodness, spontaneous respect for the rights of others, and the voluntary observance of duty,"² resulted in the practical destruction of each and all the three; that true patriotism should bring us to that faith from which only false patriotism could disengage us. For the uncompromising logic that led him so far, such a state of things should not be. In the haven of "imperturbable peace," which he had dreamed of, he found that duty meant expediency; that brotherhood was selfishness labelled with a false name; that instead of national prosperity and peace there came national disaster and disgrace. So he retraced his steps, from effects to causes; from calamity in practice to the falsehood of principles; and with this result:—

"The result of my second re-examination, made with a liberty much more real and complete than the first, could not be other than a return from rationalism to Christianity; and, consequently, to Catholicism, which is the only form of the Christian

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 261.

² *Filosofia delle scuole*, p. 91.

religion theoretically perfect; and to the Catholic Church, which is the only form of the Catholic religion historically real, living, and perennial."¹

Men are not at once disabused of errors on which they have set their heart; they are not easily awakened from illusions on which their hopes have rested. And so it was with Franchi. It took him many years to see that liberalism was bringing Italy ruin instead of a millennium; that rationalism was shearing virtue and duty of every vestige of reality, was tearing from the hearts of its prophets every vestige of religion. We will now see how he first came to open his eyes to these things. In 1860, Count Terenzio Mamiani, who was Minister of Public Instruction, and a philosopher of the rationalistic school also, appointed him professor of the history of philosophy. The ability and earnestness with which since 1852 he had influenced the public through the press he now turned almost entirely to the training of his pupils in the University of Pavia and in the Academy of Milan. But with his new circumstances, his thoroughness of purpose and unflinching logic brought a new phase of duty before him. Would he make the subject-matter of his lectures the opportunity of indoctrinating his scholars with his own philosophical views? One would think that not to do so would be a finger-post pointing to the condemnation of his own convictions. But he thought otherwise, and he clearly tells us the reason why. More than that, this his best opportunity of successful propaganda in rationalism was the occasion of his first impulse homeward to the harbour of the Catholic faith again.

Till he became a professor he addressed the public through the press. But to write for the public is to write for everybody and nobody. Between the writer and the reader there is no special compact limiting the liberty of one or the other.² A writer puts on paper what his reason

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 263. Even in the works which he published as a rationalist he held that once a man denies that there is an infallible authority provided for the world by Christ to teach His faith, there is no honest medium where he might rest between it and rationalism, and *vice versa*.

² He adds a rider to that:—*Salve le convenienze generali che sono a tutti prescritte dalla morale e dalla galateia*.

dictates, as if he spoke to himself only. He gives full play to the enterprise of his reason; but the public are free to take his book and cast it into the fire, to praise or blame, to bless or curse itself and its author. But when he addressed his pupils from the professor's chair, he felt bound by the very office he was fulfilling to restrain his liberty of speech by special considerations. Between professor and pupil there is a relation analogous to that between father and son. They are bound by mutual duties—the pupils to learn what the professor teaches; the professor to teach, not his own opinions, but such truths of science as are received as certain. As to opinions more or less probable, but still disputed and disputable, his right is bounded by the limits of a historical and critical exposition, and he must not offer the hypotheses and conjectures of any school as the certain conclusions of science. Above all, he must rigorously guard against uttering a word which would hurt the moral conscience of those committed to his care:—

“Hence [he says] the duty appeared plain to me, not to teach from the chair that rationalism which I had sustained through the press. For, although my own persuasion of the truth was firm and full, it was not enough to assure me that it formed part of the common patrimony of science, or that it would in no way be a scandal to my pupils. Hence the resolution which I made at once, and always kept, to absolutely abstain from any religious criticism, and to scrupulously respect the Christian faith. And the motive which, more than any other, kept me firm in that resolution was the appearance of those dear youths who hung upon my lips, confided in my teaching, opened their minds to be enlightened by my thoughts, and their hearts to be warmed by my affection. The idea of sowing in those souls a doubt on the principles of theism or Christian spiritualism; and, therefore, on the groundwork of moral and social order, appeared to me like a snare and a betrayal. But a repugnance in practice ought to lead by a direct and inevitable consequence to a repugnance in theory. Can the reason at all approve a system which the conscience condemns? That simple question put the whole form of rationalism before me under a new form. The question naturally knit with the history of philosophy, which was the subject of my professorship, became thenceforth the centre of my studies, the most assiduous care of my life. For years and years I kept gathering, debating, sifting, and weighing the reasons for and against. The reasons against went on growing day by day,

the reasons for were equally losing force, until the latter counted for nothing, the former for everything. The question was then solved for me; and to the inquiry I had raised, no other answer remained but a distinct and definite—*No*. And that *no* which rejects rationalism seems to me much more valid and legitimate than the *yes* which had espoused it. For the *yes* was the conclusion of a conflict which lasted for five or six years (1846-1851) in the fervour of youth and amidst the storms of revolution which had distorted and upset minds and consciences more than cities and states; whereas the *no* is the conclusion of an inquiry which has lasted more than twenty years (1866-1887), in a riper age, in the calm of soul, and in the quiet of the study and the school."

When Franchi was about to begin his propaganda of rationalism, he and those who thought with him diagnosed their *patria*, and pronounced it suffering from a threefold malady—domination from without, political disunion within, and from mental and moral servitude. As against this threefold evil, they desired a threefold good—independence, unity, and liberty. They tried and triumphed. They have moved back the boundary line of Austrian dominion, and have brought the Lombardo-Venetian States within their own. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies is no more. The States of the Church have been wrested from the Pope, and Rome has been made the capital of United Italy. As to liberty, if they are not satisfied with what they have secured of it, it can only be for the same reason that a glutton is not satisfied with his surfeit. But, what has that triple triumph gained for Italian prosperity and peace? Even for Italian independence, unity, and freedom? The despotic authority of the State has been crushed, and in the political order a liberalism obtains which, under forms more or less democratic, has revived the principles and is realizing the results of the French Revolution. The dogmatic authority of the Church has been ignored; if the bishops do not wish to get entangled in the meshes of the Penal Code, they must not write a pastoral to their people on doctrine and morals till Crispi, the atheist, revises and sanctions it as sound; and in the intellectual and moral order naturalism obtains. It is the triumph of liberalism which makes the soul the servant of the body—they call it modern civilization. It is the triumph of a naturalism which wants the world without its Maker—they

label it modern science. But have they secured the triple good they sought? We might find the answer in words which Edmund Burke wrote of their prototypes, the French Revolutionists:—

“Their liberty is not liberal. Their science is presumptuous ignorance. Their humanity is savage and brutal. In the groves of their academy, at the end of every vista, you see nothing but the gallows. They have placed sacrilege and proscription amongst the ways and means in their committee of supply.”

But, let Franchi answer. He ought to know it best, for he was one of those who worked and watched and hoped for it:—

“Independence, freedom from foreign domination was achieved, but to give place to a double dependence in some respects more injurious to the dignity of the nation—political dependence on France while the second empire lasted, literary and philosophical dependence on Germany which will last, nobody knows how long. Material unity was achieved; but as it was gained by force it has to be retained by force. Under the external unity there may be less real union than under the old divisions. Liberty has been won, but it is for the benefit of the few who represent legal Italy; as to real Italy, *i.e.*, the masses of the people, they feel much less free, much less masters of themselves, of their acts, under the present liberty than under the former slavery . . . Of those who had a part in the revolution of 1848 (I speak of those, and those *only*, who worked and suffered to honestly serve their country, not to serve themselves),¹ I have not found one whose memory of disappointed hopes did not deeply embitter the last years of his life. And how many I have heard exclaim in anger and sorrow:—Who could imagine that the independence, unity, and liberty, which promised so many blessings for our dear country, would come to bring it so many evils? to turn liberty of thought into a depravity of mind and heart? liberty of conscience into a satanic theophobia? liberty of worship into an insane hatred of Catholicism, of Christianity, of every religious principle and sentiment? liberty of the press into a poison of the moral sense and of common sense? liberty of teaching into a licence to poison the minds of children till the school has become an epicurean novitiate? political and social

¹ *Reflections on the French Revolution*, page 89.

² *Servire alla patria, non servirsi della patria*. Franchi would, of course, draw a wide distinction between men like Manzoni, Balbo, Silvio Pellico, Massimo D'Azeglio, and Mazzini, Saffi, &c. Gioberti, he treats perhaps more leniently than that splendid but erratic genius deserves.

liberty into a conspiracy to desecrate death and birth, to profane marriage, to break up the family, to debase justice, to corrupt morals, to defy the State, and brutalize man? So that to-day, more truly than in Dante's time, could Italy be called

“ ‘ Non donna di provincia, ma bordello.’ ”

Mr. Leslie Stephen wrote some years ago :—“ Men die of many diseases ; creeds only of one—that of being found out.” Nevertheless, faith continues to live, and in the souls of many whose heads are quite as well balanced as Mr. Stephen's. In the case of Ausonio Franchi it is rationalism that died from being “ found out.” His faith has revived again ; and the extraordinary logical keenness and philosophical depth shown in the three volumes of his *Ultima Critica* is evidence beyond exception that his reason is living also. In the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*, Milton describes the planets as going to the sun, each for its “ small peculiar ” of light. Some men seem to be quite satisfied that in the evolution “ struggle ” for a “ peculiar ” of reason around mother nature, they succeeded in running away with so much of it that little or nothing was left for anyone else.

The late M. Renan has, for instance, left the following as a sort of *donatio mortis causa* :—“ The future will not believe in the supernatural, for the supernatural is not true ; and all that is not true is condemned to die. Nothing lasts like the truth. This poor truth seems pretty much abandoned, served as it is by a very inconsiderable minority. But be hopeful, Judaism and Christianity will disappear. But the groundwork, *i.e.*, reason and science, rational and experimental, civilisation without charlatans, without revelation, founded on reason and liberty, will go on for ever.” That his last will and testament, thrown into syllogistic form, comes to this :—The supernatural is not true. Now, whatever is not true must die. Therefore, the supernatural must die. If all the logic of rationalists is not so contemptible as that, it is all as rotten at the base, however artistically dressed to catch the witless and the wilful. It is with the rationalist as it is with the socialist. The logic of socialism is ultimately reducible, and is usually reduced, to

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., pp. 49-51.

this—all equal in the same boat, with “my” will at the helm. The logic of rationalism is analogously reducible to this—free trade for all over the sea of knowledge, with “my” intellect as lighthouse. It is a curious fact, and it is a fact writ large in the history of rationalism, that those who scoff at Christianity, and would dethrone its pontiff, seem each to feel a special personal call to take the cathedra of infallible dogmatism instead. The Pope begins an anathema with a *si quis dixerit*; they begin and end with an “I say.” Christianity says, *ne laudes hominem in vita sua*; they, if men will not during their lifetime patent a cult made up of their name and an *ism*, die despairing, like M. Renan, of the majority in a world that is unworthy of them.

Prince Metternich used to say that most *isms* go by contraries, and rationalism is one of these; it is an abuse of reason. Its ultimate and practical issue is, that everyone should teach everyone else, and pity their stupidity if they cannot or will not learn of him—a kind of metaphysical beargarden. It seems irrational to so exclusively look to one's own reason for the apprehension of truth as to take for granted that there is no light higher than itself. Since reason is a fact as well as a faculty, it should account to itself for its own origin before constituting itself the final appeal in matters of truth. If the individual intellect is the measure of truth, either truth can be inconsistent with itself, or else it is a mere subjective apprehension. Reason, like every created gift, can be carried to excess. The fact that it is so great a gift, very easily becomes the occasion of misleading us into the deception that it is sufficient for itself, especially in the case of truths of a practical bearing which are likely to irritate our wilfulness. Because it can teach us so much and enlighten us so far, we easily credit it with the finding of truths which originally shone upon it from a higher light. A rationalist is like a man finding the way for himself with a rushlight at mid-day, and ignoring the sun that shines in the heavens. When the sun which has really been lighting his way all day long disappears, his rushlight proves a poor safeguard from the risk of running over morasses and moors after every jack-o'-lantern that glimmers

through the darkness. A man who is so full of natural benevolence, that, in the impulse to give, he forgets to pay what he owes, is not a man of charity. His generosity should be tempered with justice. Reason likewise must be led by revelation; *i.e.*, it should follow revelation whenever it shines or wherever it leads the way; otherwise, like the frog in the fable, it will come to grief in striving after what it cannot reach unaided.

The leaders of the French Revolution told the people that everyone is equal to another; that they should yield to no man, be driven by no man, whilst all the while those who were telling them so were driving them as they willed. The people neglected to notice that dictatorship was cleverly concealed in the very action of the demagogues from whom they received the new gospel of equality. It was only when the strife was over, when the old order had been securely set aside, and they thought of peacefully resting on the blessings which were somehow to spring like mushrooms from the revolution, that they woke up to the fact that those who had levelled down men and things into disorder for the sake of equality, happened, in spite of all the equalizing confusion, to steadily keep at the top. But, once the people perceived the deceit, they levelled the leaders down with a logic more destructive than their own; more terrible, but more true. In the philosophy of the revolution human passion and expediency were the criterion of conduct and the guide of life. The people took it at their word; the guillotine became its sanction, and its apostles themselves were amongst the first to fall. We have here as a social reality a fair parallel to what happens in the individual when brought under the influence of the philosophy which Franchi had now embraced. And it happened so in Franchi. When he wandered away from Christian philosophy, and lost hold of the logic on which Catholic faith is based, he came under that delusion which underlies all the philosophy of Kant. He yielded everything to reason whilst he thought he was talking everything away. He made it absolute dictator in the very act by which he thought he was casting it off its throne as a useless figurehead. Frederick Schlegel rightly

says of it:—"This arbitrary faith, when closely reviewed, turned out to be the old reason which after being solemnly displaced from the front of the philosophical palace was now again slightly altered and disguised, set up behind it as a useful but humble postern."¹ When Kant came to the conclusion that pure reason could prove nothing, he forgot to reflect that it was pure reason told him so ; that it was at its bidding he denied its power of demonstration. But, it fell in turn by the force of its own logic, and the philosopher was left without even an axiom on which to hang a conclusion.

We have seen that Franchi placed mere differences of theological opinion on the same footing with fundamental theological truths, and applied the same criticism to both. Even here we can discern the first glimpse of rationalism. He might have seen that God may provide dogma in certain things, and to a certain extent, as a landmark to direct us, leaving us to our own reason for the rest. But, as he himself explains, he was already blind to every truth that did not appear to harmonize with his political prejudices. Political ends had taken a fast hold of him, and political plans to reach them disposed him to listen to no teaching that would thwart or delay them. The supernatural had evidently taken a second place ; already his faith was slipping fast away although he knew it not. In fact, strange as it may seem, it was the sake of saving his faith in the midst of scholastic disputes, that made him fly to German philosophy as to a harbour of security. His process of thought seems to have run thus:—I cannot prove the fundamental truths of Christianity in the midst of so many conflicting systems, yet my conscience constrains me to retain them. His mind was in a state of transition. He little reflected how far he had been carried away from Christian principles when he set about shaping his faith according to the measure of political ideas. He did not knowingly reject the gift of faith. As in all such cases, his disposition had been undergoing a gradual change such

¹ *Philosophy of Life*, Lecture I.

as never gives the sufferer a shock. He thought apace unconscious of his danger, and only woke up to find that his faith was gone.

What first drew him to the criticism of Kant was, that it did not deny doctrines as not true, but as not philosophical. If pure reason (*verstand*) rejected them as being impossible of demonstration, practical reason (*vernunft*), or, as Franchi would prefer to call it, "sentimento spontaneo," retained them as psychologically and morally rooted in the mind and heart. Hence, if he denied the philosophical value of those doctrines, it was not to destroy, but to save their real and moral value. The object of his criticism was not, therefore, whether certain doctrines are true or false in themselves, but rather whether the proofs usually given to sustain them are equal to their purpose. He felt that those truths lost rather than gained by such defence; and he said:—*non tali auxilio!* If they are to be saved, he thought, they must be freed from the contradictory and shifting systems of the old philosophy, and firmly fixed instead, on the unchanging intuition of the human conscience. His persuasion at this time seems to have been not unlike that which has been set by Lord Tennyson in that curious couplet in *In Memoriam* :

" There is more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

The absolute reality of God, the contingent reality of the world, the spiritual reality of the soul, become unsolvable, he said, when taken as a purely rational thesis, to be accepted only in so far as they are proved; but when they are taken as dictates of common sense, as inborn facts of the human mind, they are evident truths. Hence, he took as his motto words which Kant wrote in the Introduction to his *Critique of Pure Reason* : "*Das wissen aufheben um zum glauben platz zu bekommen* ;" which may be loosely rendered in English—Let metaphysics give way to faith! Did his new method realize the results he had hoped for? Quite the opposite. After thirty-seven years of incessant study of philosophy, and especially of its history, and with a wider experience of life, he says:—"Instead of confirming the

natural truth of the theses, by rejecting the rational value of their proofs, it brought me to reject, as false, both the one and the other. Instead of eliminating science to exalt faith, it ended by blotting out both. It did not raise religious sentiment from the tomb of metaphysical theories, but it buried it beneath them. It can make infidels, but not one believer." And how could it be otherwise? To affirm a truth, whilst denying the value of its proof, is to affirm and deny the same thing at once. Certainty is necessary for the affirmation of a truth; and certainty itself is the outcome of motives which determine assent. But the proofs of a truth are but the motives which beget its certainty, and which move the reason to assent. Therefore, to deny the value of a proof is to take away the right to affirm. That is the case even in what are called primitive truths. When Aristotle undertook to establish the principle of contradiction he did not make it the object of formal demonstration; but he proved it nevertheless. Formal demonstration is for the sake of evidence; the need of it is a mark of our intellectual weakness. If a truth is immediately evident it does not admit formal demonstration, because it does not want it. In its case the impossibility of proof means the impossibility of denial. To attempt formal demonstration of primary truths, would be like lighting a candle to see an object abroad in the daytime. They contain their own evidence.

But it is not so with such truths as the contingent reality of the world, and the spiritual reality of the soul. They are not self-evident: in their case either formal demonstration, or some other evidence, must be the condition of assent. Centuries before Kant's time, Christian philosophers, from Gilbert de la Porée to Scotus and Occam, discussed the relation of reason to those questions, and St. Thomas Aquinas¹ cleared up the difficulty by establishing the distinction between philosophical and theological theism. But, whilst Kant would admit nothing supernatural or super-rational, would make reason the measure of

¹ *Summa Theolog.*, i., *quaest.* i., *art.* 7; *Summa Philosoph.*, lib. i., *art.* 3.

everything, he tried to build a baseless faith as a bulwark against materialism. He let practical reason (*vernunft*) suppose to be true what pure reason (*verstand*) knows to be false. As he himself put it:—The reason knows that God, the world, the soul, are not things *in se*, but mere ideas—God, a theological idea; the world, a cosmological idea; the soul, a psychological idea: but it must consider them, nevertheless, as objective realities, just as in optics we make use of imaginary foci of mirrors and lenses, which we know do not exist outside our conception of them. The inconsistency of Kant's criticism is in this, that the same reason, call it pure or practical, postulates the truth of theses the proofs of which it rejects as false. The consistency of Christian philosophy is in this, that having established, by historical criticism, the fact of revelation, it has one system of criticism for the truths of metaphysics, and another for those truths which are super-rational and revealed. When, therefore, it is sought to subject these latter to the conditions of mere science, and to reject them as philosophically false, because they will not fit, the reply which Franchi suggests is curt and decisive—*concedo totum* and *nego suppositum*. It is true that they are not philosophical, but it is false that they ought to be so; and that makes all the difference. This does not at all mean that religious theism is intolerant of reason, or that it claims exemption from all criticism, as if faith were a mere blind assent without any rational foundation or motive of credibility. Revealed truths have their own proper criticism; and that is twofold; historical criticism, which is concerned with the fact of revelation, the examination of documents, and evidences of all kinds, which go to prove that God has spoken; and theological criticism, which is concerned with the harmony between revelation and reason.

I fear I have unduly overdrawn on the space allowed me. I have not touched at all the second or third volumes, nor other lessons contained in the author's career, such as the present state of philosophy, literature, and morals in Italy. In what I have written I have tried to weave into the narrative the warping influence which a misguided

patriotism had upon him; his going to Kantism for the panacea he dreamed of, the disillusion begotten of national disaster and moral ruin, and the motive of his final return from Königsberg to Rome. The lesson of such a life cannot but bring consolation to the good, and a warning to the wayward and those who are venturous of faith. It stirs one's pity to think of a man, arrived at that time of life, when one has to

“Calare le vele, e raccogliere le sarte,”

turn back on the mistakes of a lifetime for the purpose of undoing them. His own feeling he tells us in these pathetic words:—“It is a bitter remorse, but a salutary one. It is a repentance that grieves, but consoles; and I thank and bless, without ceasing, Him whom St. Paul has so well glorified with the most sweet name of *Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis*.”

M. O'RIORDAN.

VIVISECTION AND THEOLOGY

“There is in the whole world no cruelty more cruel than ignorance, and it is this cruel ignorance which we, by experiment, seek to dispel.”—(Sir WILLIAM GULL.)

“The results of experiments on living animals have been of incalculable service to man, and to the lower animals, and the continuance and extension of such investigations is essential to the progress of knowledge, the relief of suffering, and the saving of life.”—(The recorded opinion of the General Meeting of the British Medical Association, 1892.)

“The law of sacrifice is the law of life, which no one can escape; and, provided it is conducted with reverence, of necessity, and under supervision, I regard *experimental research* not as a mere privilege, but as a moral duty.”—(Sir ANDREW CLARKE.)

“Experiments on living animals are as necessary to the further progress of medical science and the healing art, as are experiments in test-tubes to the advancement of chemistry, theoretical and applied.”—(Sir JAMES CRICHTON BROWNE.)

GOD alone is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end of all things (Apoc. i. 8). He neither did nor could propose to Himself any supreme end in creating, but His own honour and glory. “The Lord hath made all things for Himself, the wicked also for the evil day” (Prov. xvi. 4.) Although God created whatever exists for His own glory,

yet He ordered all things "in measure and number and weight" (Wisd. xi. 21), and so disposed them, that the lower subserves the higher,¹ according to a regular and beautiful plan, in suchwise that the entire visible creation is linked together like a chain, culminating at last in man himself, whom God has set over all His works, and whose intellect and free will enable him, in obedience to the divine command, to rule over irrational nature.

Thus, the rude inorganic earth, the structureless rock and soil, and water and air, sustain, and indeed were made for the express purpose of sustaining, every form of vegetable life, from the most delicate filament of microscopic moss and lichen, invisible to the naked eye, to the vast primeval forests spreading over entire continents. The whole vegetable world, in its turn, is so ordered by the wisdom of God, as to support, nourish, shelter, and protect every variety of sentient being, from the mouse to the mammoth, and from the tiniest creeping or swimming animalcule to the most gigantic sea or land monster that the world contains. Finally, the whole earth,² organic and inorganic; vegetable and animal, is made for the rational use and benefit of man. "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels; thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and hast set him over the works of Thy hands. Thou hast subjected all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen; moreover, also the beasts of the fields, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the paths of the sea" (Ps. viii. 8, 9).

Though all things were made for man, yet not all administer to his needs in the same way, or in the same degree. Some creatures serve him *directly*, as the air he

¹ "Creaturæ ignobiliores sunt propter nobiliores; sicut creaturæ quæ sunt infra hominem, sunt propter hominem. . . . Uterius, autem, totum universum cum singulis suis partibus ordinatur in Deum, sicut in finem." (Pp. q. lxxv., a. ii., ad c. *Sum.*; S. Thomas, p. 425, vol. i.)

² Some have objected that the whole earth cannot have been made for man, because he cannot utilize and put into requisition every part of it. But, as well say that a high-road is not made for man, because his feet do not cover every inch of its surface; or that a school feast is not made for the children, because they cannot eat *all* the cakes, nor drink *all* the tea and lemonade.

breathes ; the stones composing the walls of the house he dwells in, and protecting him from the wind and rain ; the cattle and sheep he feeds upon ; and the horse and mule that carry his burdens, and share his fatigues. Other creatures serve him *indirectly*, by serving those that serve him ; as the grass that nourishes his sheep and cattle ; or the deep sea that provides a home for the fish that furnish him with food, or that in other ways supply his wants. The umbrageous forests, where no human foot had ever trod ; which grew through unheeded centuries before man's creation, were, nevertheless, destined to serve him in due time. Their gradual growth and slow decay, repeated again and again, through unmeasured ages, have formed the vast mines of precious fuel, the great coal measures, from which we now extract material for our fires. Nor is this dominion of man over all the visible world around him, a usurpation. On the contrary, it is at God's express command that he lords it over the whole earth.

"Fill the earth," was the command of the Supreme and indisputable Lord of all things, "and *subdue* it, and *rule over* the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and *all living creatures* that move upon the earth" (Gen. i. 28). There is no disputing the force or meaning of this passage. Nor was this command intended to apply to man merely in his state of innocence ;¹ for, speaking somewhat later to Noe and his sons, when the Deluge had destroyed the rest of the human race, He repeats the command in a still more emphatic manner : "Let the fear and dread of you," spoke the Infinite God, "be upon all the beasts of the earth, and upon all the fowls of the air, and all that move upon the earth. *All the fishes of the sea are delivered into your hand. And everything that moveth and liveth shall be meat for you*" (Gen. ix. 2, 3). That God has absolute dominion over all the works of His hands, is as certain as that God exists.

¹ "Post peccatum mansit in homine integrum dominium in animalia quoad jus et potestatem ; convenit enim homini eo ipso quod est animal *ratione* praeditum ; sed quoad usum magna ex parte diminutum est, cum et paucis illud imponere possit et non nisi cum labore et difficultate." (1^a. q. xcvi., a. 1., ad. 4^{um}, St. Thomas.)

But it is equally certain from the above texts, not only that He might, but that He actually did, give man a right and an authority over every irrational creature that is to be found in this world. This is, of course, the simple truth, to which the inspired writer refers in Psalm cxiii. 16: "The heaven of heaven is the Lord's, but *the earth He has given to the children of men.*" The "earth" includes not merely the lifeless material that constitutes its chief bulk, but all that it contains, fruits, vegetables, beasts, birds, fish, insects, &c. It is put, in a word, in antithesis, and contrasted with the "heaven of heaven," which certainly does not mean the mere vacant place, irrespective of its celestial inhabitants. St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 22), distinctly repeats and adds emphasis to the same truth, when he writes:—"All things are yours." St. Thomas thus interprets these words: "Id est, vestræ utilitati deservientia." In the lesson which he draws from this passage we find a further confirmation of this doctrine: "Sicut homo non gloriatur de rebus sibi subjectis, ita et vos gloriari non debetis de rebus hujus mundi, *quæ omnia sunt vobis data a Deo*, secundum illud (Ps. viii.) '*omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus.*'"

That there may be no mistake as to the teaching of St. Thomas upon this point, we will quote the *Summa* itself. There it is laid down:—"Creaturis irrationalibus bonum vel malum dicitur contingere in ordine ad creaturam rationalem, *propter quam sunt.* Ordinantur ad eam multipliciter; uno quidem modo per modum subventionis, in quantum scilicet ex creaturis irrationalibus subvenitur humanæ necessitati," &c. (2. 2. q. lxxvi., a 2, ad c). He here states that the irrational creatures are made on account of man ("propter quam sunt;" i.e., *for whose sake they exist*), and that they are intended to serve him in various ways.¹

¹ "The well-known Jesuit theologian, Lessius, makes an interesting observation in this connection:—"Homo naturaliter est dominus omnium rerum inferiorum; ergo potest eas in suum usum convertere. Confirmatur; quia non potest homo ali elementis simplicibus, ut terra, aqua, etc., ergo compositis, qualia sunt animalia et plantæ, quæ sine anima non possunt conservari, sed mox corrumpuntur: unde *anima est ipsis data instar salis conservantis a putredine* (ut recte dixit Philo) *ut homo possit illis uti, cum libuerit.*"—(*De Jure*, etc., l. 2, ch. ix.)

When, therefore, man makes use of creatures, and exercises the dominion over them that God has given him, he is acting justly, honestly, and no one can find fault with him for so doing. Man may, consequently, rightly consult his own convenience and advantage rather than the well-being and comfort of the lower animals, over whom God Himself has set him. We may select an illustration of this fact from the inspired word of God. Turning to the book of Tobias, we find his God-appointed guide and instructor, who was no mere man, but the glorious Archangel Raphael, actually giving him an object-lesson in this very doctrine.

While standing with his feet in the river Tigris, the youth, Tobias, beheld a large fish approaching him, upon which he cried out to the Archangel, "Sir, he cometh upon me." His heavenly guide replied: "Take him by the gill, and draw him to thee. And when he had done so, he stretched him out upon the land, and he began to pant before his feet." Such is the Scriptural narrative. Here then we have a creature violently withdrawn by the gill, from his natural element, and panting on the ground in an agony of suffocation. And what says the Angel? Does he call it cruelty, and bid his pupil cast the suffering beast back into his native stream? Quite the contrary. "The angel said to him: Take out the entrails of this fish, and lay up his heart, and his gall and his liver for thee: for these are necessary for useful medicines" (Tob. vi. 5). In other words, the beast had to endure a very appreciable degree of suffering, and to surrender not merely his liberty, but even his life for the mere temporal advantage of man. The great principle underlying the above teaching of Scripture and theology may be thus formulated. God has given man dominion over the whole irrational creation. Therefore, in enforcing his rights he may, in so far as it is necessary, allow beasts to suffer pain and inconvenience. The preceding remarks refer, of course, to man's relations towards irrational though sensitive creatures in general. The special purpose of this paper, however, is to consider the much-debated question of

vivisection,¹ about which a vast deal of nonsense is written, and a vast deal of unnecessary acrimony and abuse expended.

We must begin, however, by answering a very common and specious objection. How is it possible that any verdict upon the point can be gathered—it is objected—from the great theologians, considering that vivisection is a thing of modern date, and could never have come under their notice, nor have commanded their attention. Now, as a matter of fact, vivisection, as it has been pointed out even by a strong antivivisectionist, “has been practised since the dawn of history,¹ and flourished extensively all through the Middle Ages.” This at once disposes of the objection. But, since we are quite ready to allow that it was never practised in the precise manner, nor on the same scale as obtains at the present day, we will, for the sake of argument, allow the objection to remain, and give our answer.

Vivisection, as such, is evidently nothing more than a mode of action. It can neither create nor can it evolve new principles of morality, for the simple reason that principles are eternal and rooted in the very nature of things. At most, vivisection can but present itself as a new case which falls under the application of moral principles already in existence. Now, all these principles have met with a full and exhaustive treatment at the hands of the schoolmen. Of course, it is as clear as noonday, that the ancient theologians could not have anticipated modern progress in *medicine* by treating explicitly of the actual case of vivisection, any more than

¹ Vivisection strictly includes only cutting operations; but the term is extended to any physiological experimentation upon living animals, as compression of parts by ligatures, subjection of the creature to special conditions of atmospheric pressure, temperature, and food, exhibition of poisons or other drugs, inoculation of disease, &c.—*Vide Century Dictionary*, in six huge volumes.

² A toutes les époques, on a pratiqué des vivisections. On raconte que les rois de Perse livraient les condamnés à mort aux médecins, afin qu'ils fissent sur eux des vivisections utiles à la médecine. Selon Galien, Attale III. Philométor, qui régnait 137 ans av. J. C. à Pergame, expérimentait les poisons et les contre-poisons sur des criminels condamnés à mort . . . On peut considérer Galien comme le fondateur des vivisections sur les animaux.—*Vide Pierre Larousse*. Tome 15.

they could have anticipated the results of modern progress in *acoustics*, by discussing the validity of a confession heard, or of an absolution conferred, through the telephone. Such applications are, as they would have termed it *in infima specie*; and their solution, and that of others as well, is to be sought and found in the ordinary and acknowledged determining principles of which the schoolmen have bequeathed us a most searching and careful statement. It would, indeed, be difficult to discover any vital consideration which enters into the question of vivisection, of which the principles of solution are not to be found in the *Summa* of the great St. Thomas, either where he treats of the vice of cruelty, or where he speaks of animals and their place and use in the economy of creation.

The objection founded upon the modernness of the practice of vivisection—even supposing it to be quite modern, which we have seen it is not—is utterly baseless and imaginary. One might as well argue that a newly-discovered metal would not fall under the ordinary rules of gravitation, as that a new case of conscience could not be disposed of by an application of the ordinary principles of morality.

In vivisection man inflicts a certain amount of pain upon the beasts, not indeed for the sake of causing pain, which *ex hypothesi* he regrets, but solely for the sake of some advantage or some gain to himself or to his fellow-man. Now the question arises—Is this lawful or not? Here, I take it, lies the whole kernel of the matter, so we must put the point as clearly as we can, and as logically. Thus, of two things, one. Either man may inflict pain upon beasts merely for his own advantage and profit, or he may not. To cause such an amount of pain as is unavoidable for the obtaining of the end he has in view, must be either a sin or not a sin. There is no middle term; it must necessarily be one or the other. Take the first alternative. Say it is a sin. Very well. Then it necessarily follows that to drive a horse in a cab; or to imprison a thrush in a cage; or to hunt the fox or the hare; or to put a worm on a fish-hook; or to add a butterfly to a collection, and thousands of similar common practices are all actual sins. And if sins, then not to be committed

for any consideration whatsoever—no ! Not even to save a thousand worlds, could one dig one's spurs into a horse's flanks, or chain up a dog in one's back yard, or spit a worm upon a hook.

But let us assume the other, and only remaining alternative, and grant that none of the foregoing practices are sins. What then? To concede so much is to evacuate one's position altogether. It is to establish the important and far-reaching principle that beasts may be made to suffer, at least in so far as it may be necessary or conducive to the benefit of man, for whose use and rational service they have been made ; or, as St. Thomas expresses it, "*propter quam sunt.*"¹

Now, observe the *degree* of suffering inflicted does not enter into the essence of the matter at all. Whether the pain be greater or less cannot affect the principle one jot. The theological axiom, "*magis et minus non variant speciem,*" is as true and as universally admitted among theologians as the geometrical axiom, "*the part can never equal the whole,*" is among mathematicians. Thus the whole question at once reduces itself to a question of adjustment and proportion. For the sake of a trifling gain, but a moderate degree of pain may reasonably be inflicted. But, as the importance of the end to be obtained increases, so may the amount of pain that is inflicted increase.

Thus, merely for the pleasure and recreation of a spin through the open country, I may harness my horse, and compel him *volens volens* to drag my carriage over hill and dale, and to turn now to the right, and now to the left, as fancy may suggest. If, however, I am anxious to catch a train, and can do so only by putting spurs to my

¹ Consult also :—" *Omnia subiecasti sub pedibus ejus, scilicet hominis. Est homini rerum exteriorum aliqua naturalis possessio, quantum ad usum, quo ipsis secundum rationem et voluntatem uti potest ad suum commodum et utilitatem. . . . Hoc autem naturale dominium super coeteras creaturas, quod competit homini secundum rationem, in qua imago Dei consistit, manifestatur in ipsa hominis creatione (Gen. i. 26), ubi dicitur: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et præsit piscibus maris, &c. (2^a 2^æ q. lxxvi., a. 1., ad. c., p. 386.)*" N.B.—Dominium, apud jurisconsultos definitur, jus vel facultas re propria utendi ad quemlibet usum lege permissum, idque in commodum proprium.

beast, and by pressing him, somewhat beyond his accustomed pace, there is a sufficient motive to justify my conduct. But if I am travelling among some hostile tribe of savages, and I find myself so situated that escape will be impossible unless I use much greater violence, and so urge on my mettlesome steed that he does himself serious damage, and finally falls exhausted and dying by my camp fire, I am still guilty of no sin whatever. For I may most justly save my own life at the sacrifice of my horse's, even though its death be accompanied with the greatest agony.

Cardinal Newman, with his customary accuracy, states the relation between man and beast thus:—

"You know *we have no duties towards the brute creation*; there is no relation of justice between them and us. Of course, we are bound not to treat them ill, for cruelty is an offence against that holy law which our Maker has written on our hearts, and it is displeasing to Him. But they can claim nothing at our hand; into our hands they are *absolutely* delivered. We may use them, we may destroy them at our pleasure, not our wanton pleasure, but still for our own ends, for our own benefit and satisfaction, *provided that we can give a rational account of what we do.*"¹

Such is the clear exposition of the doctrine by, perhaps, the profoundest and greatest thinker of the present century.

Is man then allowed to abuse and maltreat the dumb beasts *just as he pleases*? May he inflict the most hideous torture for any purpose, however trivial and insignificant? Most certainly not. And this brings us face to face with another important principle—a principle which corrects and controls and moderates the first, and keeps it within due bounds. This second principle is that "Man, being a rational creature, must act in a rational manner." God alone is the absolute Master and Lord of the irrational creation; and though He has given man dominion over every living thing, He requires that this dominion should be exercised in accordance with the rational nature which man possesses, and which should hold all his lower and animal appetites in

¹ *Vide Omnipotence in Bonds*, sermon preached before the Catholic University of Dublin.

subjection. Man has no right to act in an arbitrary and irresponsible way towards any creature whatsoever, not even towards himself ("You are not your own," 1 Cor. vi. 19.) Hence, the authority over the beasts, communicated to him by God, though a very real authority—must be exercised in a reasonable manner. Reason, not passion, not cruelty, not lust, must guide his actions, and superintend his conduct. Hence St. Thomas teaches: "Ratio est primum principium omnium actuum humanorum, et omnia alia principia eorum obediunt rationi, sed diversimode."¹

Who orders his life and action according to sound reason, acts justly, uprightly, and in a virtuous manner, as all theologians agree. Thus, to select one among many, the Theologia Wirceburgensis, lays down the following proposition:—

"Quicumque deliberate agit, vel cognoscit id, quod hic et nunc facit, esse rectae rationi conforme, et sic elicit actum *moraliter bonum*: vel cognoscit esse rectae rationi difforme, et sic elicit actum *moraliter malum*: vel cognoscit, illud nec esse positive conforme vel difforme, *i. e.*, nec sibi esse praeceptum, nec prohibitum, sed permissum: et tunc agens *debet ulterius habere finem* extrinsecum, si ergo pro fine habeat honestum, actus erit bonus, etc."²

Hence it follows that before utilizing the beasts in any way that can cause them pain, reason must be consulted. Reason must assign the conditions and the degree of pain permissible under different circumstances. Now reason demands three conditions. Firstly, that there be a *motive*; secondly, that there be a *just* motive; and thirdly, that there be some *proportion* between the end to be gained and the means employed in reaching that end; thus, *e.g.*, in the matter of vivisection, the amount of suffering inflicted must bear some relation to the result to be obtained.

If important results are obtained by certain experiments on rabbits, cats, dogs, and other beasts, then such experiments are certainly not in themselves contrary to the law of God. Such experiments should, of course, be conducted with

¹ Consult 1. 2, q. 58, 2. o.; et q. 90, 2. c.; et 100, 1. c.; et q. 102, 1. ad 3.

² *De Actibus Humanis*, cap. iii., artic. 2.

all the gentleness and humanity that is possible ; anæsthetics should be used where they are applicable ; and no useless or unnecessary pain is to be tolerated. But under such conditions, vivisection has always been, and is, tolerated by the Church.

We must here point out that it is no part of the Church's duty to decide whether the practice of vivisection is necessary for the advance of medicine or not. She is not called upon to decide the medical disputes of medical men. How far vivisection has aided and helped on medical science ; how far it has enabled doctors and physicians to diminish the sufferings and agonies of thousands of human beings, and to reduce the violence of disease, and the paroxysms of fever all over the world, is an extremely interesting question, but a question wholly and entirely outside the province of theology as such. These are questions, not of morality, but of fact ; they concern past and contemporary history, not the sacred science. We may frankly admit that it is a vexed question, and one which is strongly debated. Though we are bound to confess that the overwhelming weight of evidence is in favour of the vivisectionists.

Some men declare that vivisection is utterly useless, and calculated to do more harm than good. But the great and leading physicians, the men of high position and authority (in spite of the obloquy to which the declaration exposes them), are most clear and decisive in asserting its immense use and advantages. In a letter to the *London Times*, for instance, signed by some of the most eminent members of the profession, occurs the following declaration :—

" It is hardly possible for us to name any progress of importance in medicine, surgery, or midwifery, which has not been due to, or promoted by this method of inquiry.

" (Sir) ANDREW CLARK.

" (Sir) JAMES PAGET.

" (Dr.) SAMUEL WILKS.

" (Sir) GEORGE HUMPHREY."

Or take the resolution unanimously passed in the General Assembly of the International Medical Congress in London, in 1881, under the presidency of Sir James Paget, when the

leaders of the profession in this and all civilized countries were assembled. The resolution runs as follows :—

“ This Congress records its conviction that experiments on living animals have proved of the *utmost service to medicine in the past, and are indispensable to its future progress*. Accordingly, while strongly deprecating the infliction of unnecessary pain, it is of opinion, alike *in the interests of man and of animals*, that it is not desirable to restrict competent persons in the performance of such experiments.”

Again, H. Taine assures us that, “ les vivisections ont créé presque toutes la physiologie du système nerveux.” “ Sans cela (*i.e.*, vivisection) il n’y a ni physiologie ni vraie médecine possibles.” And another authority says: “ Renoncer aux vivisections serait condamner la physiologie à un éternel *statu quo*.” These are but specimens of the judgments of great authorities. We might fill a volume with others in the same sense.

Although the evidence in favour of the immense utility of vivisection seems to us simply overwhelming, yet, as has been already observed, this is not a point about which the Church is concerned in the slightest degree. So far as her position goes, it may or may not be useful. The part of the theologian is to define and to declare what is, and what is not, lawful, under each hypothesis. As to which hypothesis is the right one, and which the wrong, it is not her place to decide. To expect her to settle such matters of pure fact, is like expecting her to declare, not only that one man may not poison another, but to determine also what drugs are, and what are not, poisonous. If little or no good comes of it, it is, of course, wrong; for to inflict pain for no purpose, or for a wholly inadequate purpose, is sheer cruelty,¹ which is always wrong. If, however, very substantial good does come of it; if, as the great physician, the late Sir Andrew Clarke, writes, “ it is hardly possible to name *any* progress of importance in medicine, surgery, or midwifery, which has not been due to or promoted by vivisection;” then, indeed, it is perfectly lawful,

¹ Lessius writes :—“ Abstinendum a crudelitate ne *sine causa* doloribus conficiantur.”—*De Justitia*, etc., l. 2, c. ix., Dub. 1.

and may be practised with a safe conscience, so long as the conditions are observed, which have been pointed out above, and so long as no needless suffering is intentionally inflicted.

Some of the opinions expressed upon this subject are not only very singular, but also very silly. Thus men who freely indulge in such pastimes as hunting, shooting, and fishing without the smallest qualms of conscience, are, or pretend to be, horror-stricken at the very idea of vivisection; though if there be any choice in the matter, it must surely be in favour of science over sport. Many have no scruple in running down a hare and harassing it with hounds, until, after an hour or more, perhaps, the poor panting creature, trembling in every limb, and almost beside itself with terror, yields itself at last to the mercy of the dogs. In this case they allow an unfortunate beast to be tortured for hours by gentlemen and ladies in scarlet, merely for sport and idle pastime, which can lead to no practical result, while they turn up the whites of their eyes in virtuous indignation because the same animal is called upon to suffer—though it may be not half as long nor half as severely—for the sake of some really important and scientific end.

It is difficult, indeed, to understand the intellectual condition of such men; or to explain how they can maintain that it is right for the fisherman to torture an animal with a fish-hook while angling, but quite wrong for a doctor to torture it with a dissecting-knife while studying. To us, at least, to be cut with a sharp scalpel by the skilful hands of a conscientious physician for some really valuable end, would be far preferable to having a nasty steel hook fast locked in the extremity of one's throat, and being tugged and tugged about by a man pulling away at the other end by a string, which he now looses, and now tightens, according as the struggles grow more or less intense. Especially, when one remembers that after some hours of this treatment one must expect to be hauled in, utterly exhausted and worn out, to die panting and gasping on the bank.

Or, again, it is absurd to say that it is *just* to vivisect a horse with whip and spur, and to goad it on until it drops in an agony of exhaustion, on the mere chance of thereby

bringing succour to a drowning man—which no reasonable person would deny—and yet to say, in the same breath, that it is *unjust* to vivisect a rat or a rabbit, even though the result were to prolong the lives of thousands of our fellow-creatures? In a word, to condemn vivisection when *properly* performed by competent and humane men (which is the only form of vivisection we are contemplating), is hopelessly illogical, unless all sport and pain-giving pastimes be condemned likewise. If one is wrong, the other is wrong; if the former is to be condemned, so must the latter, and far more strongly, and far more vehemently, since the latter has not even the important results that are claimed, and claimed with much show of reason, for the first.

“Which [a writer in the *British Medical Journal* asks very pertinently] is the greater cruelty: to infect a herd of mice, to imprison thousands of rabbits for long hours with broken limbs in steel-jawed gins, to geld a herd of horses or of sheep, or to perform a physiological experiment in the laboratory *after giving proof that the object is one important to knowledge, and likely to benefit mankind?* Nay, the pain and suffering inflicted in any one county in this way is probably greater in a day than that inflicted in the whole physiological laboratories of Great Britain in a year. Moreover, in the one case anæsthetics are never administered; in the other, they are so in most cases, and if they are not so administered, a special declaration and a special licence is required.”

If we must not vivisect, then neither must we poison mice, nor entrap rats, nor geld cattle, nor perform any other action which involves suffering to bird or beast—which is a perfectly legitimate *reductio ad absurdum*. Q. E. D. Perhaps it will help us to realize the whole bearing of the question more clearly, if we state some among the common objections we have actually heard raised against the ordinary teaching of theology.

Objection No. 1. If scientific discovery, and the advance of medical knowledge can justify the infliction of pain on irrational animals, the same motives should justify the infliction of pain upon human beings. Even far more so, since the human subject provides a far more perfect object-lesson. Why not, therefore, vivisect our criminals instead of the inoffensive and sinless beasts?

Answer. There is no parallel. The beasts have been created for the use and benefit of man ; but there is no evidence to show that one set of men has been created for the use and benefit of another set, in the sense in which these words are applied to beasts : nor can it be proved that God has given one set of men that dominion over any other set of men, which He has undoubtedly given to all men over the beasts of the field. Besides, if, because you can vivisect a rabbit, you are therefore justified in vivisecting a man ; then it would also follow that, because you can kill a rabbit for food, you are also justified in killing a man for food, which is absurd.

Objection No. 2. To cut, or experiment upon, living and sensitive animals is cruel. Cruelty is a sin. But no advantage or gain, or advance in medical knowledge or surgical skill, can justify the commission of sin. Evil cannot be done that good may come of it. Therefore nothing can justify the painful experiments made upon living animals.

Answer. Now this very silly and utterly fallacious argument has been urged again and again, and is constantly cropping up in the papers, to the no small amusement of the intelligent reader. The answer is plain enough. The kind but simple soul that urges the objection is unconsciously begging the whole question. That "cruelty" is a sin, we most readily admit. Nay, more : we affirm, without any "if" or "but," that "cruelty" is always wrong ; and because always wrong nothing can ever justify it ; no conditions nor circumstances can make cruelty—while it really is cruelty—right or allowable. And this cannot be otherwise, because "cruelty" is "*malum in se*." Where, however, the objector runs off the straight lines of reason, is where he attaches an altogether false meaning to the word. Is the mere infliction of pain, "cruelty"? No. Otherwise the force of gravity is cruel when it drags down the avalanche and smothers a village in a mountain of ice and snow : and the wind is cruel when it drives the battered barque against the precipitous cliff, and wrecks crew and passengers without remorse. Is it even "cruelty"—(a) to inflict pain and great pain, (b) on a perfectly innocent person ; and to do so (c) knowingly and deliberately? No. Certainly not ; otherwise the dentist

and surgeon, especially in the days before the discovery of æsthetics must be regarded as veritable demons of cruelty instead of ministers of mercy.

Suffer us to explain. Some things are *indifferent se*, and some things are *evil in se*. We call that *indifferent se*, or, *in itself*, which may be sinful or not sinful, which may now be good and now be bad, according to circumstances. On the contrary, we call that *evil in itself*, which is, and remains evil, under every circumstance. As an example of the first—take the putting of a man to death. Is that a good or a bad action? It may be either. If we are dealing with an innocent and an innocuous man, it is a great crime—a foul murder. If we are dealing with a guilty man, justly condemned by the rightful authority, then it is not a sin at all, but quite the reverse—an act of admirable justice. The physical act *in se* is indifferent, and takes its moral complexion from the various circumstances attending it. As an example of the second, take blasphemy. Blasphemy is essentially evil. Its sinfulness does not arise from the circumstances attending it. It is evil *in se*. Hence under enough circumstances may arise which would justify our putting a man to death; no possible circumstances could ever arise under any hypothesis to justify our giving way to blasphemy.

Now it is abundantly clear that the infliction of pain, whether on man or beast, is something which, in this theological sense, is in itself wholly indifferent; which is only another way of saying, that under one set of circumstances it may be wrong, and under another set of circumstances it may be right. In other words, it lends itself to either possibility. To cut off a child's arm or leg is *in itself* neither a good nor a bad action; it is an indifferent one. In fact, we have no business whatever to condemn the act till we have all the circumstances before us. If it is done for the mere pleasure of causing pain, or indulging a cruel disposition—well, it is, of course, a horrible crime. If it is done by some skilled physician, simply because he knows that to save the child's life it is absolutely necessary to amputate the diseased member; it is, indeed, identically the

same act, but so far from being a "horrible crime," it has become an act of mercy and of loving kindness. Hence, those who are in such a violent hurry to condemn the vivisectionists, are allowing their zeal to run away with their reason, and may well be counselled to allay their skipping spirits with some cold drops of modesty.

Hence, if we are asked:—Is it allowable to cut off a dog's leg? Is it allowable to subject a rabbit to special conditions of atmospheric pressure, temperature, and food? Is it allowable to inoculate a guinea-pig with the germs of certain diseases? and so forth—the only answer we can make is, that we cannot decide till we know the circumstances. All these actions are, *in themselves, absolutely indifferent*, in the theological sense. As in the case of the decapitation of a man—the lawfulness or unlawfulness depends upon circumstances. If they are done in a spirit of cruelty; or for a wholly inadequate motive; or on some merely frivolous pretext, they are, of course, unlawful; but if they are done by competent and humane hands, under proper and reasonable restrictions, and for the express purpose of benefiting mankind, and administering to man's pressing needs in sickness, disease, and death, then such acts are lawful and good, and indeed to be commended and approved. Indeed, these skilled physicians are but exercising the dominion over the beasts that God has granted them; and enabling the irrational creatures to fulfil the end of their creation the more completely, in thus serving the interests and needs of the great human family. "*Creaturis irrationalibus bonum vel malum dicitur contingere in ordine ad creaturam rationalem, propter quam sunt,*" says the Angel of the Schools.

For sake of the weaker brethren, we may as well declare here, without the slightest fear of contradiction, that theologians permit no "*cruelty*" whatever, under any circumstances. They undoubtedly sanction the infliction of pain. True. But only under circumstances in which, not merely in the language of the Schools, but in the language of all educated persons, it has altogether ceased to be cruelty. The famous *Century Dictionary* (as all other reliable lexicons)

defines cruelty to be "an act inflicting severe pain, and done with *wilfulness* and *malice*." And we really cannot reconstruct the English (and, indeed, every other language also), and readjust the clear and obvious meaning of simple words to suit the fancies of a few extreme anti-vivisectionists. These anti-vivisectionists, who seem to think that a tenderness towards beasts justifies the greatest rancour and intolerance towards their human opponents, will, doubtless, continue to dub all "vivisection" cruelty. Like other persons, when they dislike a thing, they invent bad names for it, and thereby confuse thought, blacken the fairest reputations, misrepresent sound doctrine, and throw dust into the eyes of simple folk. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him," is a proverb upon which they feel they may safely rely. But, as far as calm reason and common sense go, they might just as well call a butcher a "bloody murderer of the innocent," or "an inhuman monster," because he slays oxen and sheep; or a surgeon an "ogre of cruelty," because he amputates limbs.

The following extreme case was proposed a few months ago. Dr. B. has a patient called X. who is dying of a certain disease. He is conscientiously convinced that if he could only discover certain information as to the use and effect of certain remedies he could save the life of X. But he also conscientiously believes—(1) that he can arrive at that knowledge, but (2) only by means of experiments made in vivisection, with all the suffering necessarily involved therein. Ought Dr. B., to save the life of X., and by adding his discovery to medical science, save the lives of countless numbers of others, even though he should have to torture his dog for the purpose? To a theologian, of course to state the case is to answer it. If pain upon a brute cannot be inflicted under such a condition, it can only be because the infliction of pain is an evil *in se*; but if an evil *in se*, then no pain whatever can ever be inflicted for any reason, which is absurd. *Ergo, etc.*

A worthy layman, whose acquaintance with theology seems to have been derived from his inner consciousness, hastens to answer this query in the pages of the *Tablet*. He

first begs the whole question by denying that any such case is possible. He then settles the case in that vigorous off-hand style so indicative of theological ignorance. In the first place he calls it a "a truly pagan argument," whereas it is nothing of the kind; he then goes on to say that, "even if the case were true, my answer from a moral standpoint would still be negative." He contends that those who answer "yes," would do so only in their anguish at losing a darling child, or some one else dear to them, &c. All that the admission proves, he says, is—

"That in such a supreme hour, the anguish of the parent would so outweigh all else, that the Christian would practically become pagan for the nonce. In short, the natural would overpower the moral law. Thus the Tempter would only at most elicit a favourable answer from the supposed Christian by first making a pagan of him; that is, by subjecting him to such a painful alternative as would probably constrain him to follow the dictates of natural passion to the exclusion of all other considerations."

This is ingenious, but somewhat startling, from one who will hunt the fox for hours for mere pastime, and who would probably feel little compunction should he, in shooting, "wing a bird," or wound a hare, and leave it to linger, perhaps for days, riddled with shot, and covered with wounds, with sinews torn and bones broken, till death slowly releases it from its agony. That men are to be found who would poison thousands of rats and mice with strychnine, inflicting great agony, in order to save a little grain in their granaries, and who would yet be so very squeamish about making one beast suffer to save a "darling daughter's" life, is a fair instance of the readiness of some people to swallow the camel, while straining at the gnat. In the foregoing case the only person that can be reproached with cruelty is the man that will stand by, and calmly see his daughter's life ebbing away, and her frame agitated with pain, rather than allow a dog or a rabbit to suffer.

If our divine Lord were living visibly upon earth in these days, even He would scarcely escape prosecution at the hands of the anti-vivisectionists' society. Indeed, the indignation of its more enthusiastic members, were they, in this year of

grace, 1894, to witness the scene described in St. Mark's Gospel, may be more easily imagined than described. "There was near the mountain a great herd of swine feeding. And the (evil) spirits besought Jesus, saying: Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And Jesus immediately gave them leave." Thereby inoculating, as it were, the beasts—the poor dear little innocent piggies—with the devilish virus, in order to save the obsessed human beings. What was the consequence? Well, St. Mark continues: "And the herd of swine, with great violence, were carried headlong into the sea, being about two thousand, and they were stifled in the sea." Not altogether a painless death.

Sometimes the objections of the anti-vivisectionists take a somewhat different form. A most horrible picture of a physician, or rather a demon in human shape, is drawn in glowing colours, and represented as inflicting unheard-of cruelties¹ upon some unfortunate beast, for no adequate purpose; and then we are asked defiantly, is vivisection lawful? They represent a series of the most exquisitely agonizing experiments upon a dog or a monkey, which make one's flesh creep even to read, performed for some wholly trivial and insufficient motive; and think to snatch from us an answer in contradiction to our principles. Of course, we condemn, in common with all theologians, such abominable abuses;² but "*abusus non tollit usum*." To experiment in the manner described above, is to use irrational creatures,

¹ "I am satisfied [writes Sir James Crichton Browne] that the pain caused by the floggings administered to school children in London on any one day—experiments on vertebrate, warm-blooded living animals, under the licence of the School Board, and with very problematical advantages—is vastly greater than that arising from all the vivisections performed in all the laboratories of the United Kingdom in the course of a year." That statement, from one of the leading medical authorities, will surely silence the cry about cruelty. It might be well to remember, too, for the sake of consistency, that rabbits are trapped, and allowed to break their limbs and torture themselves for a whole night, and that the suffering thus inflicted is a hundred times greater than can possibly occur under the present system of vivisection. It is well to look facts fairly in the face, especially in the domain of science."—*Ludgate Monthly*, May, 1894.

² "Patet primo, posse in hac re esse peccatum, saltem veniale; est enim abusus quidam potestatis herilis, et dominii. Secundo, quanta sit sanxitas divini spiritus, etiam in creaturas ratione carentes."—*Lessius, De Justitia*, l. 2, c. ix., Dub. 1.

not according to reason, but in direct violation of the natural dictates of reason, and in glaring contradiction to the canon already laid down, which demands a proportion between the end to be obtained, on the one hand, and the means to be employed, on the other. Such cases, whether true or false, possess no weight whatever against the practice of vivisection; they prove only that, like many other practices, vivisection may be abused, as well as used. The Church denounces the *abuse*; she sanctions the *use*. Is it sinful to take a glass of wine, because many a man gets beastly drunk? Will a highly-coloured picture of the fighting and quarrelling, the cursing and swearing, the debauchery and impurity, the squandered fortunes, the desolated homes, the impoverished families, the bloodshed and murder, and much else, traceable to excessive drinking, ever make it a sin *in se* to swallow a glass of whiskey, or to empty a tankard of beer? If not, then neither can the practice of vivisection become wrong in itself, because there are men who are cruel and heartless—aye, men who, under pretext of good, do harm. As well say that it is sinful to read the Scriptures, because hundreds of false sects abuse the practice to support their damnable heresies.

To approve of vivisection as something lawful in itself, when properly conducted, *juxta modum*, and for a good and useful and humane end, is not to approve of the excesses and the cruelties sometimes—perhaps often—perpetrated in its name.

Unfortunately there are a certain class of persons—almost exclusively ladies—who confound reason, violate logic, and obliterate the clearest guiding principles in one long incoherent and wild scream of horror at the violation of the supposed rights (?) of animals. They mix up sentiment with sense, imagination with fact, and so mingle the false with the true, and the sublime with the ridiculous, in one long tirade of indignant scorn and invective, that after reading such effusions, one is left marvelling how so much strength of feeling can co-exist with so little common sense. No one can read through the yards of closely-printed “gush,” balderdash, and flummery which are occasionally

met with in some of our contemporaries, on this subject without rejoicing that we are safeguarded from all narrowness, and protected from both extremes by the clear theology of the Church, which determines the position we are to hold with the greatest neatness and precision. Sympathy with every form of suffering is, of course, most admirable; but where are we to stop if we take sympathy as our sole and guiding star? Why, indeed, should sympathy, which begins by forbidding every form of vivisection, however carefully carried out, not go on to condemn all slaying of animals, even for food; all breaking-in of horses, even for riding or driving; all chaining up of dogs, even for defence of house or property? It is a question of mere degree. Though sympathy has an excellent work to do, it is not everything, and other considerations must also be allowed to exercise their due weight. As Carlyle so well observes—"It is grievous to think that this noble omnipotence of sympathy has been so rarely the Aaron's rod of truth and virtue, and so often the enchanter's rod of wickedness and folly. No solitary miscreant, scarcely any solitary maniac, would venture on such actions and imaginations as large communities of sane men have, in such circumstances, entertained as sound wisdom."

England seems specially subject to mental epidemics. A craze is started. A certain number are taken with it—some very badly. The temperature rises to fever heat. Delirium follows, and the symptoms become alarming. The intellectual fever or distemper that happens to be in possession at the present hour is anti-vivisectionism. Some form of distemper is of pretty regular occurrence. It may be reckoned on at intervals like other natural visitations. Indeed there must be some scores of persons in this country now passing through an acute stage of the anti-vivisection craze. What are we to do? In Carlyle's words: "We must deal with it as the Londoners do with their fogs—go cautiously out into the groping crowd, and patiently carry lanterns at noon; knowing, by a well-grounded faith, that the sun is still in existence, and will one day reappear."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

FRA PAOLO SARPI¹

THE latest canonization is that of Fra Paolo Sarpi: a canonization, however, that is quite independent of Pope or Congregation of Rites, promulgated to the world on the high authority of the Rev. Alexander Robertson. Who the Rev. Alexander Robertson is the reader may be curious to know, but the present writer can cast no light on that important question. It appears, however, that he is not altogether unknown to fame. In the title-page of his *Life of Fra Paolo* he modestly tells us that he is the "author of *Count Campello and the Catholic Reform in Italy*:" a statement which prepares us for the treat set before us in his panegyric of Paul Sarpi. Mr. Robertson (whoever he be) is clearly enthusiastic for his hero. "The work has been to me," he says, "a labour of love, and an unbroken source of interest and delight."² Indeed, he seems to be so intoxicated by the "interest and delight" as to have become oblivious of the sober facts of his hero's history, and quite indifferent to common sense in his treatment even of the facts which he records. Mr. Robertson makes all his assertions in the superlative degree. If we are to believe him, there was never such a prodigy of genius and virtue as Fra Paolo. His enumeration of Sarpi's acquirements reads more like the prospectus of some "Intermediate" grinder than like the statement of a sane man who expects to be believed. Here is a specimen:—

"Besides Hebrew, Greek, and mathematics, he mastered history, astronomy, the nutrition of life in animals, geometry, including conic sections, magnetism, botany, mineralogy, hydraulics, acoustics, animal statics, atmospheric pressure, the rising and falling of objects in air and water, the reflection of light from curved surfaces, spheres, mechanics, civil and military architecture, herbs, and anatomy."³

Nor was it merely "a gentleman's knowledge" of these subjects that Sarpi had acquired; for Mr. Robertson tells us

¹ *Fra Paolo Sarpi*. By Rev. Alexander Robinson. London, 1894.

² Pref., p. viii.

³ Page 24.

that "he sounded all their known waters," &c. As Sarpi was a priest it is a pity that Mr. Robinson should have omitted "theology" from the catalogue of his acquirements. He sums up Sarpi's virtues thus:—"He was supreme as a thinker, as a man of action, and as a transcript and pattern of every Christian principle."¹ But he reaches the climax when he says:—

"He is the only one I ever heard of who literally put in practice such precepts of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount as 'Do good and lend, hoping for nothing again.' And if he conspicuously obeyed this precept he realized as conspicuously the fulfilment of the promise, so doing 'your reward shall be great;' for no friar, I believe, ever received *such an income as he . . .* when the Republic put all its resources at his command, and doubled and doubled again the stipend assigned to him as its public servant."²

This sentence establishes beyond the reach of cavil the disinterested virtue of Fra Paolo, and shows also that Rev. Alexander Robertson has lucid intervals after all. But he seems to have Popes and Jesuits on the brain. His book is teeming with extravagant statements, and insinuations against them. He charges Paul V. with the alleged attempt to murder Sarpi; and, of course, considers his own word sufficient proof of so grave a charge. Again, he tells us that the Jesuits kept for political purposes a written record of confessions which was discovered by somebody, who gave it to somebody else, from whom, *per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum*, it made its way into the historical marsupium of the Rev. Alexander Robertson. These are merely a few specimens of Mr. Robertson's stock-in-trade.

Again, the author tells us that his book is the outcome of independent study of original documents and printed authorities. It is nothing of the kind. It is a badly executed plagiarism of the short Life of Sarpi, prefixed to Courayer's translation of the *History of the Council of Trent*. Sometimes whole sentences are verbally translated, and not a single fact recorded that has not been taken from Courayer. The only difference observable between the translation and the original

¹ Pref., page v.

² Page 26.

is, that Courayer's book is well written, and is not so grossly unfair as the clumsy plagiarism of Mr. Robertson. The falsehoods insinuated by Courayer are given by Mr. Robertson as indisputable facts, and are largely supplemented by his own inventions. Again, we are assured that "reference" to the authorities "will be found in the course of the narrative;" and yet there is not a single "reference" from the first page to the last that would enable one to determine whether any alleged quotation is genuine or a concoction. We find sentences without number within inverted commas, but *no page, no book*, no author's name is given even in one solitary instance; and, for all that Mr. Robertson tells us, we may seek the originals in the *Arabian Nights* or in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Bad as Sarpi undoubtedly was, Mr. Robertson makes him worse; and, in looking through his book, a feeling of pity for the unfortunate writer becomes mingled in the reader's mind with a feeling of amazement that any respectable firm should have published so ridiculous a book.

In promoting the *cause* of Fra Paolo, Mr. Robertson has had some exceptional advantages. No *Devil's Advocate* has been present to question his facts or to test his logic. He has called and examined his witnesses just as it pleased him; he has got from them just the information he required; and in order to avoid unpleasant cross-examination, he has concealed their names. Thus he has had it all his own way; and, as a consequence, he has made Fra Paolo just what he wished him to be—a model of every virtue. But this process has its risks, and disadvantages also. It induces a false sense of security which makes the advocate careless, often reckless in his statements, and thus tends to involve him in dilemmas and contradictions, from which a salutary fear of criticism would have saved him. And Mr. Robertson is a conspicuous instance of this. He intends to make Sarpi a saint and a hero; and yet he supplies abundant evidence to prove him a wretched *time-server*. He proves him a priest without a conscience, who continued to minister sacraments in which he disbelieved; a Protestant

without the courage to avow it, while he proclaimed himself a Catholic, in order the more effectually to wound and vilify the Catholic Church ; a friar, who had vowed to renounce the world, and yet was its sordid slave, who sold himself soul and body to the state, and continued to do its work all the more energetically, because " it doubled and doubled again the stipend assigned to him as its public servant." Such is Fra Paolo's real character ; and in supplying evidence to prove it (as he has done) Mr. Robertson has unwittingly done service to the cause of truth.

Pietro Sarpi, better known as Fra Paolo Sarpi, was born at Venice, on the 14th of August, 1552. His father, Francis Sarpi, appears to have been a thriftless, erratic person, who failed in business as a merchant, and died comparatively young, leaving his family without means, to the care of his wife, Isabella Morelli. She appears to have been a pious, excellent mother ; and the talent which Fra Paolo undoubtedly possessed, he seems to have inherited from her. Young Sarpi was educated by his uncle, a Venetian priest, Ambrogio Morelli. At school, we are told, he gave unmistakable indications of great talent. He was studious, retiring, pious, and in every way gave promise of a better future than impartial history awards to him. At the age of thirteen he joined the Servite Order, and bore in religion the name of Paolo. He passed through his novitiate with credit to himself and satisfaction to his superiors ; was remarkable for talents, his application, and his fidelity in the discharge of his duties. He was promoted to various posts of trust and honour in his Order, and was ordained a priest (by dispensation we presume) at the early age of twenty-two. Had Fra Paolo continued after his ordination as faithful to his religious duties, and as modest in their discharge, as he was during the period of his probation, the world would probably have heard very little about him ; he would have lived and died in peace, and his biography would be written only in the Book of Life. But it is precisely because he did not do this, that Fra Paolo has become notorious ; has become the hero of the enemies of the Catholic Church ; and that his words and acts have been used as an argument

against her. The earliest, and almost the sole biography of Fra Paolo, is that by Fra Fulgenzio. This, however, is altogether unreliable. Fra Fulgenzio was the secretary and constant companion of Paolo, his accomplice or instrument in his rebellion against the Church. His work is the production of an interested flatterer, who, in defending, and extolling his hero, is pleading his own cause just as well. Then the book itself is teeming with most extravagant stories of the wonderful talents and achievements of Fra Paolo; so much so, that it reads more like the adventures of Baron Munchausen than like the biography of a reasonable man. Courayer's *Life* is a compendium of Fra Fulgenzio's; and, as already stated, Mr. Robertson's book is a bad plagiarism of Courayer's.

But Fra Paolo's own words and works remain to tell us what he was; and the testimony they give is fatal to the claim set up for him by his latest biographer. His *History of the Council of Trent* is the arsenal whence the enemies of the Catholic Church take their weapons; and his letters, addressed to his confidential friends, show the secret workings of his mind. These letters show, that to gratify his wounded pride and disappointed ambition, he was secretly plotting with the worst enemies of the Church for the introduction of Protestantism into Venice, and that he would have cast off the mask, and made open profession of heresy, did he not know that the Republic was not prepared to follow him thus far. To set up such a man as a Catholic, an authority with Catholics, much less as a model of virtue, is a forlorn hope while such damning evidence stands against him.

At the date of his ordination, A.D. 1574, Fra Paolo was Professor of Theology at Mantua; and if we are to believe Fra Fulgenzio, no such prodigy ever filled a theological chair before. St. Thomas, Scotus, and Suarez, with all their years and experience, pale into insignificance compared with Paul Sarpi at twenty-two. And this is fully borne out by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, no doubt a competent judge. He says: "No one had ever lectured on positive theology, and the Sacred Canons, with the accurate and comprehensive

grasp of these subjects that he showed."¹ He was soon recalled by his superiors to Venice, and was made Professor of Philosophy in the house of his Order there. Here, of course, according to his biographers, he was a brilliant luminary penetrating into depths of philosophic thought hitherto unsounded. Mr. Robertson gives a long list of the *'Ologies* of which he was master; and adds, that "he made himself complete master of all known truth in these departments of knowledge."² Mr. Robertson's mere assertion, of course, dispenses with the necessity of proof, even for such an assertion as the above.

But though Sarpi was not the prodigy that his partial biographers would make him, there can be no denying that he was a man of very considerable talent. His writings prove this. His *History of the Council of Trent*, displays an amount of ability and ingenuity which makes it clear that he would have been a powerful advocate if his cause were good. But, unfortunately, he was too well aware of his own ability, and his treatment by his own superiors stimulated his vanity, and set him on the road to ruin. Even while a mere stripling he was made their champion at public exhibitions; he was raised to positions of trust and dignity while yet too young; he was flattered by the rich and great as well as by the members of his own Order, and as a consequence he soon began to think that he was not like the rest of men. While at Mantua he was a constant visitor at the Ducal and Episcopal palaces, and thus probably contracted that liking for high society which largely contributed to make him what he subsequently became. On his return to Venice, Fra Paolo was already a confirmed worldling. He spent much more of his time in the palace of the Doge or in the mansions of the Senators than in his own cloisters. He made the acquaintance of several foreign ambassadors and other distinguished strangers, and corresponded with many learned men in distant countries. And it is remarkable as showing the tendency of his mind, that several of his new friends were well-known heretics,

¹ Page 13.² Page 40.

while not even one of them was well-affected towards the Church. At a time when theological controversy ran high, it is no wonder that such society should have raised doubts as to Fra Paolo's orthodoxy ; and accordingly we find, that early in his career, complaints against him were lodged before the local Inquisitor. On each occasion Sarpi appealed to Rome, and defeated his accusers. On a few occasions also he visited Rome on business connected with his Order, and each time was received there with kindness and consideration. Later on, however, we shall find him repudiating the authority of Rome when he had reason to apprehend an adverse decision.

His friendship with the Doge and principal senators gave Sarpi great political influence at Venice. He was let into all the secrets of the governing body ; his counsel was sought and frequently followed, and soon the priest became completely merged in the politician. The Republic, to requite its servant, twice recommended him to the Holy See for promotion to the episcopate—first in 1601, for the see of Caorle, and afterwards in 1602, for that of Nona. In each case Clement VII. refused to make the appointment ; and Fra Paolo was left to avenge his wounded pride and disappointed ambition in secret plottings, and, later on, in bitter invectives and open revolt against the Holy See. Hitherto he had artfully concealed his sentiments, but now that the hope of ecclesiastical promotion was cut off, vengeance on the authors of his disappointment became the ruling passion of his mind. The Jesuits shared with the Pope the honour of Sarpi's hatred ; and he set himself, both secretly and openly, to inflame the popular mind against them. His influence with the Senate opened to him a ready path to vengeance. He was refused the bishopric in 1602, and it is very suggestive, that in less than three years the Senate, to which he was adviser, was involved in a bitter quarrel with the Pope. The Venetian Constitution provided three state counsellors to act as legal advisers to the Doge and Senate. But just at the time of Fra Paolo's greatest influence, it was discovered that a *theological* counsellor was necessary. Thus, a new office was created, to which, of

course, Fra Paolo was immediately appointed. Mr. Robertson says that the Senate "looked about for a proper person,"¹ and Sarpi only consented to fill the position from motives of "patriotism." There was no *looking about* at all. It was a foregone conclusion, as Mr. Robertson admits in the very next sentence. "Fra Paolo was perfectly alive," he says, "to all that was going on in the government; he had already given to its affairs such careful thought and study that his advice had frequently been sought by those in authority, and he had counselled the Senate how to act on many occasions." Yes; he had long been doing the work in secret, of course, "from motives of patriotism;" and now a new office was created to enable him to continue to do it openly, with an additional "motive of patriotism"—a handsome salary from the public treasury. And Fra Paolo soon found himself *sole* counsellor, legal as well as theological, to the Republic. For Mr. Robertson tells us that as the legal counsellors "died, the Senate appointed no successor, but handed over their duties to Fra Paolo, so that the whole of the affairs of the Republic were in his hands. . . . In every case Fra Paolo's advice was sought, in every case it was followed, and in every case it was right."² Mr. Robertson enumerates the several happy results to the Republic of the wisdom and prudence of its theological adviser. Plain prosaic facts, however, show but one result, namely, that the Republic was soon involved in a death struggle with the Pope, to gratify the spite of Sarpi, who, as his own letters show, would, if he dared, have carried his vengeance to the full length of subverting the Papal authority and the Catholic faith in Venice.

Sarpi's influence soon became manifest in the legislation of the Republic. In 1603, a law was passed forbidding the erection of religious houses or hospitals, or the establishment of new orders, without the permission of the civil authority. And this was followed, in A.D. 1605, by another law forbidding the transfer of property to the Church. About the same date, two priests, charged with grave immorality, were

¹ Page 68.² Pages 69, 70.

arrested by order of the Senate, and imprisoned in violation of the acknowledged right of priests to be tried, in the first instance, by the Ecclesiastical Court. Paul V. became Pope in 1605, and immediately remonstrated with the Venetians on this unjust invasion of ecclesiastical rights and privileges. Sarpi prepared the reply of the Senate, which was simply an assertion of the supremacy of the civil authority within the Venetian territory. After a good deal of correspondence on both sides, the Pope threatened the Venetians with excommunication and interdict, unless the imprisoned priests were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Judges, and the obnoxious laws repealed. The Senate, or rather Sarpi, defied the Pope, and the excommunication and interdict were fulminated in April, 1607. The die was now cast, and the Senate, prompted by its theological adviser, resolved to fight it out to the bitter end. A circular was issued to all the bishops and clergy of the Venetian territory, commanding them under penalty of exile, and forfeiture of all their property, to disregard the Papal censures. Nor did Sarpi's dupes rest content with threats; the slightest suspicion of opposition to their designs brought dire vengeance on the suspected person.

A few specimens from the partial Mr. Robertson will show the sense in which liberty of conscience was understood by Sarpi and the Senate:—

“The Patriarch of Aquilia, and the Vicar of the Bishop of Vicenza, both proved disloyal [*i.e.*, obedient to God rather than to men]. They were immediately apprehended, brought to Venice, and lodged in prison. The priest of an influential parish let it be known that he would obey the Pope: on Sunday he would keep the church closed. On Saturday night an official was sent from the Doge's palace . . . to inform him that if he were to curtail in any way his services on the morning, they would infallibly hang him before mid-day at his church door. It is said that another recalcitrant priest felt all his *disloyalty* ooze from his finger tips by seeing a gibbet erected opposite his church.”¹

The same writer says that some priests resolved to leave Venice in secret, rather than remain victims of persecution

¹ Pages 87, 88.

for not disobeying the interdict; "but instructions had been given to hang all such at the frontier."¹ And he says that the Jesuits "at the dead of night were turned out of their beds, bundled into boats, and packed off to Papal territory."² These are specimens of Republican freedom, specimens of the theological advice given by Sarpi.

Sir Henry Maine says,³ "that the Venetian Republic was a stern oligarchy, whose Doges were as much kings of the old type as the ancient Roman kings." To the service of this oligarchy Sarpi devoted himself. He served the Doge and Senate while they were trampling on popular liberty; while they were robbing citizens of their civil rights and trampling on the rights of conscience. For vengeance' sake and for lucre' sake he became the tool of a detestable tyranny. He, a priest of the Catholic Church, advised the plunder, the imprisonment, and banishment of bishops and priests, whose sole crime was their attachment to the doctrines of that Church, and their obedience to its divinely appointed head; and while doing all this he himself continued to say Mass and administer sacraments! And this is the man held up to admiration by Mr. Robertson as a Catholic and a patriot. Those hallowed words must reverse their meaning before they can be applied to such a venal hypocrite as Sarpi was.

Considering the reign of terror that prevailed at Venice, and considering the influence of Sarpi, it is no wonder that priests should be found to disobey the interdict. The Jesuits, with that fidelity to Rome which has always marked them, obeyed the Pope, closed their churches, and left Venice. So, too, did the Capuchins, Theatines, and many of the secular clergy. And now arose a bitter controversy on the excommunication and interdict. The action of the Pope was vindicated by Bellarmine, Baronius, and others, the foremost theologians of the day. In fact, the Pope needed no defence. He was contending for rights and privileges secured to the Church by centuries of wise legislation; privileges recognised since the time of Constantine,

¹ Page 88.

² Page 89.

³ *Pop. Gov.*, page 210.

confirmed by general and particular councils, and many of them based directly on the Divine law. The Republic was defended by Sarpi and a few others, who were merely echoes of him. It would be unfair to take the action of Sarpi and the Senate as fairly representing the feeling of the body of the Venetian people. They were simply a faction in the State, which happened to be the dominant faction just then. Professor Ranke calls "Leonardo Donato, the Doge, the leader of the anti-Roman party, who brought into power all the friends, by whose aid he had been successful in the struggle of parties."¹ And because there was a Roman party, and that a considerable one—or, at all events, a party that was not disposed to allow Sarpi and his friends to trample on the faith of their fathers—it was the interest of the dominant faction not to prolong the struggle. And, accordingly, when the Kings of France and Spain interfered in the interests of peace, the Senate, after some heroic declarations of independence, quietly yielded; the obnoxious laws were repealed; the imprisoned clerics were handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities, and the Papal censures were withdrawn. Mr. Robertson proclaims the settlement a complete triumph for the Republic. Ranke, however, who is an authority, says:—"On the whole, it is plain that the strife did not terminate so thoroughly to the advantage of the Venetians, as is commonly asserted."²

Sarpi was well known to be the prime mover in all the opposition to the Church; and he had, during the controversy, written treatises containing unsound and heretical doctrines. He was, moreover, known to be the intimate friend of many of the most pronounced heretics of the time, and was known to be intriguing with them for the introduction of Protestantism into Venice. He was, accordingly, summoned to Rome to answer for his actions and opinions. On former occasions, he had himself appealed to Rome, and Rome had vindicated him; but now, that he was clearly guilty, he refused to obey the summons, though bound by

¹ Ranke's *History of the Popes*, B. vi.; ad. ar., 1606.

² Book vi., a. d., 1607.

duty as a Catholic, and still more by his vow as a religious, to obey the Pope. He was, for his disobedience, excommunicated as contumacious. As long, however, as the Senate continued to pay and protect him, he made little of Papal censures. Notwithstanding the excommunication, he continued to say Mass and administer sacraments, and persevered in this career of sacrilege, without remorse or scruple, till his death.

But, however well he might be sustained by the Doge and Senate, there was a danger that popular feeling, always inconstant, might set in strongly against him. His position was insecure, and his letters show that he was contemplating the possibility of being forced to leave Venice. An event, however, is said to have occurred, which was well calculated, and perhaps designed, to win him sympathy. It is said that on the night of the 5th of October, 1607, as he was returning to his monastery, he was attacked by a band of assassins, and so severely wounded that his life was, for a time, despaired of. And the Rev. Alexander Robertson, with his wonted good taste and love of truth, tells us that the author of the plot—the paymaster of the assassins, was Pope Paul V. It is needless to add, that there is not a shred of evidence adduced, or an atom of foundation for this monstrous statement. Fra Paolo was well known to have been the adviser of the Venetian Senate, in those tyrannical acts that caused so much misery to unoffending citizens. And, taking human nature as it is, it is no wonder that some of the victims of such despotism, should have recourse to “the wild justice of revenge” against the real author of their sufferings; or, it may be, that someone, prompted by mistaken zeal for religion, may have sought to remove one who was well known to be an enemy of the popular creed, and an intriguer for the establishment of heresy. Either supposition would give a probable explanation of the alleged attack, without having recourse to a monstrous hypothesis, involving men of high character and proved virtue, in an atrocious crime. But in reality it is extremely doubtful that such an attack was ever made at all. No respectable historian credits it; few of them even refer to it. It comes to us on the sole

authority of Fra Paolo himself, and on that of his echo Fra Fulgenzio. No one witnessed the attack, except two friends, who are prudently silent, who are said to have been "instantly overpowered," and yet to have "instantly got assistance," to remove Fra Paolo to the monastery, where no one is permitted to see him, except some member of the political faction to which he belonged. In the *Civiltà Cattolica* for December, 1867, there is an article which makes it highly probable that the alleged attack is a concoction, devised to create a revulsion of feeling in Sarpi's favour. And there certainly was a motive at the time for some such concoction. For about the time some letters, seriously compromising Fra Paolo, fell into the hands of the French King, Henry IV., who sent them to the Ambassador at Venice, by whom they were presented to the Senate, with a result, that Fra Fulgenzio was inhibited from preaching, and Fra Paolo's prestige even seriously threatened. The alleged attacks came very opportunely to divert public opinion from the grave suspicion caused by the intercepted letters; and it also enabled Sarpi's friends in the Senate to draw illegally on the public treasury, for his protection and maintenance. It may be truly said of the alleged attack: "*Se non è vero è ben trovato.*"

While Venice was at peace with the Pope, Fra Paolo, under ecclesiastical censure, and a rebel against Papal authority, could not continue openly to exercise his former political influence. The obsequious slave of the state, the implacable enemy of the Pope, he still continued to be, but he must now give vent to his animosity in secret plottings against the authority of the Church, and in secret intrigues with the Church's enemies. About two years before his excommunication, Sarpi made the acquaintance of the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Henry Watton, and also of Dr. William Bedell, chaplain to the embassy, who subsequently became Protestant bishop of Kilmore. His friendship with Bedell became very intimate, and there is evidence of considerable agreement in theological opinion between them. Under Fra Paolo's supervision, Bedell translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian; and

this, with Diodati's Protestant Bible was freely circulated in Venice, with the full knowledge and connivance of the "Theological Counsellor." He had also for sometime kept up correspondence with Casaubon, at Geneva and at Paris, and with several other well-known heretics. And in all the correspondence there is clear evidence of sympathy with the so-called Reformers, and evidence equally clear that temporal considerations alone kept him from openly declaring his views. This long period of his involuntary retirement, Sarpi employed in writing a number of treatises, nearly all bearing on the controversy with the Pope, and all, without exception, written in a spirit of bitter hostility to the Catholic Church. And it illustrates the duplicity of his mind, that nearly all his works after the excommunication, were published anonymously, or with the pseudonym "Pietro Soave Polano;" a clever precaution, which would have enabled him to repudiate them in the event of a change of rulers at Venice. He was anxious to do the greatest possible injury to the Church with the least possible risk to himself. The *History of the Council of Trent* is the only work of his that has anything like a permanent interest. In it he has put forth all the virus of his soul against the Catholic Church. It is his supreme effort of vengeance on Pope and cardinals and bishops, and as such it was welcomed by the enemies of the Church, on its first appearance, and to the present time it has continued to enjoy the esteem of all such. In fact, it is to this precisely that it owes the interest it yet has for readers. It was first published in London, in A.D. 1619, by the apostate Antonio De Dominis, with a fulsome dedication to James I. A French translation of it was published by another apostate, Courayer, with an equally fulsome dedication to another heretical sovereign, Caroline of Brandenburg. Written by a hypocrite, published by one apostate, and translated by another, prized by men in precise proportion to their hatred of Catholicity—such has been the history, and such is the character of this book. In the very opening chapter of it Sarpi reveals his bias, for he promises to "relate the vicissitudes and intrigues of an ecclesiastical assembly," &c.

And as the work proceeds he puts into the mouths of the prelates speeches which were never delivered by them, but such as Fra Paolo would have wished them to deliver in order to suit his theory.

In the introduction to Pallavicini's *History of the Council* the reader will find conclusive proof of Sarpi's unfitness to write such a history, and of his dishonesty in the attempt he has made. And Ranke, who is partial to Sarpi, is equally explicit in stating his unfavourable opinion of the *History*. He admits that Sarpi manipulates his facts to suit his purpose, and he gives several specimens of such dishonesty. He says :—

“ Sarpi does not always adhere to facts as he finds them . . . His remarks are everyone steeped in gall and vinegar . . . His narrative is coloured by his own cast of opinion—his systematic opposition, dislike, or hatred to the court of Rome . . . Sarpi, we see, is no common transcriber; the more we compare him with the originals, the more we are convinced of his skill in filling up and rounding a story, and enhancing the force of the expressions by a *slight turn*; at the same time his endeavour is to strengthen the impression unfavourable to the Council.”

This from a competent, but friendly critic, disposes of Fra Paolo as an authority on the Council of Trent.

Sarpi survived the publication of his *History* only a few years. He continued, we are told, to occupy his mind with Venetian politics to the last; and, if we are to credit Mr. Robertson, his last prayer was not for mercy for his own soul, but for prosperity to Venice, *esto perpetua*. He died on the 15th of January, 1624. What were Fra Paolo's sentiments, and what the state of his soul, at that last awful moment, only the Searcher of Hearts rightly knows. Let us in charity hope that he got grace to repent of his sacriligious career before the end came. But the character given of him by those who knew him best, and who shared his hatred of the Catholic Church, is anything but flattering to him. Bedell, his intimate friend, tells us that Sarpi had a strong leaning to the Reformers, and that he was prepared to adopt the *Book of Common Prayer* in the event of his bringing about a final rupture between Venice and the Holy

¹ App., pp. 371, 372.

See. And Bedell further states, that in saying Mass Sarpi always omitted prayers addressed to the saints, and that he continued to hear confessions in order to poison the minds of Catholics against the Sacrament of Penance. And he adds that if Sarpi were permitted by the Senate he would have gone to England, and there would have openly professed Protestantism.¹

Bedell's statement is confirmed by Sarpi's own letter to Casaubon, in which he requests Casaubon to intercede with James I. to secure him an asylum in England should he be forced to leave Venice. The reply of King James also shows the estimate entertained by the Reformers of Sarpi's religious tenets. James "would be glad to receive him in England, but he believed the cause of Gospel truth (*i.e.*, of heresy) was better served by his remaining in Venice." In fact, Sarpi's own letters are the strongest evidence against him. In a letter written April 27th, 1610, he says: "If there be a war in Italy, it will be well for religion, and that is what Rome dreads. The Inquisition will disappear, and the Gospel will be free." On the 5th of July, 1611, he writes: "There is nothing so essential as to destroy the credit of the Jesuits. For, by destroying them you ruin Rome; and if Rome be destroyed religion will reform itself." In a letter of August 30th, 1611, he complains of the Venetian ambassador at Paris thus: "We have an ambassador at Paris who gives the worst possible account of the Reformers, *in order to discourage good men here*; and he extols the prospects of the *Papists*, which has a very bad effect here." Similar sentiments are expressed in several other of his letters. The slightest hope for the success of the "Reformation" is to him invariably a source of gratification, while the triumphs of the Catholic Church excite within him an indignation which he is unable to conceal. The man who held such sentiments, and yet continued to say Mass and administer sacraments, must be a hypocrite double-dyed. Hallam says of him:—

"Sarpi is not a fair, but he is for those times a tolerably exact, historian . . . Much has been disputed about the religious

¹ Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 15, 16.

tenets of Father Paul; it appears to me quite out of doubt, both by the tenor of his history, and still more unequivocally, if possible, by some of his letters, that he was entirely hostile to the Church, in the usual sense, as well as to the Court of Rome, sympathising in affection, and concurring generally in opinion with the reformed denominations."

And he adds in a note, "the history is, however, sufficient to demonstrate Sarpi's Protestantism."¹ Ranke says of him:—

"It has been said that he was in secret a Protestant, but his Protestantism could hardly have gone beyond the first simple propositions of the Augsburg Confession; at all events, Fra Paolo said Mass daily all his life. It is impossible to specify the form of religion to which he inwardly adhered; it was of a kind often embraced in those days, especially by men who devoted themselves to natural science—a mode of opinion shackled by none of the existing systems of doctrine; dissentient and speculative, but neither accurately defined nor fully worked out."²

In other words, Fra Paolo, who daily discharged the ordinary duty of a Catholic priest, disbelieved in all his own ministrations, and in reality had no religion at all! No wonder that he has been canonized by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, whose sole fundamental article of faith seems to be hatred of the Catholic Church. Mr. Robertson is enamoured of the present rulers of Italy. The present blissful state of that country is, he says, the fruit of Fra Paolo's teaching. He gives a glowing account of the unveiling of Sarpi's monument, and he tells pathetically how Italian Freemasons, and the "children of the Italian Protestant Orphanage," united to grace the occasion, and to do fitting honour to the illustrious dead. No doubt Freemasons and pervert children were in their proper place at such a ceremony, and Mr. Robertson is a worthy herald of the important event. The Catholic Church, however, has witnessed many such events undismayed. She has seen more dangerous enemies than Paul Sarpi, and she survives them; but she has had few, if any, more contemptible revilers than the Rev. Alexander Robertson; and such as he is, may her revilers for ever be.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

¹ *Hist. of Popes*, B. 6, vi., 1606.

² *Hist. Lit.*, vol. ii., page 398, 399.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE

JUNE 4. *St. Francis Caracciolo, C.*, teaches us several lessons: the spirit of prayer, humility, and the penitential spirit of fervour in which all our work should be done; also the important fact that our life is to be measured not by the length of days, but by the fervour we show in God's service: *consummatus in brevi implevit tempora multa.* (Sap. iv. 13).

The Introit tells us how prayer softens the heart of those who think of the goodness of Israel's God to them that are righteous of heart. The house of God, for which St. Francis was so zealous, was not only the material temple wherein he used to pass so many hours in watching before His Eucharistic Lord; not only the souls of his neighbours for whom he laboured so zealously; but the house of the Lord "which holiness becometh for length of days" (Ps. xcii. 7) was His own soul, the house built not by hands, but the direct creation of God Himself. For this house of the Lord he was zealous *orandi studio et poenitentiae amore*, that it might become more fitting for the Divine Presence. Here we may notice the necessity of prayer being accompanied by penance. Why do not we pray well? Why is the time of prayer, instead of being a joy, a time of disgust and wearisomeness? It is because we forget penance; because the salt of mortification is wanting; because we, who are members of a Body whose Head is crowned with thorns, instead of living with the same spirit of sacrifice as He did, seek to live lives of ease and pleasure, and, flying from the cross as something to be avoided, we put our happiness in "the world which passeth away and the lust thereof" (1 John, ii. 7).

The Epistle reminds us that were we but men of prayer and men of the cross, then when death comes, whether it comes early, as it did to St. Francis, or whether it tarries

a long while, we shall be at peace and rest, for our age will be ripened by the spotlessness of our life. The Gradual expresses the yearnings of a man of prayer after His God, who can alone quench the souls that thirst after good. In Paschal time we have a reference to the happiness of our vocation from which all our sanctification depends.

The Gospel points out the same lesson as did the Collect, but now we have it in our Divine Master's own words. We must gird our loins by the practice of mortification, which, as it were, gathers up the fleshly clothing of our souls, lest it trips us up in the way. We must have in our hands ever burning the lamp of prayer, which is fed by the oil of faith. This spirit of prayer and penance is most necessary, as the Secret reminds us, now that we are going to begin our great work of sacrifice. For although the essential worth of the sacrifice is independent of our having the same mind as is in Christ Jesus (cf. Phil. ii. 5), yet the adorable perfection thereof, its holiness and the intimate union which exists, in fact, between the Great High Priest and us who share in His Priesthood, demand a close, inward union of will between us; demand that we should share in the sacrifice by prayer, and immolating ourselves as victims, "bearing about in our body the mortification of Jesus" (2 Cor. iv. 10). Having tasted the Lord in Holy Communion, we can now see how great is the multitude of His sweetness, a sweetness which the world cannot offer anything like, neither can it understand. For the world does not fear God, and is in active opposition to Him. He hides this sweetness from those who do not fear Him, and He keeps it for those who have this holy fear. So, fools are we if we seek anywhere but in His fear, the sweetness for which our soul longeth. We have the very well-spring of sweetness in our hearts at this very moment. Let us drink deeply thereof, and allay the thirst which parches our souls. The Post-Communion reminds us that we should pass our day in one long act of thanksgiving after our Mass: *Grata semper in mentibus nostris memoria perseveret et fructus.*

June 5. *St. Boniface, B.M.* In this Mass we gather valuable lessons on the missionary life which every priest

can take to himself. For we are all obliged to extend the kingdom of God in our own souls first of all, and then in the souls of others. Our priesthood is not to be confined to ourselves ; we are chosen from among men, and are ordained for men (cf. Heb. v. 1) in the things which belong to God, that we may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sin. There is no priest, be he ever so retired in life, who has not in his Mass a world-wide scope for missionary labour ; and who is not under the obligation to labour that the kingdom of God may come and reign over the hearts of all men, each one in his measure, and according to God's appointment. Some have the exterior and visible work of tending souls, as in the pastoral charge ; others have to be content with the interior and invisible weapons of prayer and sacrifice ; for

" They also serve who stand and wait."

It is not always those who have the privilege of active work that reap the greatest harvest ; and even if they are sometimes so blest as to see abundant fruit from their labours, yet often they are only instruments God has used to reap a harvest they may have only planted, and, in part, watered. The greater part of the merit may be due to some poor priest hidden in the cloister, or in the obscurity of a private life, who has toiled and laboriously cultivated what the others may have planted. Hence on this day, as on all feasts of great missionary saints, it will be well for us to renew the missionary spirit which is so necessary a part of our vocation, and the glorious St. Boniface will teach us how to do so in his Mass.

The Introit is from that grand missionary prophecy of Isaias (chap. lxxv.), wherein he tells us that the spread of the faith, the increase of Jerusalem, which is the blessed vision of peace which shines out in the darkness of error, is a great subject of rejoicing to a priest ; for he is interested in his people, and rejoices with them when they are in God's grace, and sorrows for them when they lose it, and labours to bring them back to the joy they have forsaken, hushing the voice of weeping and stilling the voice of crying. Then we get the comfortable promise that we, God's elect, shall not

labour in vail, for we are the seed of the true Aaron whom He has blessed, and our spiritual offspring will share in our blessing. Surely our labours for the salvation of a soul are not wasted, even if that particular soul refuses to accept God's grace and come into the marriage feast. There will be others, the blind, the halt, the lame, who will be saved by our labours in place of the ungrateful; those who cannot help themselves, and yet are fit objects for the charity which arises in the communion of saints. What a consolation to us in times of disappointment! What God did in the days of our fathers, even as He has done by the hand of St. Boniface, so will He do now by our ministry; and the thought of Him, ever faithful and true to His promises, makes us pour forth our soul in adoration to the Most Blessed Trinity, whose servants we are.

The Lesson (Eccl. xlv.) is the glorious praise of men of renown, among whom stands illustrious St. Boniface. How God obtains his own dear glory through the magnificence of the gifts with which He decked the soul of His servant; and by no gift so great and more perfect than by the great gift of the priesthood, by which He set St. Boniface to rule in His Church, and made him a man of great power, filled with wisdom, and as a teacher showing forth the dignity of the pastoral office. In this great gift God gave him all that now redounds to His glory: the strength of wisdom by which he instructed the people in most holy words; the rich wealth of virtue which he accumulated *in diebus suis*; the love of the only true beauty which possessed his soul; the peace which reigned within the house of his heart, and which no man could take away; his mercy and his tender loving compassion towards those in darkness who knew not "the truth as it is in Jesus" (Eph. iv. 21). The fruit of His labours fails not, and still bestows good things upon His spiritual children, and makes of them a holy inheritance, and shows forth the glory of Him who has done all this through His servant Boniface, and who to-day receives the grateful thanks of the Church for the glory with which He has rewarded St. Boniface. We, too, who share in this same gift, would also show forth God's glory, were we, in the

words of the Gradual (1 Peter iv.) to rejoice in sharing in the suffering of the Christ, to enter fully into the Eternal Priesthood, and have the same mind of self-oblation as was in our great Head, Jesus. Then should we rejoice and be glad to suffer for His name, as St. Boniface did. "O thou that dwellest in the beautiful place covered with the shame" (Micheas i 2) of a priesthood unfulfilled: "I will show thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee. Verily to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" (*ibid.* vi.). In Easter-tide the Gradual is a song of rejoicing at the glory of St. Boniface who receives the crown of his faithfulness to his vocation; and while we rejoice, Holy Mother Church bids us remember that it was the hand of God which wrought such wonders in His saint. We have the same claim to the sacramental grace of Holy Order as St. Boniface had. Would that we humbly walked hand in hand with it!

The Gospel is that of the Beatitudes, and reminds us that our desire of spreading God's kingdom will make our delight to be in things very different to what the world thinks happiness, or means thereunto. To us poverty of spirit will be true riches; meekness, an inheritance; mourning, our comfort; hunger and thirst after justice, our meat and drink; mercifulness, our claim for asking it of God; purity of heart, our means of seeing Him; peace-making, our right to be called His children; persecution for His sake, our claim for a reward. These are the happiness of a true missionary, and these are invariably his lot. If we do not experience them, may not the reason be because we have not got the true spirit of our priesthood? Are the Beatitudes practical things to us, and do we seek to find our happiness on the lines our Lord lays down?

We are now beginning the immediate preparation for the sacrifice, and, in the words of the Psalmist (Ps. xv.), we praise God for giving us a knowledge of the awful act we are about to do. If we are negligent, cold, and distracted, can we plead that we know not what we do? For what have we said our Office, made our preparation, and read the instructions and prayers of the *Missa Catechumenorum*, unless we

have filled our heart with the understanding of the awful act of sacrifice we are going to accomplish ? It is this thought of the nearness of God that makes us set Him ever before our eyes, lest we give way to sloth, and fail in the devotion and fervour our work demands. The Secret continues the same thought, and prays that an abundant blessing may come upon us from on high, and may mercifully work in us true holiness, and give us the right, therefore, to rejoice as fellow-citizens with the holy martyr. The Communion (Apoc. iii.) contains our Lord's most gracious promise of the reward of our missionary zeal: *to sit with Him on His throne*. He, as the great High Priest, sits on the throne with His Father ; and we, too, if we conquer, if we overcome the world and spread His kingdom, will sit on *His* throne, and reign with Him, sharing, as we do, in His royal priesthood. We have been made holy and pleasing to Him by the life-giving mystery of His body and blood ; so we ask in the Post-Communion that the great missionary St. Boniface may plead for us, that we may be imitators of him, and share his ardent apostolic zeal.

June 11. *St. Barnabas, Ap.*, teaches us as his lesson that we are in a particular relation to God the Holy Ghost, whom we have received in our ordination. In each day's Mass we in a special manner invoke the Holy Ghost to assist us in the dread act we are engaged upon : *Come, O Sanctifier, All-powerful, Eternal God, and bless this Sacrifice prepared in Thy Name* (Ord. Mis.). Devotion then to the Holy Ghost comes out of the very idea of the Priesthood itself, for He is the source of all sacerdotal holiness, and it is by Him we exercise our office, and have access through Jesus the Christ unto the Father (Eph. ii. 18).

In the Introit we are told He is the source of all holiness, because it is by Him we are the friends of God, and are loved by Him in return, according to the words of St. Paul : " The love of God is poured forth in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost who is given to us " (Rom. v. 5). This reminds us of those beautiful words addressed to us after we have received the sacerdotal character : " I will no longer call you servants, but *friends* ; because all things whatsoever

I have heard of My Father, I have made known to you" (cf. John xv. 15) ; words which came to us with such a reality when we had just received the highest mark of God's love on earth ; words which even now thrill us through and through, although many years have gone by, and awaken old thoughts when we recall them. Hence we as priests must be, as we read in the Lesson that St. Barnabas was, " Good men, and full of the Holy Ghost and faith ;" then will we see wrought in ourselves, and in others through our means, the wonders of grace, and our joy will be made perfect. If we be sons of God, we shall be led by the voice of the Holy Ghost (cf. Rom. viii. 14), and His voice will become clear to our spiritual hearing if we fulfil the conditions of our priesthood in the spirit of penance and sacrifice to the Lord : for, " whilst they were ministering and fasting, the Holy Ghost said unto them, Separate Me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have taken them." Our very vocation is a separation from the world which we have made at the voice of the Holy Ghost ; and it is for the work of the Mass that He deigns to take us. And we depend upon Him in every step of our life, and especially when the sound of our words is to go forth and take effect.

The Gospel tells us what are the marks of a true priest whose life is guided by the Holy Ghost. Prudent in our dealings with God and men ; trusting more in that holy simplicity which comes from having " our eye single " (cf. Matt. vi. 22) ; putting not our trust in men, nor in the " arm of flesh " (2 Paral. xxxii. 8) ; ready to bear all for the sake of our Lord in the spirit of the Beatitudes ; speaking not our own words, but the words which the Holy Ghost puts upon our lips ; finding in Him alone that friendship, of which the world can only give a hollow and false imitation, and persevering to the end in our priestly life. These are the marks of a true servant of the Holy Ghost, such as a priest is bound to be, and the way by which we are to work out our salvation. As He has chosen us to be princes on the earth, let us, now that we are preparing the sacrifice, be mindful of His name, through whose power we exercise our office. Let us remember that St. Barnabas heard the voice of the

Holy Ghost whilst " they were ministering unto the Lord." During this Mass, He will speak to us, and tell us the deep things of God which no one knoweth save Himself (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 11). May we be mindful then of His name, and listen attentively for His voice. In the Communion, Jesus, through whom we get this " other Paraclete," tells us if we follow Him, and put into practice whatsoever He tells us, we shall share in the reward of St. Barnabas. That we may do so by the intercession of this holy apostle, we pray in the Post-Communion.

June 12. *St. John a St. Facundo* reminds us in the beautiful Collect, that we are representatives of the King of Peace, and are bound to " seek peace and pursue it " (Ps. xxxiii. 14). We are by our priesthood, peacemakers, not only between God and our people, but also between the members of our flocks who may be at variance. This is an important part of our duty, and one we often shirk, from a false sense of delicacy ; which, in other words, means a lack of moral courage. The duty of peacemaking requires all the prudence and simplicity of men of God. If our brethren hate one another, how can the gift they offer at the altar be acceptable to God ? and we who have charge of that altar, lest any profane and polluted offering be made, offer not only our, but their sacrifice : *meum et vestrum sacrificium* (Ord. Mis.). So we must, surely, have an obligation to help our people to participate in the sacrifice offered in their name, by being at peace one with another. Do we make ourselves a peacemaker ; or, alas ! do we stir up strife by our careless listening to gossip, and carrying tales to and fro, doing ourselves what we so strongly denounce in the pulpit ?

June 19. *St. Juliana di Falconeri V.* The Collect reminds us of that most important part of our pastoral duties, the care of God's sick, either actively by refreshing and strengthening them in the agony of death with the sacraments of Holy Church, or by our prayers assisting those who are about to die, that they may die in the Lord. The care of God's sick is, in a way, one of our most important duties ; for, as a well-known writer says : " Paradox as it may seem, the

Church is more concerned that her children should *die* well, than that they should live well." The greatest saint *may* fail at the last, and the greatest sinner may yield to grace. Of course, a good life is the best security for a good death, and to live otherwise would be the height of folly, and a tempting of God's mercy; yet there is something in a Catholic's last hour, badly even though he may have lived, which gives us hope beyond what we see. The royal gift of Baptism is still on his soul, the mark and grace of Confirmation is still there, ready to spring into action at the first movement of the dying man's will; the effects of his past communions and confessions, the power of the countless Masses in which he is not altogether cut off from a share; the millions of millions of *Aves* that have gone up since Gabriel first broke the silence of that midnight hour at Nazareth; the "pray for us sinners," so oft repeated, has been the prayer of the dying man; he is, in a special way, Mary's child, and, perchance, in former days was devout to her. Is she forgetful of past devotions? Surely she is not—but will repay all and everything done for her. Then there are the angels and saints interested in particular about the dying man, for is he not their brother in Jesus. Not only is heaven and earth all moved on behalf of the dying sinner, but what shall we say of the unutterable yearning of the Sacred Heart for that creature of His who is so near making His Passion void; of that deluge of light and help which came down streaming from the five wounds; that passionate pleading of the Sacred Humanity; that adorable tenderness of the Eternal Father, ready to welcome His poor prodigal; the loving mercy of the Word, who would die over again to save this child of the Church; and the sweet patience of the Holy Ghost still knocking at the heart, and luring the sinner on to repentance. When we think of all the interests that are concerned in a death-bed, especially in a Catholic's, and that perhaps in God's providence, it depends on us to set it all in motion, we can easily see how the devotion for the dying is an eminently priestly one, and is putting into practice the prayer: "Thy kingdom come." Many a soul owes its salvation, after a

careless life, to the prayers of unknown servants of God, who pray daily for those in the world about to die, that they may be refreshed and strengthened by Christ's sweet grace. May be, perhaps, through our carelessness, souls committed to our charge have passed away without these great sacraments which our Lord has specially instituted for that hour. Let us repair the wrong by a careful love of the dying and constant prayers for them. Daily in our Mass and Office should we make special prayer for those about to die ; and, by thus showing them mercy, we shall obtain mercy likewise in our hour of need.

June 21. *St. Aloysius, C.* This saintly pattern of purity tells us how pure should he be who is crowned with the highest honour and glory that can be given to mortal man. If the ordinary service of God, such as St. Aloysius was called to, demanded of him a purity and a holiness a little less than the angels ; how much more does our priesthood call for ; for in it we are associated not with the person of any angel, but with their very Maker and King before whose throne they lie prostrate in humblest adoration ? If we who ought to do so much more would even reach, or at any rate strive after, the closeness of union and purity which St. Aloysius had, we must follow the same road of penance that he trod. But, alas ! which of us can say that he imitates St. Aloysius in the wonderful innocence of his life as pictured to us in the lesson : without spot, seeking not after worldly riches, nor putting his trust therein ; proved and made perfect, transgressed not, nor fallen under temptation ; but having his hope from youth upwards set upon God who took him away out of this sinful world for the sake of his innocence, and has confirmed him for ever. Does this not humble us that we who have received such gifts, and who have by the Sacraments of Holy Orders such a claim to help from God, should profit so little thereby, and make such little progress in the way of God. A special appeal for purity of heart is made to us in the Offertory now that we are going up to the Mount of the Lord, and are about to stand in His holy place.

The Secret, in a most beautiful prayer, prays that we

may take part in the heavenly banquet clothed in the garments meet for the celebration of the divine espousals between God and our heart. It is not enough for us to avoid evil; we must also do good. We must actively seek after and practise holy purity in thought, word, and deed: for so, we are told in the Post-Communion, it becometh us, who have been fed with the food of angels, to live in an altogether angelic manner. We may note also the reference to the life of perpetual thanksgiving, the "always giving thanks" (Eph. v. 20) for the gift we have received.

June 24. *The Nativity of St. John Baptist* recalls to us that our vocation is to go before the face of the Lord, and prepare His path. We have been called *de ventre matris* by our name, for from all eternity has our vocation been settled. We have been selected as a sharp sword and as a chosen arrow where by the Lord may do battle against His foes. How glorious our calling then to bear witness that the Lord God we serve is the one God of all, the most High, to whose name all worship is due. The Collect is a prayer that we may be faithful to our vocation, and be the willing instruments for God to direct the minds of the faithful into the way of peace and safety (cf. *Cant. Benedictus*). The Lesson continues the same thought which the Introit suggested. God tells us that we are in a special manner His servants; and why? "Because I shall be glorified in thee." Servants labour not for their own glory, but for the glory of their master, especially when they have a master who lavishes upon them so many marks of love as our good Master shows to us; so we must labour as faithful servants, "that in all things God may be glorified." We are in the world as a light, and as the means of salvation to all men. The Gradual is a song of rejoicing on the divine election, which has been manifested in our vocation, and it reminds us that we are to be as the prophet of the Lord, the one who will teach the Word of God to His people, and prepare their hearts to receive Him. The Gospel tells us of the divine vocation of St. John, and we can readily apply it to our own vocation. The Offertory tells us what the life of one who is a forerunner of the great King should be. Unworldliness and mortification, as

they were the characteristics of the Baptist, so must they be ours. Let us now at least put away all worldly thought, and in the spirit of sacrifice offer ourself together with Jesus the Christ as victims to the worship of the Father; and thus, as the Secret says, not only show that He is to come, but that He is already present in us by the workings of His grace. In the Communion we are again reminded of our vocation. Surely in this moment when Jesus is opening the very treasures of His Godhead to us, we cannot refuse to be generous with Him, and to put away once and for all everything which keeps us back from following out all our vocation requires. He is the author of our new life, and as St. John knew the sound of the voice of Jesus speaking through His Blessed Mother, and leaped for joy thereat, so may we, prays the Post-Communion, know the voice of Jesus then speaking to us from within our heart, and rejoice too in His presence.

June 29. *SS. Peter and Paul.* The thought which this feast of the triumph of these two great saints at once suggests is that of profound gratitude to God for having made us members of that body mystical of which St. Peter or his successors is the visible head. How wonderful to think that we, so full of weakness and unfaithfulness, and all that is despicable, are yet members by many ties of that all-glorious body, the Church; and that by this bond of union all that concerns the Church touches us, too, in a most real and intimate manner. Hence to-day's feast, the triumph of the first Pope, is a particularly home-like sort of feast. The oneness of the Church is brought very near to us. St. Peter's glory is ours also, because we are one with him in the bond of unity, and what he has we have also; for the rule which obtains in the body mystical is that all things are in common: "all things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's" (1 Cor. iii. 23). Not only are we men knit together into one, but, as the Introit tells us, the angels, as forming a part of the Church triumphant, care for us, for we are their fellow-citizens. In a special manner too we, as priests, have a share all our own in to-day's feast, for the great bond of union, the Mass,

unites St. Peter, the divinely-appointed head of the hierarchy, with the humblest priest; and through him flow our rights and powers over the real and the mystical body of our Lord.

The Lesson (Acts xii.) tells us how the whole Church suffered when its head suffered, and how prayers were sent up without ceasing to God for him. Then in prison one of our "fellow-servants" (Apoc. xix. 10) came to his relief, and took him forth to freedom. Hereby we are taught that the duty of praying for our spiritual chiefs is incumbent upon us, and arises out of the very nature of the oneness of the body mystical. There are many prisons in which superiors may be, material and spiritual, many in which doubt and darkness may for a time hold their wills and judgments in restraint—a captivity harder, perhaps, to escape from than through bolts and bars. Chains of many kinds may bind them; and with the head thus deprived of liberty all those committed to his care are affected. Our duty and our hope, then, lie in prayer made unceasing to God for them; and we know, in His own good way, He will send His angel to shake off the chain and open the prison door. For superiors have been appointed by Him as princes of the earth, holding their power for our sakes and from Him; they are rocks upon which He grounds His Church to-day. Hence, as they are stones of His own choice and placing, He is in a manner bound to hear our prayers, and send His angel to their aid.

The Gospel (St. Matthew xvi.) is that great charter of the Church by which it is founded upon St. Peter. We are in the strictest union with him; and flesh and blood have not revealed it, but faith alone tells us the great dogma, from which all others flow, that the Incarnation is still a living reality, and that the Christ is still upon the earth in the person of His Vicar. The glorious words, "*Tu es Petrus,*" stir our heart to its lowest depths, and makes us renew our vows of obedience to the Church, and adore Him who has so wonderfully guarded it, and given its leadership to St. Peter and his successors. This same thought is carried on in the Offertory, as we are about to offer the sacrifice which Holy Church, being mindful of the name of our Lord,

offers through the ministry of Peter's children, and which is consecrated with apostolic prayers. In the Communion our Lord calls us each "Peter," for we are all joint stones with the Prince of the Apostles; and now we make the same confession of faith as he did: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" for we, indeed, know Him as such in this moment of Holy Communion. So on our faith our gracious Master seeks to build a church to Himself in our souls, a church which will be ever filled with His presence, and ever resound with His praise, a tabernacle of God with the rest of men. Our souls being thus built up by the heavenly Lord, we pray in the Post-Communion that by the prayers of the holy Apostles we may be screened from all that can turn God out of the dwelling-place He has chosen, or destroy or weaken the faith in Him which is the foundation of the spiritual edifice He seeks to build in our soul.

June 30. *Commemoration of St. Paul.* Yesterday's feast was mainly taken up with St. Peter, and as the Church never puts asunder those whom God has joined together, we have to-day a special feast in honour of that vessel of election, that model of all priestly perfection, the great St. Paul. This Mass is full of spiritual teaching about the practical side of our vocation. The Introit tell us that we must be men of faith, hope, and charity; knowing, by faith, Him in whom we believe; hoping in Him, for He is all powerful; loving Him for Himself, as we know Him, and for His loving-kindness in keeping our deposit as a most just Judge. He has foreseen all our life, and if He allows us to fall, it is only that we may know our weakness and make use of His grace to rise again once more. What a patron St. Paul is for those who are working as the pastoral clergy. The multitude of the Gentiles God has taught by him are so many claims St. Paul has for being heard when he prays for us who are labouring as he laboured. So will it be with us; the more faithfully we labour; the more souls we save, the greater will be our power with God, for we will have their prayers joined to ours, and the good Master we serve has promised: "When two of you agree together about anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them by My Father,

who is in heaven” (St. Matt. xviii. 19). What will he not then do when there is a *multitudo gentium* praying with us? Like St. Paul, the Gospel we preach is not according to man, but is the revelation of Jesus to the world. But, alas! too often, instead of preaching the Gospel of God, we preach our own, and seek for the praise of men. Oh, did we but know how this shameful setting up of our own gospel instead of that we are sent to preach, persecutes the Church of God, and fights against her, and sides with her enemies, we would no longer confer with flesh and blood, we would retire to the Arabia of evangelical simplicity—the *simplicitas virilis* of St. Charles—which is far from the flattery of men; and by visiting Jerusalem, and drinking deeply of the faith from St. Peter’s fount, we would boldly “preach the Christ, and Him crucified” in all apostolical zeal and force, for to this end have we been called by His grace. The same call St. Paul had is also ours, each according to his appointment. Would that men could know the grace of God which is given to us! Would that they could see us use it and keep it always abiding in us! May St. Paul, the preacher of truth and teacher of nations, help us by his prayers to be preachers after God’s heart, and not after what he calls “the itching ears of men” (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 3).

The Gospel tells us, as we saw on the Feast of St. Barnabas, about the lot of those who preach God’s word. And to-day, whilst keeping the feast of the great preacher, we may fittingly examine ourselves how we perform this part of our duty. Some words which occur in this Gospel, *Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini*, are often quoted as a reason against preparing our sermons. But this is an idle and impertinent misquotation, for the context tells us that it is only when we stand before tribunals, and are betrayed into the hands of persecutors, that our Lord has promised that the Holy Ghost will put words of power on our lips, as we see He did in the case of St. Stephen, who was filled with the Holy Ghost, and spoke. Surely, if we have a message from the great God to deliver to His people, if we are ambassadors for the Christ” (2 Cor. v. 20), and it depends

upon us whether that message be delivered in such a way as to influence our hearers, common sense tells us that preparation is needed upon our part to give that message in a way its importance demands. We are sowers of the seed of the Word of God, and we must do what lies in our power to prevent the seed from being wasted. Then when we have done our share we can expect the Holy Ghost to aid us; but it is certainly the height of presumption for us to call upon Him to supply the defects of our idleness. That some preparation is required, then, stands to reason, from the very fact it is the Word of God we are preaching, and "the Word of God is a double-edged sword," which requires careful handling lest we cut ourselves to our own hurt. "Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord negligently" (Jeremias xlviii.) says the Holy Ghost; and, may be, too often we have merited this malediction. So study, especially in that great Book of all Wisdom, that compendium of God's law and love, the crucifix, is necessary. We come in the simplicity of speech to exercise the holy folly of preaching. Subtlety of words or majestic periods are not wanted, rather they hinder God's Word; but love of God and a true zeal for the souls He has redeemed; prayer and meditation upon Gospel truths we must have, otherwise our people get from our sermons just what we put into it—"wind and vanity" (Is. xli. 29). If we labour in the true spirit at our sermons, then will the Holy Ghost help us, and give us a return for the bread we cast upon the running waters (Eccli. xi. 1).

In the Offertory we may, perhaps, carry on the same thought as far as it concerns our flock. They are the friends of God, heirs to His kingdom; therefore, should they be exceedingly honoured by us, and held in reverence as so many images of our Lord. Hence, we should practically show our respect for them by the care we take when we are exercising our ministry on their behalf, so that their principality in the world of grace may be strengthened exceedingly. We have so many motives, which come from our knowledge of what the priesthood is, to urge us to care and fervour in celebrating the sacred mysteries; and now we add one more, the reverence we owe to our flock, who

are quick to learn reverence or disrespect, according to what they see us animated with in the discharge of our duties. A reverent priest makes a reverent people. This the Secret recalls in speaking of our Sacrifice as the *dona plebis*. Our Lord calls upon us in the Communion to be heart-free from all worldly loves, and leave all, and follow Him. If, like St. Paul, we commit ourselves entirely to Him, and say in all simplicity, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me do?" (Acts ix. 6), counting all things as loss, so that we gain the Christ, then will He, our gracious Master, give us a hundred-fold even in this life, by the sweetness of His consolations; and in the next world more than a hundred times a hundred-fold by the happy possession of Him who is our "reward exceeding great." The sacrifice we have offered to the Most High is the true and only remedy of our soul; and, if we use it properly, will cure us of all the ills which hinder us from using our priesthood for the spreading of God's kingdom among men. One Mass is enough to fill us with the apostolical zeal and fervour of a St. Paul; and yet, after all our years of Masses, we are so far from being anything like what God has a claim to expect from us. May the great Apostle, the preacher of truth, who knew what the truth was in which he believed, pray for us that the grace of the priesthood, which is always at hand, may not be made void by our neglecting to stir it up, and walking unworthily of our vocation.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

PETER O'HIGGINS

THE next martyr is Father Peter O'Higgins, Prior of St. Eustace's, Naas. He was a renowned preacher, endowed in a high degree with all those qualities which give their possessor influence and power over the hearts of men; and, what was more, he was himself a man of God. Seldom, indeed, during the history of Ireland were such priests more needed than at the eventful time in which Father O'Higgins lived and laboured. Bad as Queen Elizabeth was, James I. was still worse;¹ the State papers of his reign convict him of even greater cruelty towards the Irish Catholics. The good intentions of his son, Charles I., were frustrated by the Puritans; and, year after year, the situation became less endurable. At last, as everyone knows, the people arose in defence of their faith and their rights. The war of 1641 was a struggle, *pro aris et focis*, one in which the people's religion and national existence were threatened by the deadly enemies of both.

At some time during its progress the eloquent and zealous priest was captured. He was then brought before the Lords Justices² (Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase), on the charge that he had preached against the religion of England, and had endeavoured to seduce the people from their allegiance. He was afterwards kept in prison for such time, and subjected to various torments. When at length his enemies failed to

¹ His dispositions towards the clergy may be gathered from a speech he delivered in the Star Chamber, A.D. 1616:—"I confess I am loth to hang a priest only for religion sake and for saying Mass; but if he refuse to take the oath of allegiance (which let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet as you will find by my book is merely civil), these that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no persecution, but good justice, and those priests also that out of my grace and mercy have been let go out of prison, and banished (*the edicts of banishment*, 1605-1614) upon condition not to return, ask me no questions touching these; quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. To these I join those that break prison, for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain sign nothing will hold but the halter."

² They held the viceregal power conjointly; their office was the same as that of the Lord Lieutenant in modern times.

convict him of any crime against the laws of the realm, he was offered his life and liberty; and, in addition, many tempting rewards, if he would but renounce his faith. On the morning of the day on which he was to be executed a confidential messenger was despatched to Father O'Higgins with the proposal of the Lords Justices. His reply was:—"To-day I am to be led to the scaffold—no one can doubt that nature shrinks from it, for life is sweet—nor am I so weary of life as to long for my end. Tell your masters then to make me this offer in their own handwriting, leaving me free to choose life or death just as I please, so that if I do give up my religion, the death which otherwise awaited me may afford me an excuse." When the Lords Justices were informed of what had passed, as they felt sure that the priest's resolution was now shaken, while the preparations for his execution as a traitor were actually being made, they privately sent him as required the paper in their own handwriting. The holy confessor of the faith, according to the barbarous custom of the time, was then dragged on a hurdle through the city to the place of execution. The much-desired document was given to him just as he put his foot on the first step of the fatal ladder. A smile of satisfaction was seen to pass over his saintly countenance, and as a modern writer graphically describes it: "Loud was the shout of the heretic mob, who thought they were about to gain a 'convert.'" Father O'Higgins calmly ascended the scaffold for his last and best sermon; then standing above the breathless and eager crowd, with joy depicted on his every feature, he held up the paper signed and sealed by the Lords Justices, and thus addressed the Catholics that were present:—

"Dearly beloved, children like myself of the one true Church, ever since I fell into the hands of these cruel heretics who now surround me, I have suffered many insults, and endured hunger in a fetid dungeon. I was kept in ignorance of the real cause for which I was condemned, and this prevented me from expecting the martyr's crown, for not the punishment, but the cause, makes the martyr. But the all-seeing, all-powerful God, the protector of my innocence, who ordereth all things sweetly, has brought the truth to light. Though I was indicted as guilty of a treasonable

offence, namely, for seducing people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, King Charles I., to-day I am condemned to die, solely because I am a Catholic. Here is the proof of it—by authority, and in the very handwriting of the Lords Justices. This paper contains their acknowledgment of my innocence, and their promise of life, and of all that could make life happy, on *one* condition, that I renounce my religion. Now, I call God and man to witness, that of my own free will I spurn their offer, and that for the Catholic faith I gladly lay down my life.”

With these words he thrêw the paper to a friend whom he saw in the crowd, and bade the executioner do his duty. After the fatal drop, the hangman swung the body violently from side to side. When it had ceased to vibrate, and had remained for a time quite still, the martyr's lips uttered in a loud voice, what St. Augustine calls the most beautiful of all prayers, the signal of triumph over evil: “Deo gratias.”

We shall now compare with this account, which is taken from the Acts Gen. Chap. 1656, and O'Daly, the testimonies of other contemporary historians, two Catholic¹ and two Protestant. With regard to the latter, it must be remarked that their admissions are of the highest value as proofs of Father O'Higgins' innocence. Protestant histories of the war of 1641, and of events connected with it, for the most part teem with lies. The works of Temple, Clarendon, Borlase, &c., are one tissue of calumnies. All the crimes, all the cruelties, were committed by the Catholics. The priests instigated them. If writers of this sort have a good word to say of a priest, it ought to be estimated at its real worth. One of them, Borlase, the son of the persecuting Lord Justice, in his *History of the execrable Irish Rebellion*. London, 1680, thus describes Father O'Higgins. It may be observed that here he copies Clarendon almost *verbatim*.

A.D. 1641.—“In this expedition to the county of Kildare the soldiers found a priest, one Mr. Higgins, at Naas, who might, if he pleased, have easily fled, if he apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the Earl of Ormond, he voluntarily confessed that he was a Papist, and that his residence was in the town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent,

¹ Bruodin has a notice of Father O'Higgins, but it contains no additional information.

but believed that he could not be without ample testimony of it, having, by his sole charity and power, preserved many of the English from the rage and fury of the Irish, and, therefore, he only besought his lordship to preserve him from the fury and violence of the soldiers, and put him securely into Dublin, though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a Papist, the officer in whose custody he was entrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the Earl could do to compose the meeting. When his lordship came to Dublin he informed the Lords-Justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, and of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, and of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit, from entering into rebellion, and of many charitable offices he had performed, of all which there was not wanting evidence enough, there being then many in Dublin who owed their lives, and whatever of their fortunes was left, purely to him. Within a few days after, when the Earl did not suspect the poor man being in danger, he heard that Sir Charles Coote,¹ who was Provost-Master-General, had him taken out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity the Earl complained to the Lords Justices; but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been."

Carte, in his *Life of Ormonde*, takes great pains to exculpate him from complicity in the death of Father O'Higgins. It does indeed appear certain that the Earl (afterwards Duke) was kindly disposed towards the priest, at least that he was not so bloodthirsty as Coote. Our readers will at once observe, on reading the appended account, that Carte calls Father O'Higgins a Franciscan. In what regards the Catholic Church, as is well known, this writer is of little or no authority, so his *obiter dictum* need not detain us. He appears to have fallen into this mistake, because Pontius (Punch) against whom Bellings wrote the *Annotationes in Pontium*, was a Franciscan. Had Carte read Pontius's own work, or that of Bruodin, he would have seen that both these Franciscans state that Father O'Higgins

¹Borlase, in a 'note (fol. 324) excuses Coote thus:—"If he had not done it, his Provost-Marshal's Commission would have been violated, and he might have been brought to answer for his contempt at a Council of War." This shows that he thought Coote acted under orders from the Lords Justices.

was a Dominican. In the glorious list of the Irish Franciscan martyrs (more than a hundred), now drawn up for the process of beatification, there is not a single Higgins or O'Higgins. And in a list of four hundred Irish martyrs (longer than that which is at present before the Archbishop's court), there are only three of the name—one a layman, a physician; the others, both Dominicans, Father Thomas O'Higgins of Clonmel, and Father Peter O'Higgins of Naas. It will be observed that Carte says Father O'Higgins had been about six weeks in prison when he was executed on March 24th (last day of the year 1641, *old style*); so he gave himself up about the middle of February

CARTE'S LIFE OF THE DUKE OF ORMONDE (A.D. 1642), Vol. I. Book III., p. 278 (ed. London, 1736).

"There happened upon this occasion, an affair which gave the Earl of Ormonde a good deal of concern, and which he considered (as it was probably meant) to be an indignity offered to himself (*Annotaciones in Pontium*, p. 139). There was one Father Higgins, a Franciscan, a very quiet, inoffensive, pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who officiated as a Roman Catholick priest, at the Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English, in those parts, from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The Earl of Ormond found him at the Naas, took him under his protection (he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion), and brought him along with him to Dublin. About six weeks afterwards, when upon the Earl of Ormond's return from his expedition to Drogheda, it was thought politick to discourage the submission which the Gentry of the Pale and others, who had been drawn in, or forced to submit to the prevailing force of the Rebels were generally disposed to make, and to exasperate them by new cruelties, and when these executions by martial law were carrying on in Dublin, whereof Sir Charles Coote was still Governor (the Lords Justices having in his favour declined executing the order sent for putting Sir Simon Harcourt into that post), this man was seized on March 24th, and, without any formality or delay, immediately hanged. The Earl of Ormond hearing of it after the execution, too late to prevent the cruelty, expostulated with the Lords Justices about it in Council. They pretended to be surprised at it, and excused themselves from having any hand in the fact, by their having given Sir Charles Coote a general authority to do such things without consulting them.

There is something so extraordinary in this proceeding of Sir Charles Coote and the Lords Justices, that one is afraid of guessing at the motives thereof. The hanging of a man of character, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none, but that of his religion, looked as if they had a mind to countenance the notion (which they pretended in their letters to guard against) of this being a war of religion. The hanging of him in such a manner by martial law, by Sir Charles Coote's authority, without a particular warrant from the State, seems so perfectly well calculated to justify the fears, which the Lords of the Pale pretended to have of trusting themselves in a place whereof that gentleman was Governor, that whatsoever the motives were, they certainly must be very strong in their influence to overbalance the considerations and the respect due to the Earl of Ormond's merit and dignity, though probably not very honourable in their nature, when the effects which they produced were so inconsistent with law, justice, and humanity. The Earl of Ormond suffered for a long time after a good deal of odium on account of this execution of Father Higgins, through a false representation made of it by some of the partisans of the Nuncio."

These two accounts need no comment. They show too clearly the motives which influenced the Lords Justices and their chosen instrument, Sir Charles Coote. The latter on this occasion verified the description which Lord Castlehaven gives of him¹:—"Sir Charles Coote, a hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted by the English and Protestants. Yet this was the man whom the Lords Justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martial law, to put to death rebels and traitors; *i. e.*, all such as *he* should *deem* to be so; which he performed with delight, and a wanton kind of cruelty." Borlase gives the plain facts, but Carte's own reflections are particularly instructive. As far as his bigotry allowed him, or as far as he dared to tell the truth, he confesses that "the hanging of a man of character, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none, but that of his religion," though he was "afraid of guessing at the motives thereof," did seem to countenance "the notion of this being a war of religion." His chief concern is to defend his hero, Ormond. And in this he succeeds, for the Earl was not guilty of the sacrilegious murder as it actually occurred.

¹ MS. Vindication of his own *Memoirs*, p. 132.

He had even promised to save Father O'Higgins' life. We do not know his motives in this instance; but we may believe this description of his character: "He was less violent than Parsons and Borlase, yet more dangerous: his arguments were softer than the rack, yet more demoralizing."

However, we are not going to judge either him or Coots (though Father O'Higgins said on the scaffold that they were the cause of his death; however he appears to have been mistaken as regards Ormond); it is enough for us that Borlase and Carte seem to contain statements which indicate that the Dominican was executed "in odium fidei;" and in confirmation of it we now turn to the Catholic writers.

"R. P. FR. JOANNIS PONCII, ORD. MIN. 'D. RICHARDI BELLINGHAMI VINDICIÆ EVERSÆ—PARISIIS, 1653.'"

"Id tibi stomachum movet, et calumniam forte haberi vis quod Ormonius etiam sacerdotum sanguine maculatus dicitur. Sed quo quæso te, nisi Ormonio exercitum ducente Venerabiles viri, Henricus Vitus sacerdos sæcularis, et Petrus Higgins ordinis Prædicatorum perierunt? Vitum, octogenarium, virum mansuetum, pacificum, et nobili genere oriundum, a se patriam exercitu percurrente, in pago de Ballinacurri, cum confessiones exciperet captum, tanquam proditorem, virum nefarium, ac Regis hostem, cum revera nullum aliud crimen ipsius probari posset, nisi quod confessiones audiverat (nequaquam, ut innocenti et venerando seni parceret, litteris obsecrante Comite Westmediæ) in pago de Raconel vita privavit Ormonius; qui etiam Patrem Higgins in oppido de Naas repertum, ubi suæ innocentiae conscius cum nihil timeret, eum quamvis fugere poterat, intrepide expectavit. Dublinium duci jubet, promittens tamen nihil mali ei eventurum, qui tamen, quæ Ormonii fides est, per plateas civitatis Dubliniensis tractus, ad furcas damnatus est, et cum jam scalas ascendisset, in populum allocutus (sunt jam Parisiis totius Historiæ testes oculares) Propter quod scelus ad hoc infame supplicium trahor? summe inventus armatus in hostium castris, an quidpiam unquam contra serenissimum Regem molitus sum; nonne Ormonio cum exercitu oppidum de Naas ingredienti, cum facile fugere potuissem, ultra me obtuli? An ideo perduellis habeor, quod afflictos aliquot protestantes a morte eripui, et eorum bona ac fortunas servavi? Aliorum certe, quæ Dei gratia est, criminum mihi conscius non sum; semper pro viribus conservandæ pacis author eram: non sum secutus eorum partes, qui in Regno turbas excitasse feruntur. In hac civitate, & partibus vicinis, in quibus authoritas Regi adhuc florere dicitur, semper habitavi, nulla senatus Regii arcana hosti aperui, nec potui quidem, quia nulla mihi communicata

fuere. Quoad reliquam meam vitam, spero eam in omnium vestrum opinione culpa et labe vacare; cur ego insons morti adjudicor? Excellentissimus D. Ormonia Marchio spopondit mihi vitam; ipsi fidem habui, quam certe Carolo Coot, hujus urbis Gubernatori, innocentium ac infantium sanguinis effusori non habuissem. Id mihi summo solatio est, quod innocens, ac Regi meo summe fidelis moriar, cui ut omnia feliciter succedant, Deum vehementer obsecro, Marchio Ormonia necis meae reus est, ei tamen, Carolo Coot et cæteris, qui in meam mortem conspirarunt, ex animo penitus ignosco. Hæc eo dicente, nonnulli protestantes, iis fortassis, qui viri optimi charitatem experti sunt, in lachrymas prorupere, quorum etiam unus, isque, ut vocant, Verbi Dei minister, amare flens, Heu, inquit, moritur vir misericors, qui charitatis flamma succensus, me licet adversæ Religionis, sub lectulo suo a rebellium furore, custodivit, nudum vestivit, pecuniis juit, incolumem dimisit. Ira Dei de coelo super effundentes justi et innocentis sanguinem descendet. Habes ergo D. Bellinge Ormonium tuum duorum Sacerdotum sanguine maculatum, idque et dici & scribi posse sine ulla calumnia aut animi violentia."

Poncius agrees in substance with the others. He has not all that O'Daly, Borlase, and Carte have; but, on the other hand, he gives us some additional knowledge. On the scaffold, the martyr protested that he was loyal to Charles the First (no doubt in order to refute the calumny that he was condemned for high-treason); some Protestants who were present at the execution burst into tears, and one of them, a minister, declared that he owed his life to Father O'Higgins, who had concealed him under his own bed, given him clothes and money, and seen him safe off on his departure. This minister exclaimed, that the anger of God would fall on those who shed the blood of the innocent.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

(To be continued.)

Documents

RENEWAL "AD QUINQUENNium" OF THE PRIVILEGE GRANTED
TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND TO EXERCISE IN FAVOUR
OF STUDENTS RESIDENT IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, AND IN
THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, THE DISPENSING POWER
CONTAINED IN THE FORMULA VI. RESPECTING INTER-
STICES AND THE AGE FOR PRIESTHOOD

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanensis, manum Beatitudinis suae deosculans, humillime petit prorogationem ad aliud quinquennium facultatum die 5 Augusti 1888 Episcopis Hiberniae concessarum, videlicet eatenus utendi facultatibus in Formula VI. n. n. 26 et 27 concessis extra fines dioecesium suarum ut cum subditis suis in Collegio Maynutiano et in Collegio S. Patritii apud Lutetiam Parisiorum ad ordines sacros promovendos dispensare valeant super intersticiis et super defectu aetatis unius anni.

Ex Audientia SS^{mi} diei 29 Aprilis 1894.

SS^{mus} Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne annuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces ad aliud quinquennium in forma et terminis primaevae concessionis.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Cong^{nis} de Propaganda Fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND OF USING
THE SHORT FORM IN THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS

Ex Audientia SS^{mi} die habita 27 Aprilis, 1894.

SS^{mus} Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario R. P. D. Cardinali Primati totius Hiberniae et cuilibet alio Ordinario ejusdem regionis auctoritatem facit utendi in adultis sacro fonte abluendis breviori formula pro baptismo parvulorum in Rituali Romano praescripta, omissa longiori pro adultis ibidem statuta, dictamque facultatem Missionariis sibi subditis subdelegandi. Enixe tamen curet Episcopus Orator ut

res quancitius ad praescriptiones eiusdem Ritualis Romani reducantur.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Congñis de Propaganda fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

Gratis quocumque titulo.

THE PENANCE TO BE IMPOSED ON THE OCCASION OF
MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION

S. Poenitentiaria Ap: 8 Aprilis 1890.—Ep. Nicotrien et Tropien.

In dispensationibus matrimonialibus a S. Poenitentiaria expositis, saepe iuxta causas expositas, inseritur clausula: *cum gravi et diuturna poenitentia salutari*; et in quibusdam aliis legitur haec praescriptio: *cum gravi poenitentia salutari*. Attenta hodie dominante corruptione, pessimaque dispensatorum voluntate, qui quidem labiis promittunt, ac deinde promissa non exequuntur, atque etiam aliquoties impotentia eorum, eo quod a mane ad vesperam labori incumbere debeant, ut sibi victum comparent, quaeritur:—Potestne iniungi poenitentia per tres tantum menses, verum pluribus per hebdomadam vicibus adimplenda, quando praescripta est *gravis et diuturna*, ac per unum solum mensem, cum statuta fuit *gravis poenitentia salutaris*, idque ad evitandum novum sponсорum peccatum, stante firma certitudine, quod, celebrato semel matrimonio, iam nihil amplius curent, cum gravi propriae conscientiae damno?

R. In praefinienda poenitentiae qualitate, gravitate, duratione, etc., quae dispensantis aut delegati arbitrio iuri conformi remittuntur, neque severitatis, neque humanitatis fines esse excedendos, rationemque habendam conditionis, aetatis, infirmitatis, officii, sexus, etc., eorum quibus poena irrogari iniungitur.

REGARDING THE CLAUSE REQUIRING ABSOLUTION FROM
CENSURE IN THE CASE OF A MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION

S. Poenitent. Ap. 2 Iulii 1891.

Utrum casu quo nullam praevidet Ordinarius censuram ab oratoribus fuisse contractam, debet nihilominus Ordinarius, qui dispensationem matrimonialem vi alicuius indulti concedit, clausulam absolutionis ad cautelam praemittere, quam Sacra Poenitentiaria et Apostolica Dataria praemittere consueverunt.

R. Absolutionem a censuris, in casu de quo agitur, laudabiliter praemitti.

REGARDING THE CEREMONY OF MARRIAGE PERFORMED IN
AN HERETICAL TEMPLE, IN OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW OF
THE STATE

S. C. S. Officii 27 Augusti 1658.

Cum in praedictarum (Belgii) Provinciarum aliquibus politica iubeant statuta, ut catholici omnes qui matrimonia inire volent, in templis haereticis coram praedicante et populo calvinistis contrahant sub hac formula sponsorum reciproca: *accipio N. N. in conjugem meam coram hac sancta communitate*, quaeritur: 1. An id possit permitti. 2. An possint a parocho catholico coniungi in matrimonium immediate postquam contraxerint coram praedicante et populo calvinistis cum illa verborum formula *coram hac sancta communitate* antequam de tali synagoga haeretica pro sancta agnita poeniteant.

R. Ad. 1. Negative. Ad 2. Qui contraxerunt coram tali communitate pro sancta cognita, ac denuo petunt coniungi coram parocho catholico, posse et debere coniungi antequam poeniteant. Ex charitate tamen esse monendos ut interius poeniteant, et, si fieri potest, prius confiteantur, et imponatur illis aliqua suavis poenitentia salutaris. Qui vero prius contraxerunt coram parocho catholico, monendos esse ne compareant ad contrahendum coram praedicante et populo haeretico cum illa formula *coram hac sancta communitate*.

THE RECEPTION OF HOLY COMMUNION BEFORE MARRIAGE

S. C. S. Officii 9 Maii 1821.—Mission Kentucky.

Passim ad matrimonium se afferunt, qui nedum communicant; licetne hoc Sacramentum (Matrimonii) dare antequam communi-cent? Communiter accidit quod, post contractum matrimonium, ad vomitum redeant cunctaque negligant.

R. Animarum pastores totis viribus in id incumbere debent, ut nupturi rite in catholicae doctrinae rudimentis sint instructi, peccata sacramentaliter confiteri, sacraeque mensae accedere consueverint, atque curare ut matrimonii celebrationi Sacram Communionem purificatis animis perceptam, adiungant.

MAY A BISHOP OR MISSIONARY PRIEST ASSIST AT THE
MARRIAGE OF HERETICS.

S. C. S. Officii 20 Decembris 1837.

Ep. Barden. (Bardstow seu Louisville).

Humiliter exponit quod multi protestantes, absque ulla intentione religionem catholicam amplectendi, saepe sollicitant,

ut vel coram uno e suis sacerdotibus, vel coram Episcopo ipso consensum ad matrimonium contrahendum praestent, Notandum est quod in talibus circumstantiis non tamquam sacerdotes, sed sicut magistratus civiles agerent Episcopus et sacerdotes, quod legibus reipublicae licitum est. Nunc quaerit utrum ipsi missionariisque suis liceat talibus praeesse matrimoniis.

R. Si agatur de matrimonio inter duas partes haereticas, licet huiusmodi interventus non ita reprobetur, ut numquam licitus esse possit, communiter tamen esse dissuadendum. Si vero altera pars sit catholica, obtenta dispensatione ab impedimento mixtae religionis, et servatis solitis clausulis et conditionibus, licere.

Notices of Books

INSTITUTIONES THEODICAEAE, SIVE THEOLOGIAE NATURALIS, SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMAE AQUINATIS AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM ACCOMODATAE Joseph Hontheim, S.J. Friburgia Brisgovia: Sumptibus Herder.

In August, 1879, His Holiness Leo XIII. addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the Catholic world a letter, in which he explained the necessity of sound philosophical teaching. Stimulated by this, the Jesuits determined to publish a series of volumes on the whole course of philosophy. Already, in fulfilment of this resolution, they have published works on natural philosophy, logic, and moral philosophy. Now Father Hontheim enlarges the series by the present volume on natural theology.

The work is divided into two parts. The first treats of God as He is in Himself; the second treats of the origin of things from God's creative power. The first part contains two sections—one on God's existence and essence; the other on His attributes. About two hundred and eighty pages are devoted to the existence of God. The usual metaphysical, physical, and moral arguments are discussed in their many forms, and the more important objections against these arguments are replied to at great length. The metaphysical essence of God is shown to be His Aseity; His physical essence is proved to consist of all perfections, while, at the same time, it has the greatest unity. The attributes of God are treated of in two sections. In the first are discussed the attributes of the Divine *esse*; while the second is devoted to

attributes of the divine action, such as the Divine intellect and will. The second portion of the volume, which concerns the divine origin of things, embraces five chapters—on the origin of possible things, creation, conservation, divine concursus, and divine providence.

The controverted questions about God's knowledge and concursus are debated from a Molinist point of view. In a disputation of much force Father Hontheim undertakes to prove that St. Thomas was not a defender of the doctrine of "*Praemotio Physica*." We are pleased to see that he devotes a special chapter to a discussion of the system which he calls "*Praemotio Physica Indifferens*." Though it is rejected by the author, it seems to avoid many serious difficulties of the Molinist and advanced Thomist doctrines.

Father Hontheim's work has many valuable qualities to recommend it to the student of philosophy. It treats very fully every question that belongs to natural theology. It devotes much space to an explanation not only of philosophical truth, but also of the erroneous teachings of such men as Hegel, Kant, Darwin, Spinoza, &c. Nearly one hundred and thirty pages are given to an historical, doctrinal, and critical examination of Materialism and Pantheism. Though this addition renders the work very useful for advanced students of philosophy, it is rather a drawback for ordinary students, for whom the work seems to be primarily intended. Father Hontheim's wealth of argument deserves special mention. Nearly every doctrine that he undertakes to defend is backed up by many forcible arguments. The clearness, too, with which he explains his propositions renders the work very valuable. These qualities cannot fail to gain popularity for this volume. We can recommend it as a really good book on natural theology.

J. M. H.

ST. THOMAS'S PRIORY. By Joseph Gillow. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS handsome volume narrates the history of Catholicity in Stafford, and gives an interesting account of the priests who laboured there from the Reformation to our own time. St. Thomas's Priory, from which the book derives its name, was a convent of the Black Canons situated near Stafford, and, after the dissolution of religious houses, was granted by Henry VIII. to Rowland Lee, one of the faithless bishops who recognised Henry as "supreme head of the Church and clergy of England."

After his death it passed into the hands of his nephew, Bryan Fowler, who was a staunch supporter of the old faith, and maintained a chaplaincy at the priory, from which, Mr. Gillow tells us, "the Stafford Mission derives its immediate descent." Mr. Gillow gives an interesting account of the subsequent history of the priory, and of the good Catholic family, the Fowlers, whose chief seat it continued to be for many years.

Mr. Gillow's sketches of the lives of the different priests who served the Stafford mission, during the dark days of persecution, and on down to the present time, are full of interest. They picture vividly for the reader the hardships and perils the Catholic priest had to encounter on the English Mission, for many weary years after the protean creed of the Reformers became the national religion. They enable us, too, to appreciate more fully the great change that has since supervened in the attitude of the English people towards the religion of their forefathers, and the wonderful progress the Church has made among them.

St. Thomas's Priory is evidently the fruit of much labour and research on the part of Mr. Gillow. It is written without the stiffness and severity of formal history, and is interspersed with many entertaining anecdotes. The reader cannot fail to derive much interesting information from the perusal of it.

P. J. B.

MANUAL OF PRAYERS FOR YOUTH. By Rev. John Morris, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS manual contains, in a small compass, a large number of simple, yet very beautiful prayers for the use of young people. The devotions for Confession and Communion are singularly beautiful, the very simplicity of their wording rendering them even more touching, and making them particularly appropriate for the young. In fact we can have nothing but praise for this excellent little manual, and can cordially recommend it to those who may be seeking a prayer-book thoroughly adapted to the use of the young.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF IRELAND. By P. W. Joyce, author of *a Short History of Ireland, Irish Names of Places, &c.* Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. Price 2s.

IN the space of three hundred pages, Dr. Joyce gives a connected view of the chief events of the history of Ireland. He

divides the book into five parts. In the first, there are several small chapters on the manners, customs, and institutions of the ancient Irish, among them being some on such interesting subjects as the Irish Language and Literature, its Annals, Histories, and Genealogies, The Brehon Law, Grades and Groups of Society, Tenure of Land, Music, Art, &c. In the next part we have the history of Ireland down to the English Invasion; in the third part, it is continued down to the pacification under Henry VIII.; in the fourth, to 1695; and the fifth part brings it down to 1837. Reference is made easy by means of numbers placed before most of the paragraphs, and an index.

The history is interesting and sympathetic, and the reputation gained by the author, through his *Short History of Ireland*, is a voucher for its impartiality and accuracy. It should prove very acceptable to those who wish to get condensed and reliable information on the general history of our country; and among the number should certainly be every Irishman who can read and afford the sum of two shillings. As a rule, Irishmen know little about the history and antiquities of their country. How many, for example, could tell one, accurately, what were the main features of the Brehon code, and why it was so called; who was Art MacMurragh Kavanagh; what was Poynings' Law, &c. Perhaps up to now we have had the excuse that no history was written in which such main facts were told in a condensed and interesting form, and in which, too, the information was reliable, and the author was in sympathy with our country. But that excuse no longer exists, and patriotism should lead every Irishman to know as much about his country as he will find set forth in a very readable manner in Dr. Joyce's little book. We shall be much surprised if Intermediate students do not find it specially useful as a class-book for the course of Irish History.

P. M.

THE PLACE OF DREAMS. By Rev. W. Barry, D.D.
London: Catholic Truth Society.

WE do not think Dr. Barry has been fortunate in the selection of a name for his book. The title is certainly not attractive, though not inappropriate, for the four tales of which the volume is composed have something weird, something passing strange about them, that would make the reader, by times, fancy himself in a land of dreams. But if the rev. author cannot be congratulated

on the title of his book, he certainly deserves congratulations for his keen appreciation of nature in all her changing forms, and the elegance and ease with which he presents to the imagination vivid pictures of rural scenery. Deeply Catholic in sentiment, narrated in a pleasing style, the tales are most interesting, and at the same time—like every story worth the telling—convey a moral. The strange story of the quiet, student-like old priest, narrated in the *House of Shadows*, ought to warn the curious from seeking after forbidden knowledge; while the sad fate of the young monk, detailed in *St. Anthony's Flask*, whose prospects were once so bright, shows the evil of giving way to pride, and the awful danger of preaching the Gospel "in the persuasive words of human wisdom."

THOMAS CRANMER; An Historical Sketch. J. R. Willington, M.A. Art & Book Company, London. 1893.

THIS pamphlet is a very strong indictment of Archbishop Cranmer for cruelty, cowardice, faithlessness, perjury, and absolute unscrupulousness. Nowadays no Protestant with a knowledge of history professes to believe that either Thomas Cranmer, Martin Luther, Calvin, or any other of the prime movers of the Reformation was a saint. On the contrary, it is very well known that the majority of them were considerably wicked, even as laymen go, though inasmuch as they were ecclesiastics, a far stricter obligation of sanctity lay on them. But Thomas Cranmer was one of the very worst of the lot, and it would be difficult to find a parallel among them for the meanness, unmanliness, and treachery of the ecclesiastical director of the Reformation in England. Lord Macaulay, as quoted by our author, says of him, that he was saintly in his professions, but unscrupulous in his dealings, zealous for nothing, and a coward in action. The Protestant Dr. Littledale is quoted by our author as saying that it was a marvel to him how anyone could look upon Cranmer with any sentiments save those of disgust and indignation. He goes on to say: "Every crime which tempted him, he committed; every crime which any one in power wished to commit, he assisted, or condoned." Such is Thomas Cranmer even in the eyes of Protestants nowadays, and such our pamphlet proves him to have been, and we commend it to those who in their ignorance of historical truth still think, as even well-read men once thought, that Thomas Cranmer was a saint and a martyr.

The pamphlet is written in a pleasing style.

P. M.

THE JACOBITE WAR IN IRELAND (1688-1691). By Charles O'Kelly, Colonel in King James's Army; edited by Count Plunkett, B.L., and Rev. Edm. Hogan, S.J. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker.

WE cannot, in the space allotted to us, write a critical review of this little book, comparing its historical value with the other accounts we have of the Jacobite War in this country. This would require a long article. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief notice of its author and contents. Charles O'Kelly was born in the County of Galway, in 1621; was colonel in King James's Army, and served throughout the Irish War until the capitulation of Limerick, when he retired to his Galway home, and wrote his recollections of the war. These recollections commence with James's arrival in Ireland, and end with the flight of the wild geese. Though two editions of the work have been published, it is only now, as the learned editors remark, that it is put in a readable form before the general public. The present edition is printed from a manuscript in Clongowes Wood College, which was unknown to previous editors. It belongs to the Irish Home Library Series. It can be had for one shilling. And while we congratulate the learned editors on their useful and successful efforts for the public, we hope the public will show their appreciation of their efforts, by buying and reading this little book. In page 86 there is a printer's error—a line that should follow another is put before it.

D. C.

LIFE OF AUGUSTUS H. LAW, S.J. By Ellis Schreiber. Burns & Oates. Quarterly Series. Price 6s.

MR. SCHREIBER had certainly a pleasant work to do in writing Father Law's life. His life both as a sailor and a priest is so full of changed and varied interest, that it reads like a traveller's journal. As a midshipman he spent several years cruising in all parts of the Southern Hemisphere from Valparaiso to Hong Kong, whilst as a priest he spent some years in British Guiana, different parts of Scotland, and in South Africa. Perhaps the most interesting part of the story is the description of his efforts to spread the Gospel in the land of the Matabele and the Mashonas, it may be because, on account of recent occurrences out there, we take a special interest in all that relates to Lo Bengula and his territories.

He describes Lo Bengula as a man of gigantic stature

and exceptionally dark colour even among the Amandabele, as Father Law always calls the Matabele. The King lived in a hut of circular form to which Father Law and his fellow Jesuit gained entrance by crawling on their hands and feet. At their first interview with him they had to postpone the consideration of business matters, as the king was too busily engaged in devouring his dinner—some large pieces of meat which he held in his hand, and tore with his teeth. He was absolutely naked, with the exception of a waist cloth. They got permission from him to settle in the country and teach there, but they made no converts. Even the Protestant ministers who had been there for twenty years previously, did not pretend to have made any converts. The people though intelligent were not prepared for our religion of self-denial, slaves as they were to witchcraft, and steeped in polygamy. Besides it was forbidden to become a Christian, and no one dared to disobey the word of their absolute ruler. Personally Father Law liked Lo Bengula very much. He was friendly, naturally of a good heart, and well disposed towards the white men, but unless they succeeded in converting himself, it was useless to expect the conversion of his people. Whatever may be the rights of the dispute between Lo and the Chartered Company, the success of the latter has proved decidedly advantageous from the point of view of religion and civilization. The inhabitants of Matabele land may now become Catholics without fear.

We cannot leave this subject without letting Father Law tell in his own words the use to which the Matabele put the Bibles they had received from the Protestant missionaries. He is describing a dance he saw, and goes on to say:—"Amongst the dancers we noticed about ten men whose head-dress struck us as being of a peculiar and novel description. It consisted of a good-sized book, which they wore spread open, fastened on the head so that the pages fluttered in the wind with every movement of the dancer. We discovered that the volumes put to so original a use were Protestant Bibles." Father Law went on to Umzila's Kraal, about two hundred miles nearer the coast than Gubulawayo, Lo's capital. Here he was neglected by the chief men, his health gave way, and he died from neglect and the want of sufficient food, attended only by one lay-brother almost as sick as himself.

His character was lovable and saintly, his disposition genial

and sanguine; he always took the most cheerful view of things and in general he reminds us of St. Francis de Sales. A convert from Protestantism himself, his zeal for the conversion of Protestants and the spread of the Church, amounted in its intensity to that of a passion, and he died, as an apostle, alone, among the people he went to evangelize.

We may mention, in conclusion, that Father Law's family was very highly connected. His father was the brother of Lord Ellenborough, and through his mother he claimed descent from the blessed Thomas More. His father, a vicar of the Protestant Establishment, had been converted a short time before himself, and the rest of the family were converted soon after.

We can say with truth, that we have seldom read a more interesting life. P. M.

THE TRIAL OF MARGARET BRERETON. By Pleydell North.
London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS short story affords an illustration of the evil effects of a mixed marriage. A Catholic mother is united with a good-natured, easy-tempered Protestant, and the children are being brought up pious Catholics. The prospect of a large inheritance for one of his children determines the father to send his youngest son to an uncle's house, there to be trained in the Protestant religion. Then followed estrangement between husband and wife, and jealousies among the children, leading to terrible results; and the mother's days were darkened by storms that only shifted towards the end of her life.

A NEW ELEMENTARY LATIN GRAMMAR. By Henry Belchere, M.A. (Lond.), Fellow of King's College, &c.
London: Hachette & Co., 18, King William-street.

THIS is an admirable text-book for beginners. The declensions and conjugations are presented in a form which catch the eye, and assist the memory. In the second part, which may be had separately, the rules of syntax are stated with brevity and clearness, and illustrated with numerous examples from the classical authors. The enterprising firm of Hachette & Co. deserves to be congratulated on this the latest addition to their excellent list of school books.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

JULY, 1894

PRÊTRES-ADORATEURS

READERS of French newspapers are occasionally, indeed all too frequently, horrified by such items of news as these :—At Notre-Dame de Paris, on Holy Saturday, several hundred consecrated Hosts were sacrilegiously stolen at eight o'clock in the forenoon. A few days before a similar sacrilege was committed in the Church of St. Ferdinand des Ternes. The Church of St. Egrève, near Grenoble, was sacked during the night of Sunday, March 25th. The sacerdotal vestments, sacred vases, &c, were stolen, and a golden ciborium, the most precious possession of the church. The Sacred Hosts were found on the road of Fontenil. The *Clarion des Alpes* publishes with expressions of regret a series of horrible sacrileges against the Most Holy Sacrament. The *Eclair* of Montpellier gives an account of a sacrilege of a peculiarly atrocious kind in a local church.

An unspeakable sacrilege was committed on Monday, the 13th of March, in the Lyceum at Douai. A student approached the holy table, secreted the sacred Host, and afterwards submitted it to the most revolting outrages, mutilating and breaking it, to see "if blood would flow." And his companions, far from being shocked, applauded, and envied him.

It is now well known that all this outrage is systematized under a Satanic propaganda, which has for its direct object the enthroning of Lucifer and the dethroning of Christ.

Within a radius of one mile around the Pantheon in Paris no less than twenty-three altars are raised to the personal worship of Satan. He has his priests and priestesses, his ritual, his ceremonies; Friday is his Sabbath; the serpent, as in the ancient occultisms, is his emblem; and the destruction of the Christian religion, and direct insults to its divine Founder, especially in the Sacrament of His love, the object of this new and infernal system. No wonder that a priest opens his list of ghastly sacrileges by the words, "*Parce Domine!*" and closes it with this appeal:—

"O Priests-Adorers, let us close in our ranks about the tabernacle! Let us watch with jealous care over this divine treasure committed to our charge. Let us weep and mourn before the Lord Jesus, so cruelly outraged in the Sacrament of His supreme love. May our ceaseless acts of reparation appease the divine anger, and disarm the awful vengeance of God! Let us multiply our hours of adoration, let us bring our faithful people to the foot of the altar, and on our knees repeat: '*Parce Domine, parce populo tuo!*'"

For France, France of the saintly traditions, has called upon its magnificent reserve of holy traditions and inspirations, and, alive to the awful magnitude of this latest evil, has established a guard of honour around the tabernacles of the Christian world, by banding together in one body the Christian priesthood, the bond of unity being their unceasing adoration before the Hidden Guest on our altars. In 1856, Père Eymard founded in Paris this Association of Priests-Adorers. The spirit of this work, as explained by its saintly founder, is—

"That priest-associates of the Most Holy Sacrament should live the eucharistic life of Jesus Christ, which consists, above all, in self-denial and self-sacrifice. That they should remember that it is their duty to devote themselves to propagate and defend the eucharistic reign of our Lord, they are dispersed over the world to kindle the fire of His love. They should direct their studies, zeal, and piety towards the Eucharist. They should bear in mind that their *first duty* is that of *personal adoration, nos autem orationi instantes erimus*. In one word, let them be united in all their acts, and in all their functions, to Jesus Christ, the eternal Priest. Pattern, and Glory of the Priesthood."

Such is the spirit of the work. The conditions for

admission, and the gaining of the many indulgences attached to the Association, are few and simple :—

“1. To be a priest, or, at least, to have entered Holy Orders.

“2. To have their names and Christian names inscribed in the registers of the Association.

“3. To make every week *one continuous hour of adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament, either exposed or shut up in the tabernacle*. The day and hour are left to the choice of the associates, who can vary them each week according to the duties imposed upon them by their sacred ministry. They must not perform, during this hour of adoration, any other duty from another cause obligatory, such as the recital of the office. Associates enjoy the liberty of opening the sacred tabernacle during their hours of adoration, provided there be six wax tapers lighted on the altar.

“4. To recite on the day of their admission an act of consecration to the Most Holy Sacrament.

“5. To return regularly, at the end of each month, to the seat of Association, the monthly *libellum*, or ticket of adoration.

“6. To celebrate every year, once only, and, if possible, during the Octave of All Saints, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the associates deceased during the past year, and anteriorly.

“7. The annual contribution to defray the expenses of the work, and for the publication of the *Annales*, consists of two shillings for each priest-adorer.”

In March, 1892, the Association of Priests-Adorers numbered 21,000 priests, spread throughout the whole world, and taking in all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. There were then forty-eight bishops and three cardinals associated. More than one hundred bishops have approved of the work. Seventy dioceses in France have a diocesan director, nominated or accepted by the ordinary. In March of this year, 1894, the number of associates had increased to close upon 29,000 members, giving an increase of nearly 8,000 members during the past two years. In Rome, the centre of Catholicity, the Association has been approved, and canonically erected by his Eminence Cardinal Parocchi ; and Pope Pius IX., and our present Sovereign Pontiff have deigned to grant the Association their pontifical sanction and blessing. In America the organization has spread so widely, that eucharistic congresses are regularly held in the large cities by priests associated in this sodality ; in Australia it has taken deep root ; and even from far-away Tasmania

we learn that the venerable patriarch of Australasia has established it in his diocese, and has given it the high sanction of his name and approbation. During the month of April, this year, two hundred and forty-two new associates were enrolled, thirty-six from France, seventy-six from Germany, eighty-one from Austria, four from Belgium, twelve from Canada, twelve from the United States, two from Holland, nine from Italy, three from Switzerland, three from Ireland, and one from Poland.

It will thus be seen that already this great work of the priesthood is established in Ireland, notably in the diocese of Meath. The Primate of Armagh, the Bishops of Cork, Meath, and Waterford, have written warm letters of approbation; and it is with the view of introducing it more widely to the notice of the Irish priesthood, that these pages, thanks to the courtesy of the Editor, have been penned for the *I. E. RECORD*. For when, a month ago, the writer had the pleasure of an interview with the Director-General for Ireland, Father Charles Spieser, Wilton, Cork, and the vast importance and sublimity of this work were explained to him, he undertook, without reluctance, the task of being the humble apostle of this most sacred and salutary devotion; and he felt the truth of what was so strongly urged upon him, that it only needed an introduction to the notice of the Irish priesthood to become a great and widespread devotion, and as strong a bond of union amongst them as their common faith. And it would seem that this devotion has a most special claim on the acceptance of Irish priests; for, unlike the priesthood of all other European countries, we have the inestimable privilege of being not only the custodians, but the very hosts and domestic companions, if we may so speak, of the Incarnate Word. Under our roof He dwells; a bare partition separates His room from ours; we pass Him by every moment of the day; in the watches of the night, when we slumber, from our little oratories, where He keeps His sleepless vigils, He protects us; when at midnight we are called to the bedside of the sick, we need not go to the church, but, passing from one room to another, we bid Him rise up, and come with us; and from the hushed silence of

His little chamber a divine influence goes forth every moment of the night and day, such as melted the hearts of the disciples at Emmaus, when they knew Him in the breaking of bread.

Apart, therefore, from the general reasons that should make this devotion so attractive to priests, there are very special reasons why we should take particular interest in practising and propagating this devout system of adoration and reparation. And lest these feeble words of mine should detract from the importance which I should desire to attach to this great spiritual work, I shall keep silent, and let a gifted and saintly prelate, whose name is not unknown in Ireland, speak. Writing to one of the directors of this Association on Christmas Day, 1887, Mgr. Perraud, Bishop of Autun, says :—

“Bishops, as judges and guardians of the faith, are often asked to testify to the dogmatic and moral worth of a book by writing to the author a letter which will enable him to appear with confidence before the public. You have asked of me, Rev. Father, a like favour on behalf of the pious association of which you are the zealous director. I could very lawfully have made you answer that it is quite superfluous to recommend a work that bears on the face of it the highest titles of recommendation, and of whose excellence no one can doubt. Does not this especially hold of the Confraternity of Priest-Adorers of the Most Holy Sacrament? And does it not suffice to make its existence known to the clergy, to be assured of finding in their ranks numerous adherents? I cannot, however, refrain from citing some of the motives which have made it for me a labour of love to promote its propagation amongst the priests of the diocese of Autun during the ecclesiastical Retreats in the month of September. Priests, enrolled in this Association, undertake the obligation of passing every week, on a day that suits their own convenience, *une continuous hour* of adoration before the Blessed Sacrament. At first sight, this practice seems, perhaps, of little account; and it may be asked if it is worth the trouble of making it the object of a special association. But after a little reflection one is not long in perceiving that the weekly visit during a continuous hour can easily become in the life of a good priest the grain of mustard-seed, which rapidly shooting up, extends its branches and fruits on every side. To begin with, is not our fidelity in discharging this hour of adoration a guarantee of the exactness with which the daily visit to the Blessed Sacrament will be made, at least within the limits of the time devoted to it by the

pious customs of our ecclesiastical colleges? For my own part, I feel firmly convinced, that many associates after having experienced the joys and blessings of the complete hour of adoration, shall find very short the visits of a quarter of an hour assigned to the other days of the week. If they cannot always by reason of the duties of the sacred ministry prolong the duration of those visits, they will ingeniously devise means of multiplying them; they will feel the necessity, the habit will grow upon them, of profiting by certain spare moments to hasten and present themselves anew, were it only for a few minutes, before the Divine Guest of our Tabernacles, in order to greet Him, and to recommend to Him in a more direct way such a work, such an undertaking, or some other anxious care of our pastoral labour. It is told of St. Thomas of Aquin, that despite his mighty genius, finding himself at a loss to solve certain theological difficulties, he betook himself to the Church, and addressing our Divine Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, humbly implored of Him the light desired. A similar incident is narrated in the life of St. Vincent de Paul, that he was in the habit of treating directly with Jesus Christ, hidden under the veil of the Eucharist, about the many details of his charitable creations . . .

“Up to the present I have considered this devotional exercise only in its relations with the other practices of sacerdotal piety: it is now time to study it in itself, and weigh its intrinsic excellence. I shall endeavour to do so by setting forth some reflections suggested to me by the text from Ecclesiastes: ‘It is a great depth, who shall find it out?’ (Eccl. vii. 25.) Is it not too often true that after having read such and such a spiritual book, or heard such or such a sermon, we feel constrained to confess that the subject has not been sufficiently treated. Hence, the reason why so many writings and discourses only produce a superficial and passive impression. From their nature they are able for a moment to dazzle the intellect or move the heart; but to-morrow these emotions will be half effaced, and totally forgotten the day after. The thoughts which they called forth did not flow from the inmost depths of the soul, into which a profound meditation alone can penetrate. Following this train of thought, I come upon the kernel of our subject; it is quite a different thing to spend before the Blessed Sacrament four quarters of an hour, separated from one another by studies, by occupations, by pastoral cares, however legitimate in themselves, and from uniting them without a break, so as to secure an uninterrupted hour during which the thoughts, desires, affections, and resolutions can, under the action of the immediate presence of Jesus Christ, be concentrated in a single point, and penetrate the soul to its most profound depths. I confess I would be very much surprised if on the day on which he passed his entire hour before the Holy

Sacrament, the priest who would be called either to ascend the pulpit, or to hear confessions, or to visit the sick or dying, did not, as if in spite of himself, betray the secret of a closer intimacy with Jesus Christ, by accents more persuasive, by a charity more abounding, by a more decisive and lasting influence upon souls. If such be the case, what priest desirous of exercising a faithful, a useful and truly regenerative and sanctifying ministry, would not desire to avail himself of a means which its facility renders universally accessible?

"But are there not some priestly lives that are consumed by a multiplicity of the most pressing cares? During these days that are devoted almost interruptedly to the service of our neighbour, there can be no difficulty in finding one continuous hour during which priests can be sure of not being called, and during which they can obtain the advantages of the lengthened time of recollection, silence, and prayer, without detriment to the duties of their state, and plunge themselves at leisure into the abysses of the Eucharistic Mystery. Moreover, is it not a matter of experience that the more one is obliged to devote himself to others, the more need he has of taking heed to himself, and to speak as our Lord, of refreshing himself and being refreshed—*Égo reficiam vos*, that he may ever be prepared to perform the duties of his Apostolic ministry? The more a priest devotes himself to the service of the Church and of souls, the more he has need of the graces of meditation and interior recollection attached to this hour of adoration.

"But, you will show me your daily distribution of time, and you have no trouble in persuading me that from your thanksgiving after Holy Mass until evening, you are just able to secure the indispensable quarter of an hour to visit the Blessed Sacrament after midday. I am convinced: I do not mean to discuss it. But, unhesitatingly, tell you: Select some day in the week on which you will rise an hour earlier; this hour you will spend before the Blessed Sacrament; and you will even be able to employ it in making your meditation. I assure you, your work not only that day, but even during the rest of the week, will betray the influence of this blessed hour. *Because of it you shall do more, and you shall do better.*

"I wish to all my brethren in the priesthood, as well as to myself, that fulness of faith, of conviction, of charity, and zeal, which will be for us the blessed fruit of our visits during the hour with Jesus in the Most Holy Sacrament; a fulness, which, in its turn, will overflow on the souls of those with whom our ministry will put us in contact, and in all the undertakings confided to our care."

Such is the language of this great prelate concerning this sacred priestly work—language which anticipates and

answers every possible objection that may be launched against it.

But I hear someone say :—Why multiply devotions? Already they are almost innumerable, and we are bewildered in the choice we ought to make, and weary in the undertaking of responsibilities which were almost forced upon us. That objection might hold for the laity ; but we think it hardly applies to priests. And even if it did, the one simple answer is, that for every reason devotion to the Most Blessed Sacrament must be the great, central, all-absorbing interest of the priest's life, to which every other exercise of piety must be regarded as complemental and ancillary. The whole sacerdotal ministry converges directly or indirectly towards the Holy Eucharist : “ Ordo,” says St. Thomas, “ prout est sacramentum imprimens characterem, ordinatur *specialiter* ad Sacramentum Eucharistiae, in quo ipse Christus continetur, quia per characterem ipsi Christo configuramur.” And again : “ Ordinis Sacramentum ad Sacramentum Eucharistiae ordinatur quod est Sacramentum Sacramentorum . . . Quia potestas ordinis aut est ad consecrationem ipsius Eucharistiae aut ad aliquod ministerium ordinatum ad hoc Sacramentum Eucharistiae.”

The question is hardly debateable, and so we leave it, with the remark, that long before modern confraternities and sodalities were introduced for the edification and spiritual succour of the faithful, the Confraternity of the Most Blessed Sacrament was, fifty years back, well known to the Irish hierarchy, and strongly recommended to the faithful, and even its erection in each parish ordered and enforced, as a glance at our statutes will testify. It is quite possible that even in our day, we may have the privilege of witnessing a grand revival of devotion to the great hidden mystery of our faith. Already, in some dioceses in Ireland, priests-adorers have gathered around them in their weekly adoration large numbers of the faithful who can also be associated. And we feel confident that this great work will go on from day to day, animating the fervour of our Catholic people, and calling down from the throne of grace incalculable blessings on the Irish Church. Behind the daily labour of our priests,

a secret power will be working for their success, and the hearts of all will be turned towards the silent tabernacle where dwells that God-Man whose presence constitutes our strength here and our hope hereafter.¹

P. A. SHEEHAN.

FATHER MARSHALL AND THE "GODLESS COLLEGES"

1851-1853

THE subject of the present notice was well known in Ireland during those critical years which were signalized by the erection of the Queen's University, the publication of the decrees of the Synod of Thurles, the arrival of Cardinal Newman in Ireland, and the foundation of its Catholic University. Before Cardinal Newman's voice was heard, I do not think it is too much to say that Father Marshall was the most outspoken, and perhaps the most prominent, assailant of the Queen's University in Ireland. This "gigantic scheme of Godless education" ² was an attempt to introduce into Ireland the materialistic principles of Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, which had given birth to the London University, and which, doubtless, Father Marshall had learned to measure and despise under the inspiration of the great chief of Christianity at Oxford, who in 1841 had given them a severe blow in his letters to *The Times* entitled, "The Tamworth Reading Room."³ In England the defenders of rational and civilized education were supported by the Christian traditions of her great

¹ The central bureau of the Association is 27 Avenue, Friedland, Paris. The Director-General for Ireland is Rev. Charles Spieser, St. Joseph's College, Wilton, Cork. A stamped envelope addressed to him will bring all information. The *Annales* are published every month, and contain much information as to the working of the Association, papers read at Eucharistic Congresses, a series of monthly meditations on the priesthood and Holy Eucharist, answers to liturgical questions, correspondence, &c.

² Sir Robert Inglis has the credit of this definition, which it never could shake off, just because it was fitting.

³ Cardinal Newman, *Discussions and Arguments*, vol. ii.

universities. In Ireland the field seemed clear for the new mental and moral drill, for the one obstacle which has proved to be insurmountable has never been appreciated by our Protestant rulers.

From 1852 until his death, in 1875, I had the privilege of being in intimate relations with Father Marshall. By most people he is best remembered by the brilliancy of his wit, which in its way was almost unapproached; but when I say that the place he holds in my memory is that of the liberator of my faith from the contagion of "Godless" philosophy, the reader will understand that a deeper motive than amusement in the revival of his pleasantries impels me to write, and to recall many things which are far from creditable to myself.

Henry Johnston Marshall, born 1820, the son of an English Peninsular officer, and an Irish mother, was prepared for the Anglican ministry at Oxford in the years which immediately preceded the great triumph of Catholic principles in 1845, the year of his reception into the Church. How far he had identified himself with the movement while at Oxford, I do not know. He took no credit to himself for his Oxford life, nor indeed for anything else. I never met a man who seemed to have such genuine delight in open confession of his own follies and errors; the very tone of his voice when he began some story with "When I was a parson," was redolent of self-effacement. He summed up his college life by saying:—"I was chaplain to twelve oyster clubs." This was all he ever told me about his Oxford experience, with the addition of an account of an election in which he took part, when a thousand undergraduates stormed the hustings, seized the books, and gloriously returned their candidate, quite indifferent, as he said, to the fact that they knew right well that the business was invalid. "We also cut all the gas-pipes; why, I know not, except that they were gas-pipes."¹ At the same time,

¹ If objection is made to "inverted commas," after such a lapse of time, I can only say it seems to me that I remember Father Marshall's words better than things I heard yesterday. His simple Shakesperian style, and my own absolute surrender of head and heart, made my mind like wax under the seal. Moreover, it is no uncommon thing that in the decline of life the past becomes clearer than the present.

I ought to say that never was there even a hint of anything worse than wild frolic in Father Marshall's Oxford career.

I do not know the precise date of Father Marshall's conversion. The circumstances, as I had them from his own lips, were as follows:—He had left Oxford, and accepted a curacy somewhere in the country; and borne upward by the tide of Catholic truth, so strong at that time, he asserted in a sermon that the Blessed Mary the Virgin was the only creature of God who was free from sin. The explosion in the congregation might well have frightened a less fearless character. He was called upon to retract, and his only answer was, "I cannot, for I believe it is the truth." All the night that followed he spent in praying to her whose honour he had vindicated. With the morning light came the clear and absolute conviction that the Anglican Establishment was the invention of the evil one, and out he went with exactly three halfpence in his pocket. He did not know a single Catholic. "I really thought," he said, "that I should have to take to breaking stones on the roadside."¹ His next stage—how he arrived, I know not—was Birmingham and the well-known Dr. Moore, to whom he had been directed. When he told his story, and demanded reception into the Church, we can imagine the perplexity of the prudent priest. "My dear young friend," he said, "don't hurry; you are excited; take time; wait." "I'll be damned if I do," said Marshall; and I believe convinced the Doctor that the man was safe in doctrine who was so clear about the conclusion. The following anecdote shows that he must have given his mind to the subject before light came from *Gli occhi da Dio dilette e venerati*.²

Again, he carries us from the sublime to the ludicrous. Soon after his reception he met a sentimental Puseyite friend, who began, "Oh, Marshall, dear fellow, what did you do when the idea first struck you of becoming

¹Second-hand, I was told that a living of £1,000 a-year was in expectation.

²*Paradiso*, xxxiii. 39.

a Catholic?" "Do," said Marshall; "I went into the nearest tavern, ordered a beefsteak and a bottle of porter, and *I entertained the idea.*" He now learned that Mr. Faber had become a Catholic; and also that, in common with Mr. Newman, it was generally asserted that he had gone mad. Of course, it might be true. Catholic orthodoxy does not ward off insanity, any more than it stops earthquakes; so Marshall thought he would go and investigate his fellow-convert, who was then at Oscott. Arrived at the door, he was directed to Mr. Faber's room. No doubt his spirit was subdued as he trod those solemn and beautiful corridors. It was dusk, and Mr. Faber, whose heart had well-nigh broken over his separation from friends and disciples, was sitting over the fire; and, in an access of poetic frenzy, had heated the poker red hot, and, tapping the bars, was watching the sparks fly upward. He had also passed his fingers through his long hair, which rose in wild confusion; and when Marshall knocked, and Mr. Faber turned round with a red-hot poker in his hand, the visitor's courage quite failed him.

From this time, the end of 1845 or beginning of 1846, I have little to guide me in the order of events.¹ In a letter at the time of Father Marshall's death, Cardinal Newman, bearing testimony to his "high qualities," says that he met him in Rome, at Propaganda (1846-47); and I believe that it was in the Eternal City that he was prepared for the priesthood and ordained, and received that plenitude of the Roman spirit, which was only second to his love of the Madonna, who had been the beginning of all his joy. He was brought under the notice of Pius IX., *magnus aestimator animarum*; and Father Marshall's mission in Ireland, in 1852, direct from the Pope, to which we are coming, seems to prove that the Vicar of Christ had not forgotten him.

In the interval he worked at Liverpool, where Mgr. Talbot, of Roman celebrity, saw Father Marshall's famous

¹ Perhaps some old friends of Father Marshall may think it worth while to help me with corrections or additions.

"Rule of Life" over his chimney-piece. It ran as follows : "Conceive an intense and passionate enthusiasm for all forms of corporal maceration—hair-sheets, whips, chains, potsherds, nettles, fastings, vigils, chameunias, &c.; *mortify your desires.*" About this time, at dinner, a gentleman—I think a convert—to whom Marshall acted as chaplain, addressed him thus : "Pray, Father Marshall, what is the precise position of the laity in the Catholic Church? Have they a voice in her deliberations and government? What is their special office?" "To feed the clergy, sir," said Marshall; "and see that you do it well." "We soon parted," he continued; "and, later on, I met him in the streets of Rome. I thought he would have cut me; but he crossed over, and, stretching out his hand, said, 'How do you do, Father Marshall? I have quite come round to your opinion;' and he asked me to dinner." It is said that this story was told to Pius IX., and received his approval. These specimens of wit and wisdom are evidence that there was nothing of the buffoon in Father Marshall. I have been with him in almost every variety of circumstance, and never have I known him use his wit for its own sake. I am always reminded of him in reading Sidney Smith, whose portrait bears a striking resemblance to Father Marshall, as I remember him in his early prime: in both wit was ever the phosphorescence on the wave of deep and earnest conviction.

My first sight of my predestined liberator was in the pulpit of SS. Peter and Paul, Cork, a year or two before his solemn mission from Rome; and I am sorry to say that the sermon made no impression on me. At that time my head was too full of Carlyle, M. Cousin, and the mixed metaphysics of the dissecting room. He read the Gospel of the Good Samaritan, and when he closed the book, Dr. Fleming, a young and very distinguished Protestant Professor of the Queen's College, who sat by me turned sharply round, and said, "Well read." Later on I myself fell under the influence of Father Marshall's reading powers, which were quite extraordinary. It was probably then that he paid a visit to the Queen's College. At the time, as he told me, he was ignorant of the fact that

the institution was under the ban of Rome.¹ "Had I known it," he said, "I would not have set foot within its gates." He was shown over the place by one of the Professors; and thinking, as he said, of Oxford, he asked, "Where is the Chapel?" To which the Professor replied, laughing, "We have no Chapel, we are the Godless." A few minutes later they reached the chemical laboratory, at that moment possessed by some offensive odours. "You have got a god here," said Marshall; "I can smell him."

In May, 1852, Father Marshall arrived again in Cork, and began his famous month of sermons in the Capuchin Church of the Most Holy Trinity, the object of which was only fully understood when he finished by imparting to the city the Benediction of Pius IX. The words of the Benediction I do not remember, but the fact that it was conveyed in the form of a Brief was taken as evidence that Father Marshall came as the ambassador of the Vicar of Christ; and in the end he left no doubt on our minds that his long course of sermons, finishing with one on Loyalty to the Pope, were primarily intended as a commentary on the Pope's condemnation of the Queen's Colleges. These colleges are now, indeed, "shorn of their beams," for the "Queen's University" is no more; but the lesson of those days is the lesson of to-day; and lest it may seem that I am exaggerating the importance of an apparently provincial struggle, something must be said about the theatre wherein it was fought out.

I think I am safe in saying that for the first fifty years of this century Cork was a place of considerable importance, and the centre of a great deal of intellectual life. The incidental allusions which I remember in my young days, into which came the names of many of the greatest celebrities of the day, have left the impression that at that time literary society in Cork was brilliant beyond the

¹ The Decrees of the Synod of Thurles containing the various Rescripts of the Pope on the subject of the Queen's University, were approved at Rome, on May 23rd, 1851, and published in Ireland later on in the same year.

measure of most provincial towns.¹ It is needless to say that while wits and *literateurs*, home and foreign, enlivened her dinner-tables, they brought no increase of faith or morals, but rather the contrary. The history of the struggles of the Irish Church in the first years of this century has yet to be written. The Penal laws against Catholic education had told especially on the upper classes whose condition, making education a necessity, drove them into Protestant schools. It is, perhaps, impossible now to collect evidence as to the result of this persecution: my own impression is, that, great as was the triumph of faith in places like Dingle, where, when deprived of pastors, the people held on to religion by the Rosary which the Dominicans had left them, the preservation of her Catholic gentry was even a more wonderful proof of the vitality of faith in Ireland.

The selection of the Professors for the Cork College was evidently directed by someone who well understood what was wanted.² It would be hard to find a body of men better equipped for the work then starting in the golden sunshine of ministerial favour and endowment. Boole (Mathematics), Alcock (Biology), De Vericour (Modern Literature), were the leading spirits, and, I think, in the order given.

Boole was a man of extraordinary attractiveness and ability. How well I remember his algebraic ecstasies over the black board, setting formulas to music, and turning to us with chalk lines on his face, on which his fingers had been keeping time with his calculations. He was a mathematical Wordsworth, and their religion came to about the same thing—belief in

“Something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.”

In 1851, as “Dean of the Faculty of Science,” he delivered

¹ I believe Thackeray said that the Cork people were the most book-reading people he ever came across.

² The hidden life of the “Queen’s University of Ireland” has yet to be revealed. Probably Archbishop Whately had a large share in it. He was an astute diplomatist, and I believe managed to persuade many people that he was not really an enemy of revealed religion.

a lecture "on the Claims of Science,"¹ which was published, and is the only relic of the college which seemed to me worth preserving. It is written in clear and simple language, without any attempt to coin scientific gibberish as the cloak of fallacies and conscious perplexities.² There could be no mistake as to the "Claims of Science." "All scientific truths," he tells us, "are founded upon the observation of facts;"³ but neither the God who made us, nor the mind in which He is mirrored, held any definite place in this philosophy of "facts." "In some sense," he observes, "the moral and intellectual constitution of man are proper objects of scientific inquiry;"⁴ but alas! in his context, "this some sense" came to no sense at all. The lecture is chiefly a summary of those views of Lord Brougham and Sir Robert Peel, which, as I have said, Cardinal Newman had analyzed with unsparing irony. In 1852, the same great champion of the claims of God and reason, returned to the battlefield in his Dublin lectures on "University Education."

Father Marshall was a few months earlier in the field, and, as I have said, I do not imagine that either the college-people, or the general public had any idea of the storm that was brewing. I am inclined to think that it was his intention to hold his hand. This man, who, to many, seemed the very type of a fiery clerical agitator, had clear views as to the importance of "Priestcraft." Neither did he shrink from the word; quoting one who said: "There is nothing so mighty in this world; for it is the craft of the High Priest Jesus Christ." So, in the pulpit, week after week, he gave his hearers the plain truths of the Gospel, such as they might hear in any mission, while in personal intercourse with individuals, amongst whom I was one, he gradually got a party together. I fear that if I had suspected in the beginning that Father Marshall was kindred in spirit with

¹ *The Claims of Science*. London, 1851.

² See the "undefinable latencies, and nebulous potentialities" of Mr. Huxley in his recent Romanes Lecture. (*Evolution and Ethics*, page 4.)

³ Page 8.

⁴ Page 15.

Archbishop Cullen, and the "obscurantist" party, I should have avoided him. Catholic supporters of the Queen's Colleges were in no mood to be corrected by a recent convert. All had been done which had been commanded. The Deans of Residence had withdrawn; no Catholic ecclesiastic held office in the Queen's University; and the *grave periculum fidei Catholicae*, anathematized by the Vicar of Christ, seemed a remote danger so long as we went to Mass and the Sacraments; and counterbalanced what it is the fashion to call the "Reconciliation of Religion and Science."

In the pulpit, Father Marshall's sense of the ludicrous was in complete subjection, which was all the more remarkable, as I do not think he ever made even notes of his sermons, which, in style, in no way differed from his ordinary conversation. The only speaker who ever reminded me of him was Mr. Bright. Bright's subject, indeed, was the Budget of 1853; but there was a similar fascination in their simple manly eloquence.¹ The concluding sermon, on Loyalty to the Holy See, the climax of his course, is alone clear in my memory; but before he reached it I was won by his chivalrous spirit, and the way in which he charged his enemies, lance in rest, and always seemed to get the best of it. His love of our Lady was like a passion in his soul; and "Father Marshall's Mariolatry" was the first thing that stirred up the Protestant ire of Cork. His feelings, however, never checked his sustained vigorous march of words, and when tears started, as they often did, the effect was most singular, for they seemed to spring from his eyelids. One passage I remember, when meeting the absurd objection of excess of honour to the Mother of God; he said:—"If we covered the earth with temples in her honour, and if all the genius of man were spent in her praise, what would it come to compared with the glory which God Himself gave her, when the Everlasting

¹ In Father Marshall's case, his old and faithful friend, Bishop Moriarty of Kerry, attributed his power to an extraordinary knowledge of English literature. I am sorry I did not put these recollections together in the lifetime of Bishop Moriarty. He had many things to say about Father Marshall.

kissed her pure and sacred lips, and the Son of God called her His own dear Mother." In Father Marshall's sermons, the glory of the Madonna invested women with similar light. St. Agnes, the child-martyr, was his heroine, years before "Fabiola" had made her the brightest star in our literature; and he took occasion, from her example, to pull down our admiration of that mere brutal courage, which, as Walter Scott says, is common to bulls and bull-dogs and all highly-fed male animals.

An echo of Father Marshall's sermon on the Pope reached Dublin, and Archbishop Cullen pressed him to publish it, but in vain; it was never his way to look back; one thing done was the signal to begin another. The argument of this sermon, from beginning to end, ran thus:—In all the ages the Vicar of Christ has governed in the spirit of that God whose very nature is love; and obedience in the same spirit is the sign of predestination. Then came a series of illustrations from the history of heresies, in which he put forth all his extraordinary power of uniting clearness with condensation. In every case the Pope had begun with warnings, more like those of a mother than a judge, and when love answered love, *causa finita erat*. On the other hand, whenever royal usurpation, secular interests, national pride, or corruption aroused men's jealousy of the spiritual power, things soon went on from bad to worse, and then, and only then, when revolt threw away the scabbard, did the Popes unsheath the awful sword of excommunication. He finished with the Eastern schism, taking no notice of the gross, unintellectual, and political revolts of the sixteenth century. "Look," he said, "at that Land of the East, from whence Christ has come, in whose cities apostles preached and martyrs died; and then, for ages, the nursing mother of saints and doctors, now lying in stillness like death, without life or motion, save that of the crawling things which death generates, like your own noble river when the tide is out."

He terminated with the papal blessing to the city, which he read in the Latin from the pulpit, in great state, flanked by acolytes with their candles, and then, that no doubt

might remain as to the interpretation, his voice rang out like a trumpet in his mother tongue, with the words: "And may my blessing rest on all that he has blest, and my curse on all that he has cursed." How many of his hearers had now advanced from realms of speculation into those of action? I do not know. For my own part, I was undisturbed, my views about papal condemnations being as vague as those of the lady who said—"Pray, Father Marshall, what is the precise meaning of *anathema sit*." "Let him be damned, madam," was the answer. The reality of my dangerously near relationship to Arius and Photius had to be brought home, and home it was soon brought with sacred vengeance. Soon after this I was invited to dinner, and a *tête-a-tête*, probably designed, with Father Marshall. Dinner done, we walked out into the beautiful gardens of the villa, our host making up the party, and the subject of the day was started. How wonderful now seems to me the patience of that imperial intellect as he listened to the nonsense with which for two years I had been indoctrinated. I was eloquent on the virtues and religious proprieties of our Catholic professors; and argued that we had, at any rate, the sympathy of many Catholic ecclesiastics,¹ the *élite* of their Order, and that the worst enemies of religion in our times were pious obscurantists—timid moles who feared the light. I do not remember how long the discussion lasted. He met my panegyric on our respectable Catholics, by saying, "If priests support those colleges, what sort are they? dining-out, dandified priests. If laymen, ask them to open their hands, you will see the little yellow image of the Queen"—but the fact that I myself held a scholarship stood very much in the way of this argument. The conclusion, however, was triumphant, and the steps by which he reached it have ever prevented me from seeing anything in the view that God does not use logic as an instrument of conversion. He saw, I suppose, that reason and conscience

¹ Probably I said that they were appealing to the Pope "better informed," for it was only the other day that I came upon a letter in which it was said that people were expecting that the Pope would withdraw his condemnation.

were giving way under my vain attempt to build upon balloons; and gradually he brought me face to face with the great question of my eternal salvation, in words that seem still to ring in my ears:—

"Do you not see [he said] that the danger to your soul is ever in proportion to the attractions of the enemy? Were the devil now to jump out of one of those bushes, hoofs, horns, and all, bringing hell with him, we should all take to our heels. The real danger is when he comes in the shape of some beautiful young lady, or fascinating professor." And then seeing the moment was come, he finished thus: "*Young man, if you follow their science, you will be a fool; and if you follow their religion, you will be damned.*"

I cannot analyze my feelings at that moment, and, as to thoughts, they were all gone. Something stronger had come than the "consideration" of Prince Henry, that "like an angel came, and whipp'd the offending Adam out of him." It was all at once like a blow on the head and a sword through the heart, and I cried in sheer misery; for all the dreams and hopes of life seemed gone. I remember nothing more that evening except the ineffectual efforts Father Marshall made to cheer me up with droll stories as we drove back to Cork.

With the morning came light, and from that day to this I can never think of that contest without gratitude to God for my conversion, and amusement at the process. My conqueror took me at once in hand, lent me Balmez and De Maistre; and, in a month or two, Cardinal Newman's *Lectures on University Education* appeared in numbers, as they were delivered. There, in language "musical as is Apollo's lute," was philosophy identical with that of Father Marshall, and the same absolute faith in the divine guidance of the Holy See.

"After all [he says] Peter has spoken. Peter is no recluse, no abstracted student, no dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and gone, no projector of the visionary. . . . If there ever was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations, whose words have been deeds, and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the history of ages who sits

from generation to generation in the Chair of the Apostles as Vicar of Christ, and Doctor of His Church."¹

It is needless to say, that at the age of eighteen, and in the throes of such a spiritual and intellectual revolution, comparison and criticism had then no place in my mind. I had begun to learn again, and the sensation was delightful. Returning now to De Maistre, I see clearly that it was from that extraordinary genius, so far in advance of his age, that Father Marshall drew his *Petrine* doctrines. The strongest things in *Du Pape* are simply conclusions from the primary truths that God rules the world, and rules it for the sake of His Church and His elect, and that the Pope is *Princeps, omnium mortalium Pater, maxime vero credentium*,² which is hardly more than is expressed in the words of the Protestant Edmund Burke, when he styles him, "The Supreme Chief of Christianity." Father Marshall's devotion to the Pope did not go beyond that of Father Faber, but with De Maistre he carried it into regions which the purely spiritual genius of Father Faber did not enter. It is clear that De Maistre holds that the government of the Christian world by the Popes is under the Divine guidance; and, indeed, if we suppose the Church to be divine only in doctrine, and human and subject to error in practice, it is impossible to explain her continuity. De Maistre has a power, only equalled by Pascal, of condensing centuries into syllogisms, any one of which is enough to strangle a thousand petty objections. He seems to argue thus with critics:—You say the Popes mismanaged Constantine, and Henry VIII., and Napoleon. Have you any reliable information as to what would have happened if they acted otherwise? God does not force the wills of men; He solicits, nay, implores, and the Pope has to imitate Him, and to do what he can, when men refuse to do what he would. Again, while things of the day are measured by the day, all time is the measure of the Pope's administration; and here

¹ *Discourses on University Education*, p. 25. Dublin: 1852. Republished in *Idea of a University*.

² Dedication to Pius VII. *Œuvres Complètes*, xii. 6.

it is that De Maistre brings history and the testimony of opponents to bear with overwhelming force; testimony swelled since his time by men like Guizot, Macaulay, and Lecky, to the effect that at particular periods, the Church was the saviour of civilization, and of all that is bound up with it; and when these *particular periods* are strung together, we find that they span the ages from Peter to Leo XIII. It was in this spirit that Father Marshall argued with the men of "52," who did not know as much as we know now.

Godless education in every form is now more than ever in the field, with unlimited endowments and immeasurable promises. When and where have these promises been fulfilled? In Ireland, forty years ago, it was met by Cardinal Newman, the most powerful agent of common sense in high intellectual places that we have had since Edmund Burke convinced so many at home and abroad that Voltaire and Rousseau were, as he said, no better than the "mere jays and magpies of philosophy." It is no small triumph that the Queen's University and Galway College have sunk, although fragments of the wreck are still afloat in the Colleges of Cork and Belfast. When the day comes when secular rulers will see in the principles taught by Cardinal Newman, the sole foundation of that order and civilization by which nations live, Father Marshall will be remembered as one of his most earnest and eloquent supporters.

W. B. MORRIS.

WHAT IS TO BE SAID FOR THE SALVATION OF INFANTS WHO DIE WITHOUT RECEIVING BAPTISM?

THE question of the salvation of children who die without receiving Baptism possesses a peculiar interest for the student of theology. From the earliest ages of the Church it formed a subject of anxious inquiry, and even St. Augustine, who so thoroughly understood the relations of the natural and supernatural, admitted that it was surrounded with difficulties which he failed to understand, and presented problems for solution which he was unable to explain. "Cum," he says, writing to St. Jerome, "*ad poenas ventum est parvulorum, magnis mihi crede, coarctor augustiis nec quid respondeam prorsus invenio.*" From the days of St. Augustine down to the present, as error after error arose regarding the necessity and efficacy of Baptism, the question received an increased amount of attention. It can scarcely be said, however, that our store of knowledge in this particular has been increased, or that time, which solves so many difficulties, and explains away so much that was hitherto obscure, has thrown very much light on the present subject of inquiry. All, or nearly all, that can be said on the future condition of infants dying without Baptism, has been said long ago, and modern theologians for the most part have occupied themselves in collecting and collating opinions already propounded, and drawing forth from the great storehouses of theology left us by the early fathers and theologians, the tenable views on the subject.

Two things appear certain :—(1) infants who die without receiving Baptism can never enjoy the Beatific Vision ; (2) they are not condemned to the hell of the damned.

The first of these propositions follows at once as a corollary from the Catholic doctrine regarding the transmission of original sin and the necessity of Baptism. One of the effects of original sin—and this the saddest of all—was to deprive our first parents, and in depriving them, to

deprive their posterity of all right to the Beatific Vision, and the consequent happiness which its privation entailed. Man's original elevation to a supernatural state was purely gratuitous on the part of God. God might, had He so wished, have created him in a purely natural state; He might have assigned him as his ultimate destiny a purely natural end, which he would attain by the proper exercise of his faculties, aided by such means as would satisfy the requirements of his nature. He might even have sent him into this world stripped of many of those ennobling qualities which, although not supernatural in the strict sense of the word, were nevertheless connatural to his state of original justice.

"Poterat Deus [writes St. Thomas] a principio quando hominem condidit etiam alium hominem ex limo terrae formare, quem in conditione naturae suae relinqueret, ut scilicet mortalis et passibilis esset et pugnam concupiscentiae ad rationem sentiens in quo nihil humanae naturae derogaretur quia hoc ex principiis naturae consequitur; non tamen iste defectus in eo rationem culpae et poenae habuisset, quia non per voluntatem iste defectus causatus esset."

The endowment, therefore, of our first parents with the attributes of original justice, and their destination to a supernatural reward, were due entirely to an act of the divine bounty, to which as human beings they could never establish a title. Nevertheless had they remained faithful in their exalted position, and observed the easy commands of God, they would have escaped the penalty of death, and as a reward of their free correspondence with grace, after a time to be determined by the Creator, they would have been transferred from the earthly paradise to the immediate vision of the Deity. The sad history of their fall is familiar to everyone, and we are all heirs to its disastrous effects. "In uno omnes peccaverunt," and each and every child of Adam is born into this world, dethroned from the exalted state in which the common father had been created, stripped of the attributes of original justice, and deprived, if unredeemed, of all right to the Beatific Vision.

Redemption, as the word itself implies, signifies a buying

back, and its effect in the case of man was to regain for him a right to the supernatural destiny which he had lost through original sin. But while redemption did this much, something further was needed. It took the place, so to speak, of a "*remedium remotum*," and there was required a "*remedium proximum*"—some sacramental or quasi-sacramental rite—whereby the graces it merited would be applied to the souls of individuals. Man, even when redeemed, with his glorious faculties of intellect and will, could never aspire to a supernatural reward as long as there was no grace to wipe out the stain of original sin and elevate the natural powers of his soul. There is a greater difference between the natural and the supernatural than there is between the lowest grade of existence in the natural order and the highest grade in the same order; and as no being in an inferior order could aspire to the attributes of a being in a superior order, so man with all his ennobling qualities, could never, unless aided by grace, aspire to a supernatural reward. Catholic theologians even say, that it would exceed the limits of Divine omnipotence to create a being to whom the Beatific Vision would be a natural reward; for while grace and the "*lumen gloriæ*" are created things, and might therefore, it could be supposed, be amongst the "*debita*" of a possible human being, still their very nature and the extraordinary effects they produce, so far exceed the claims of man, that they can under no circumstances be regarded as within the scope of his natural requirements. "*Uno verbo*," writes Franzelin,¹ "*dicendum est Deus omnipotens potest in sua creatura operari donum gratuitum quod sit supra debitum hujus creaturæ; sed non potest efficere creaturam cui hujusmodi sit debitum, quia donum huic creaturæ debitum quod simul sit omni creaturæ indebitum (supernaturale) videretur repugnantiam involvit.*"

From the very nature of the case, therefore, there was a need of some rite whereby the merits of the Redeemer would be applied to the souls of individuals; and we cannot doubt but that, even during the period of the unwritten

¹ *De Deo Uno*, Th. xiv., p. 185.

law, when men were saved by foredrawing on these merits, the "*voluntas salvifica*" provided some such rite, although neither Scripture nor tradition supplies any very definite information as to its character. It is highly probable that the "*remedium naturae*"—as it was called—was not well defined, and that any external protestation of faith in the future Redeemer would be accepted by God as sufficient. In later times, when God entered a special covenant with His people, He adopted circumcision for male children as at once the sign and instrument of the covenant and the rite by which original sin was to be blotted out from the soul. Neither the "*remedium naturae*" nor circumcision produced grace in the same way as the Sacraments of the New Law. "*Novae legis*," says the Council of Trent, "*septem sunt sacramenta quae multum a sacramentis antiquae legis differunt. Illa enim non causabant gratiam, sed eam solum per passionem Christi dandam esse figurabant.*" These "*infirmata et egea elementa*" neither contained nor conferred sanctifying grace. It is highly probable that infants were justified "*propter fidem parentum*," and that circumcision was pretty generally selected in the case of males, and the "*remedium naturae*" in all other cases as a means of externating their faith. Although not "*verae causae gratiae*," they were thus intimately connected with the remission of original sin; and without the application of the one or the other, infants were not justified under the law of nature or the Mosaic law.

Under the new dispensation it may be taken as proved that, excepting the case of martyrdom, Baptism is absolutely necessary for salvation. In the third chapter of the Gospel of St. John, it is laid down, that Baptism is quite as necessary for the spiritual existence of the soul as natural birth is for the existence of the body. "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."¹ From the twenty-eighth chapter of St. Matthew and the corresponding

¹ vv. 5, 6.

chapter of St. Mark the same necessity might be clearly established. The mind of the Church on the matter is well reflected in her anxiety to have the sacrament administered to all those "*qui in discrimine vite constituti sunt*;" and better still, perhaps, in the "*dicta*" of the early fathers and theologians. "*Utique*," writes St. Ambrose, commenting on those words of St. John, "*nullum excipit (Christus), non infantem non aliqua praevenit necessitate*." St. Augustine actually undertook to convince the Pelagians of the doctrine of the transmission of original sin from the fact that Baptism was necessary for salvation ; and the Pelagians themselves, when hard pressed, while still persisting in its denial, were obliged to admit the necessity of Baptism for entrance into heaven. From the moment, therefore, that the Gospel was sufficiently promulgated, Baptism became in the case of infants, unless they were martyrs, the "*unicum medium justificationis*;" and all such as die without receiving it could never enjoy the Beatific Vision. "*Poenae originalis peccata*," writes Innocent III., "*est carentia visionis Dei actualis*;" and the Council of Trent, using the word Baptism in its widest sense, has defined "*Si quis dixerit Baptismum liberum esse, hoc est, non necessarium ad salutem anathema sit*." This, therefore, brings us to our next subject of inquiry, and we are naturally led to ask, what is to be the future condition of children who die without receiving Baptism ?

In discussing the present point, we are not left completely in the "*via tenebrosa*." "*Credimus*," say the Councils of Lyons and Florence, "*illorum animas qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt mox in infernum descendere poenis tamen disparibus puniendos*." Two things, therefore, appear certain :—(1) the souls of those who die in sin, whether it be original or mortal, are subjected in the next life to sentence of damnation ; (2) the punishment to be inflicted varies in each case according to the nature of the sin.

To the ordinary Catholic mind the word "*damnation*," used in reference to the future condition of a human soul, presents the idea of a region of unceasing woe and despair

where the justice of God punishes the transgressors of His law with the worm that never dies, and in the fire that is never extinguished. Such a sentence God has pronounced on those who die in a state of mortal sin. For them the reign of mercy is over ; they are for ever excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity, and their unhappy fate is to suffer in the fiery prison, "*ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat.*" God has likewise pronounced a sentence of damnation on those who die in original sin ; they too are excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity ; but as to the nature of the punishment they endure, or the privation to which they are subjected, nothing has been defined, and the Church allows us freedom of inquiry.

Bellarmino mentions no less than six different opinions on the subject ; but with some of these, as they have already received the condemnation of the Church, we shall have no concern. Amongst those that are still tenable, the most notable, perhaps, is that attributed to St. Augustine, and which once found favour with the Latin fathers, and a large section of theologians. According to this opinion, infants who die without Baptism will suffer in the next life, together with the pain of loss, some small amount of physical or sensible pain. Bellarmine endeavours to explain the words of St. Augustine, so as to bring them into harmony with the common opinion of theologians ; and, undoubtedly, the great Latin father had very unsettled views on the matter. "*Quae,*" he writes, "*qualis et quanta sit haec poena definire non possum.*" It was, however, to be the mildest of all. "*Mitissima,*" he continues, "*sane omnium poena erit eorum, qui praeter peccatum quod originale traxerunt nullum insuper addiderunt.*" He even inclines to think that existence in such pain is preferable to a state of non-existence. "*Ego non dico parvulos sine Christi baptis-mate tanta poena esse plectendos ut eis non nasci potius expediret, cum hoc Dominus non de quibuslibet peccatoribus, sed de scelestissimis et impiissimis dixerit.*"

Whatever may have been the real views of St. Augustine, and he is usually credited with the doctrine of the "*tortores infantium,*" it may be taken as the common opinion of

theologians, that unbaptized infants, whatever other privation they endure, are free, at least, from all pain of sense. "Communisissima deinde," writes Mazzella, "in scholis facta est sententia, parvulos cum solo peccato originali decedentes non puniri poena sensus."¹ St. Thomas, Bonaventure Scotus et "ingens antiquorum acies," are quoted by Perrone as opposed to the opinion attributed to St. Augustine, and according to Vasquez, quoted by the same learned author, many of the scholastics relying on the words of Innocent III. :—"Poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei, actualis vero poena peccati est gehennae perpetuae cruciatus," went so far as to say that the common opinion was of Catholic faith. It may, therefore, be believed with all confidence, that infants dying in original sin, will not be submitted to sensible pain in the next life. "Quantum glorificavit se et in deliciis fuit; tantum date illi tormentum et luctum." (Apoc. xvii. 7.) St. Thomas, commenting on these words of St. John, argues that the nature of the punishment to be inflicted in the next life will correspond in some way to the fault committed in this; and concludes that, as those who die in original sin have experienced no personal delectation in its commission, neither shall they be obliged to endure any physical suffering in punishment.

A further question then arises :—Are such infants equally free from all pain of mind, or do they experience any mental anguish in consequence of the glorious privileges they have lost? Here again theologians are divided. Bellarmine regards it as much more probable that they will experience pain of mind: "Etsi levissimum mitissimumque;" and if not immediately after death, at least after the last judgment. "Tunc enim illuminabuntur abscondita tenebrarum et manifesta erunt consilia cordium." At the last judgment they will realize the glorious destiny they have forfeited, and how, although through no personal fault of their own, they have been excluded from the immediate vision of the Deity, and the society of the just made perfect. "Dicimus igitur,"

¹ *De Deo Creante*, Disp. 5, Art. 6.

he writes, "parvulos sine Baptismo decedentes dolorem animi habituros quod intelligent se beatitudine privatos, a consortio priorum fratrum et parentum alienos, in carcerem inferni detrusos et in tenebris perpetuis vitam acturos."¹ The weight of authority is, undoubtedly, on the other side—*"Valde tamen,"* writes Mazella,² *"communior est inter scholasticos sententia quae nullam animi tristitiam parvulos ex privatione visionis intuitivae passuros esse statuit."* Vasquez, Billuart, Scotus, and St. Thomas are quoted in support of the latter opinion; and Dr. Murray,³ after carefully analyzing the subject, sums up by quoting and endorsing the words of Henno, *"satis probabile est pueros illos ex privatione beatitudinis aeternae non esse tristitia afficiendos."* Some are inclined to think that their original destination to a supernatural reward has, by a merciful dispensation of God, been concealed from them; and that, as a consequence, they feel perfectly happy in their present dethroned position. *"Et ideo,"* concludes St. Thomas, *"se privari tali bono, animae puerorum non cognoscunt; et propter hoc non dolent: sed hoc, quod per naturam habent, sine dolore possident."*⁴ Others hold that these infants are fully aware of the greatness of the reward which, in other circumstances, they might have merited; but that, nevertheless, God has so arranged matters, that they are now perfectly happy, and experience no useless regrets, no vain longings in consequence of what they have lost. The happiness of the elect is, indeed, well known to them; but, feeling no capability within themselves for such a glorious destiny, they are neither jealous of those who have attained it, nor are they troubled in mind, because it has fallen to their own lot to be excluded from its enjoyment. They have for ever escaped the fires of hell—the worm that never dies, and the fire that is never extinguished—and they thank God for this grand manifestation of His mercy towards them. *"Scribit enim,"* writes St. Bonaventure,⁵ *"homines illos*

¹ Tom. v., lib. vi., cap. vi.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tract Dex Ecclesia*, vol. i., Disp. i., sect. x.

⁴ Q. 5, *de Malo*, a. 3.

⁵ *Apud Bellarminum*, i. c., lib. vi., cap. vi.

simul consideraturos beatitudinem quam amiserunt; et poenas aliorum damnatorum quas evaserunt; et quamquam prior consideratio dolorem, posterior gaudium adferre possit, tamen ita unam temperandam per aliam, ut consideratio amissae beatitudinis impeditura sit gaudium de evasione poenarum, et consideratio evasione poenarum impeditura sit dolorem de privatione beatitudinis; atque ita futurum, ut illi neque tristentur unquam, neque laetentur."

Many theologians, and their opinion, considering their number and respectability, seems highly probable, go even further, and say that infants, dying in original sin, enjoy in their future state the highest degree of natural happiness which it is possible for human beings to enjoy. With intellects unclouded by evil thoughts, and hearts set from the disorderly affections that pursue fallen humanity here below, they know and love God with a natural knowledge and affection, and in the enjoyment of that natural knowledge and affection they find all the aspirations of their souls fully satisfied. This opinion is fully in consonance with God's usual merciful dealings with man; it finds favour with theologians of the highest name, and derives no small amount of authority from the action of the Holy See. "Quamvis," writes St. Thomas, "pueri non baptizati sint separati a Deo, quantum ad illam conjunctionem, quae est per gloriam; non tamen ab eo penitus separati sunt. Imo ipsi conjunguntur per participationem naturalium bonorum; et ita etiam de ipso gaudere poterunt, naturali dilectione et cognitione."¹ And Suarez writes:—"Infero fore, ut illi parvuli tunc habeant veram Dei cognitionem naturalem, et amorem ejus super omnia, atque adeo reliquas virtutes naturales . . . itaque neque patientur rebellionem carnis, neque interiorem neque ex teriorem pugnam; quia etiam haec esset poena sensibilis, et omnia haec pertinent ad viam illi vero sunt suo modo in termino; atque in his fere conveniunt omnes theologi."¹ St. Bonaventure, Vasquez, and modern theologians for the most part support the same opinion. Lessius, who always thinks and writes so

profoundly, gives a vivid pen-picture of the appearance which unbaptized infants will present on the last day, and we take the liberty of transcribing his words as they are found in Dr. Murray.¹

“Congregabuntur [he writes] in unum locum, seorsim tamen ab impiis quia ad eorum sortem non pertinent. Videbunt iudicis majestatem, eumque adorabunt. Videbunt sanctorum et impiorum congregationem eorumque bona et prava opera cognoscent. Audient sententiam iudicis in utrosque, sibiue gratulabuntur quod non sint de impiorum numero. Agent Deo gratias quod ante usum rationis abrepti ; quia longe maxima pars eorum si ad aetatem venisset in eandem damnationem incidisset, praesertim infidelium filii. Itaque non murmurabunt contra Deum ; sed magnopere se illi obstrictos sentient, quod periculis tantorum filiorum exempti fuerint. Excipient et ipsi sententiam iudicis sed benignam ; qua etsi a visione Dei et coelesti regno excludentur, tamen statum naturae dignitati congruentem assequuntur, quo contenti et laeti in omnem aeternitatem vivant et Deum laudent. . . . Unde etsi dicantur damnati, quia coelesti gloria ad quam erant conditi, in aeternum sunt privati ; tamen credibile est, eorum statum longe feliciorem ac laetiolem fore, quam sit alicujus hominis mortalis in hac vita.”

Some theologians seek to find an argument in support of this opinion in the words of Innocent III. :—“ Poena originalis peccati est carentia visionis Dei ;” and, undoubtedly, the action of the Holy See supplies a strong proof in its favour. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, Cardinal Sfrondate published a book in which the opinion under consideration was advanced. The religious feelings of some of the French bishops were wounded, and the year immediately following the publication, five of their number, including the celebrated Bossuet, presented a petition to the Holy See, praying for the condemnation of the work. The then reigning Pontiff, after praising their zeal, promised to give the matter the most serious consideration. “ Officii itaque nostri,” he writes in reply, “ esse duximus, librum ipsum, resque a vobis in eo adnotatas insignium theologorum discussioni committere ut omnibus maturae considerationis trutina perpensis, quod justum fuerit, subinde decernere valeamus.” Innocent XII., it may be assumed,

¹Tract. *De Ecclesia*, vol. i., Disp. i., sec. x.

kept his word, and the investigation was conducted with all the seriousness which the circumstances of the case and the issues at stake demanded. No condemnation, however, appeared; and we are justified, therefore, if not in citing the highest authority in support of the opinion, at least, in concluding that it contains nothing opposed to the recognised principles of Catholic theology.

This paper has already exceeded all reasonable limits, and yet it is no matter of surprise that nothing like a satisfactory answer has been given to the question proposed. The *dicta* collected from the writings of our leading theologians show how hopelessly they are divided on the subject, and it is highly probable that God's merciful dealings with infants who die without receiving the graces of Baptism, will remain enveloped in mystery. "Donec illuminabuntur abscondita tenebrarum et manifesta erunt consilia cordium."

D. FLYNN, C.C.

"THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW" AND THE ENCYCLICAL ON BIBLICAL STUDIES

IN the April number of *The Contemporary Review* the Pope's Encyclical on the Bible was very freely and very severely criticized by the unknown author of *The Policy of the Pope*. This writer poses as the spokesman of a group of "intelligent Catholics"—*sapiunt quia sentiunt mecum*. But at first, one is tempted to fancy that the article is a clever piece of satire, after the fashion of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, the work of some enemy who wishes to throw ridicule on enlightened Catholics while he belabours their less intelligent brethren. This hypothesis would go far to explain the great freedom with which the Pope is treated, and some strange slips on the subject of Papal infallibility. Thus, we read on page 578: "The Sovereign Pontiff, whose infallibility providentially stops short at definitions." And again, on page 581: "Their first

and predominant feeling is of profound relief that a Papal Encyclical is not a binding definition *ex cathedra*." And in the concluding sentence of the article: "But, surely, we are neither unreasonable nor rebellious when we refuse—until commanded by an infallible decree—to abandon such convictions as that two contradictory assertions are not mutually corroborative, or that gross human error is not divine truth." Are these the words of an intelligent Catholic? To those who do not accept the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, all Papal utterances are liable to error, and the "infallibility" of a definition is nothing but a technical name, meaning that Catholics are bound to believe it. Holding this, a Protestant may very reasonably be thankful that this imaginary "infallibility" is providentially restricted to definitions; and when he finds what he takes to be grave blunders in an Encyclical, he is relieved to think they will not do so much harm as they would in an *ex cathedra* decree. But why should a Catholic who believes in real infallibility rejoice in its limitation? And why talk of an infallible decree commanding us to admit contradictory statements, and allow gross human error to be divine truth? Surely the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility does not bind us to accept any such definitions. To believe in that doctrine is to believe that such decrees are impossible.

Language like this might lead us to regard the author as a disguised enemy indulging in subtle irony at our expense. But there are many things in the rest of the article that tell against this theory, and we cannot accept it as a satisfactory solution. Can it be that the paper is an ingenious object lesson in the document-hypothesis? If so, the above passages might be the work of one writer, while those which express genuine Catholic sentiments must be ascribed to another hand. The idea is a fascinating one, but it will hardly suffice to help us out of the difficulty. And in spite of the author's statement that his position is clear and unequivocal, I am compelled to abandon it as an insoluble mystery.

But whoever and whatever the writer may be, there is no mistaking the drift of his criticism on the Encyclical.

and his account of the reception accorded to it by the Catholic world. I take leave to tell him that he has missed the meaning of the document, and still more strangely misread the facts. Let me not be misunderstood. I make no charge of unfairness. If the critic is really a bewildered Catholic, alarmed by the papal utterance, his painful position commands our sympathy. And, much as I deplore the tone of his language, I desire to treat the question without bitterness, and am willing to believe that he is in good faith. But no honesty of purpose can make his statements accurate, or save them from doing harm, if they are suffered to pass unchallenged.

Let us begin with his account of the facts. The Encyclical, he tells us, "has been passed over in respectful silence even by those militant Catholic journals which usually lavish the largest type and the most enthusiastic eulogies upon the least important utterances of the Holy See; and, strange to say, in most Catholic cities on the Continent, it is to this day (March 20) impossible to obtain a copy of the document for love or money. It would scarcely be fair to general readers, many of whom belong to other Christian Churches, to trespass upon their time, by offering an exhaustive analysis of a treatise which the most uncompromising Catholics do not deign even to glance at."¹

Now, except on one point, where he speaks of the Continent, the writer makes no qualification or restriction to these sweeping statements. And readers of *The Contemporary* who are unacquainted with Catholic affairs will imagine that those to whom the Pope has spoken neither hear nor heed him. In answer, let me mention the following facts, which all who care to do so can verify for themselves. An English version of the Encyclical appeared in *The Weekly Register* of December 9th, and 16th, 1893. *The Tablet* gave the Latin text in its issue of December 23rd. This was followed later on by an English translation, from the pen of Bishop Hedley, which has been published in pamphlet-form. Besides this, *The Universe*, to mention one of the cheaper

¹ Page 578.

journals, published the Encyclical in English; and this version also has been reprinted separately. And I believe the other Catholic papers of this country took good care to bring this neglected document within the reach of their readers. It has lately been announced that Lord Bray has presented the Pope with an Address from the Catholic Bishops of England thanking him for his Encyclical on the Bible. A more practical instance of the attention paid to the Pope's words may be seen in the laudable enterprise of Messrs. Burns and Oates, the well-known Catholic publishers, who have put forth a list of Biblical works, headed by a passage from the Encyclical.

A discussion, which has been carried on during the past three months in the pages of *The Tablet*, affords fresh proof that the Pope's words have by no means fallen to the ground. The first of a series of unsigned articles on the "Deluge" and the "Higher Criticism" appeared in the pages of that journal on February 3. Other papers followed at intervals; and the writer's arguments were subjected to a searching criticism by several able correspondents. It would seem that some Catholics of undoubted learning and intellectual power, are by no means prepared to adopt the narrow and rigorous interpretation of the Encyclical which finds favour with the author of *The Policy of the Pope*.

We may now turn to this writer's account of the Pope's teaching. I do not find it formulated in any sentence available for quotation; but I trust I shall do him no injustice in attempting to sum it up in words of my own. The Encyclical, it would seem, is retrograde and obscurantist. The Pope has, apparently, made himself the spokesman of prejudiced theologians, and dealt a cruel blow to the few Catholics who are entitled to speak with authority on Biblical criticism. He sends us to the fathers and the schoolmen, and warns us away from the real masters of Biblical science, the Dutch and German critics of the present day. This, in effect, is the burden of the whole article. Take, for instance, the following sarcastic application of a passage in the Encyclical: "In the next place, they (*i.e.*, the Catholics for whom the critic speaks) heartily endorse the

argument of Augustine, which finds such favour in the eyes of his Holiness himself, that if even the meanest of the mechanical crafts cannot be learned without the help of a qualified teacher, much less can an intricate subject which has its roots in many difficult sciences be mastered by the contemplative recluse who is at once utterly ignorant of its rudiments and obstinately determined to shut his ears to the explanations of its accredited professors."¹ These professors, if I mistake not, are "those German and Dutch critical scholars who have so largely contributed to our knowledge of the Bible."²

Now, in all this our critic is sounding a very needless note of alarm. Far from being obscurantist and retrograde, the Encyclical, as I read it, is enlightened and progressive, and designed to promote the true interest of Biblical science. The only Catholics who have reason to be troubled at its appearance are those benighted professors of whose shortcomings the critic speaks in such feeling terms. His knowledge of Catholic professors and students, by the way, is like Mr. Weller's knowledge of London, "extensive and peculiar." He tells of "men who glory in ignoring the very languages in which it (the Scripture) was written;" "who, besides the drawback of crass ignorance, lack the conviction that, however deftly science may be ultimately harmonized with religion, they will both remain for ever incompatible with unverity," and of "champions of tradition who publicly teach and uphold doctrines which they privately reject and abhor." On the other hand, he knows all about the "chosen few," and tells us confidently that "*not a single one* entertains the slightest doubt as to the truth of these propositions."

I am well aware that it must sound a strange paradox to talk of progress and science in connection with a document which does indeed praise the early commentators and denounce some dangerous views of modern scholars. And my readers will probably expect to find this statement followed by a foolish and futile attack on the critical school.

¹ Page 581.

² Page 579.

³ Page 584.

If so they will be agreeably disappointed. I will gladly pay homage to the great learning, the high powers, and the diligent labours of the Dutch and German critics. If they sometimes go where we may not follow, we may still learn something at their hands. I will not say *fas est ab hoste doceri*; for I hold no scholar as an enemy. It is the fashion to set up artificial barriers between the present and the past, or between writers of different race or party in the same age. Some people talk as though "science" and "criticism" had arisen by spontaneous generation, or dropped like a bolt from the blue. For light and leading we must look to the masters of a system newly "made in Germany;" everywhere else is nothing but darkness and confusion. It is sad to find tokens of this narrow and sectarian spirit, but we can hardly wonder at its existence. Those who sit at the feet of the kings of modern thought may learn very much that it is well worth knowing, but they may easily be led to form an exaggerated notion of their teachers' importance, and look with contempt on other and earlier schools. "It is always the tendency of discipleship," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "to magnify the effects of the master's teachings, and to credit the master with all the doctrines he teaches. In the minds of his followers, M. Comte's name is associated with scientific thinking, which, in many cases, they first understood from his exposition of it." And after quoting some words of the founder of Positivism, Mr. Spencer adds: "That is to say, the general mode of thought and way of interpreting phenomena, which M. Comte calls 'Positive Philosophy,' he recognises as having been growing for two centuries; as having reached, when he wrote, a marked development, and as being the heritage of all men of science."

It is much the same here. Like the other sciences, Biblical criticism is the outcome of gradual growth and development. It has reached a high perfection in the hands of the Dutch and German critics, but it was in the world before them. And much that is excellent in their methods is really the common heritage of all Biblical students, whether of their school or not. Kuenen himself speaks of Richard

Simon, the French Oratorian, as the "Father of Biblical Criticism."¹

But there were brave men before Agamemnon. The first fathers of the science must be sought in a much earlier age. This is the real meaning of the historical portion of the Pope's Encyclical; he is showing us the slow but sure growth and development of Biblical science, and encouraging us to go forward in the same path. It would, surely, be a mistake to suppose that he is thinking of nothing but theological commentaries and exegetics when he refers us to the labours of the early ages of the Church. Much of the work done by men like St. Jerome and Origen, and, let us add, Eusebius and Lucian, was critical and scientific. But this meaning is more marked and unmistakable when the Pope comes to speak of a later period, and dwells on the chairs of Oriental Languages established by Clement V., and the publication of the Polyglot Bibles of Alcalà and Antwerp. Those Bibles have been surpassed by subsequent editions, but they mark an epoch, and gave a fresh impetus to Oriental studies in Western Europe. One of the band of scholars associated in the production of the Antwerp edition, Andrew Maes, was in some sense a pioneer of our modern "Higher Criticism." Following the example of his predecessors, who encouraged the labours of these earlier Orientalists, the Holy Father insists on the importance of studying the Semitic tongues.

When we look at the Encyclical in this light, we may well regard it as a hopeful sign. It is not so much a declaration of doctrine or a denunciation of error, as an exhortation to labour. It will encourage those who are already at work in the field of Biblical studies, and send many more among us to swell their numbers. And if we are true to the patterns set before us by the Pope, we shall avail ourselves of any help within our reach, from whatsoever source it comes. Even the critic who takes such a gloomy view of the present state of Catholic studies might find some crumbs of comfort in the words of his Holiness.

¹ Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek naar het Ontstaan en de Verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds, i. 1.

But I may be reminded that the Pope plainly says that the uncorrupted sense of Scripture is only found in the Church, and those who have not the true faith only "gnaw the rind." Does not this show that the whole system of the critical school is condemned as utterly worthless, and can have nothing in common with the Biblical science to which his Holiness is exhorting us? Pardon me; it does nothing of the sort. Harsh as it may seem at first sight, the saying does not in any way deny the real merits of rationalist or unbelieving critics. It would still be true, even if their writings were wholly free from doctrinal errors. And it would be equally true of the most esteemed Catholic scholars, if they had their science and learning and critical acumen, and nothing more. All these gifts, excellent things in their way, would only enable them to "gnaw the rind." It may not be amiss to illustrate this principle by an instance taken from another field. "There is nothing," says Sir William Jones, in the preface to his *Persian Grammar*, "which has tended more to bring polite letters into discredit, than the total insensibility of commentators and critics to the beauties of the authors whom they profess to illustrate; few of them seem to have received the smallest pleasure from the most elegant compositions, unless they found some mistake of a transcriber to be corrected, or some established reading to be changed, some obscure expression to be explained, or some clear passage to be made obscure by their notes . . . The state of letters seems to be divided into two classes, men of learning, who have no taste, and men of taste, who have no learning." The accomplished Orientalist is a little too hard on the race of editors; and there has been, moreover, great improvement in these matters since his caustic words were first written. But the "man of learning, who has no taste," is no fabulous or extinct creature. He still comes, to the *Iliad*, let us say, armed with scientific philology and Wolfian criticism, knowing all about the age and authorship of the poem, but deaf to its music and blind to its beauty. Contrast such a critic with Keats, reading Homer at second-hand through Chapman's version, yet feeling

"Like some watcher of the skies,
When a new planet swims into his ken."

Is it too much to say that the pedant only "gnaws the rind," while the young poet, in spite of his imperfect scholarship, goes right to the heart of Homer's song?

Now, the critic who knows all about the Scripture except the mysteries of the faith enshrined in its pages, is as far from the real heart of the matter as the reader who understands everything in Homer except the poetry. In the eyes of rationalist critics, the Pope's claim to speak with authority on the meaning of the Bible may seem absurd and unwarranted. And so it is, if the book is simply the national literature of the Jewish people, and nothing more. In that case, Oriental scholars and critics and archæologists are surely the best authorities, and the *a priori* principles of theology may well be disdainfully swept aside. But it is far otherwise, if there is a Revealed Religion, and the Bible is one of the chief channels through which it comes to us; then even the uncritical believer will understand more of its true meaning than a whole host of unbelieving critics. Not that their learning is worthless, or his lack of it no loss; but that faith is more important than critical science. *Haec oportuit facere, et illu non omittere.* This is why the Pope, while exhorting us to a scientific study of the Holy Scripture, bids us hold fast by the doctrine that the Bible is the inspired Word of God, and as such is free from error. We must never lose sight of this, or take up any theories that run counter to it. There is really nothing unreasonable in this teaching. Shall we be told that it is unscientific to come with this *a priori* principle that precludes anything like a free inquiry into the facts? Why, all the arguments and objections of the critics are based on *a priori* principles; and every fresh fact discovered, every record that leaps to light, sets a limit to the freedom of their speculation. If inspiration is a fact, and not a fiction, we must take it into account like other facts. To hold that the Bible is inspired by God, that divine tradition is the twin channel of the same revelation, and the Church its chosen keeper and interpreter; and, at the same time, to treat the sacred volume as though it were a merely human document, and explain it without any reference to theology, involves a contradiction beside

which the most puzzling Biblical problem sinks into insignificance.

But what are we to say of the alleged blunders and contradictions pointed out by the Pope's Catholic critic? Now, I am not going to trouble my readers with a detailed answer to his list of objections. It would carry us too far, and at the same time would serve no useful purpose. Those who care to pursue the subject further will find help in the works of the Abbé Vigouroux; and, I may add, in commentaries of a much earlier date, for many of the difficulties are by no means new. The critic is, perhaps, not aware of this, as he seems but slightly acquainted with the Biblical literature which he condemns so severely. For instance, in his note on the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, he says:—"For many a long day this was obstinately denied by Catholic hermeneutics as derogatory to the dignity of God. It is no longer denied now."¹ Who would suppose from this, that the view thus "obstinately denied" for many a long day, was really the opinion of St. Thomas, and St. Augustine and St. Jerome? The other explanation seems to have been started by some Hebraists of the early sixteenth century, who derived it from the Jews. But it found little favour with such a representative theologian as Suarez, and A. Lapide says it was unknown to the fathers. M. Vigouroux is merely following in the track of the best Catholic authorities, when he understands the passage literally; but the other view is not untenable. But to return to the objections, let me say a word on their general character, and the possibility of meeting them. I have no wish to make light of the difficulties presented by the text of the Bible. Even when we put aside all that are merely imaginary, there is still a formidable array left; and, all things considered, it is only what might be expected. On the other hand, I should be sorry to overrate the answers of our apologists. Much good work has been done, and some difficult passages made clear; while in most cases we have had plausible suggestions of possible solutions. Anything like special

¹ Page 495.

pleading and hair-splitting is generally undesirable; and an ingenuous admission is often better than an ingenious explanation. But is there no special pleading or perverse ingenuity on the other side? Some objectors seem to treat the sacred text as a "hostile witness, under cross-examination." If great wits are near allied to madness, "higher criticism" is sometimes perilously near to hypercriticism.

If we approach the question frankly and fairly—and why should we do otherwise?—we shall find many apparent difficulties disappear. And if in some cases we cannot put our hand on the right answer, the solutions suggested are at least enough to show us the difficulty is not insuperable. But what if we meet with a plain palpable contradiction in terms, where we are not merely unable to see how it can be reconciled, but can see that reconciliation is impossible? And here the critic presses us hard. According to his reading, the Encyclical leaves us no loophole of escape. The most minute mistake in a name or a number is now, it would seem, fatal to the whole Bible. Let us hear his own words:—"It is a very trivial and somewhat uninteresting example; but the fact is, that since the Encyclical has appeared, the Bible has become metamorphosed into a Rupert's drop; so that it is enough to break off the smallest portion of the tail, to cause the whole thing to explode shivered into fragments. For the Catholic of to-day the Bible, the Catholic Church, Christianity and Revelation, all stand or fall with the correctness of the account given of Esau's wives."¹ *Horresco referens!* It is clear that the writer is speaking of the account *now* found in the text of Genesis, for he proceeds to discuss it, and evidently imagines that if he can show that it is contradictory, the above astounding result will follow. Let me hasten to say that the Pope has nowhere, I will not say defined, but countenanced this grotesque doctrine. He tells us that God is the author of the Bible, as the Vatican Council had already defined; and he warns us against the view which limits the inspiration to certain parts of the Scripture, and admits that in others the sacred writer himself has sometimes erred. But, at the

¹ Page 590.

same time, he distinctly allows the possibility of corruptions in the text, though we are not to assume this lightly without proof; and in saying that the sacred writings are altogether free from all error, he is careful to add the saving clause, *quales ab hagiographis editae sunt*. Let us suppose, then, that in some case a manifest mistake or contradiction could be established. We should then know, like the soldier, that "someone had blundered;" but it would remain to ask who was the real culprit. Putting aside St. Augustine's suggested alternative, that we may be blundering ourselves—which is far too modest for the modern mind—there remain, the original writer and a long line of copyists and correctors, and it may be translators, through whose hands the work has come down to us. Why should we insist on ascribing the blunder, not to any one of the transcribers who were left to their own resources, but to the original writer who was divinely inspired?

I do not say that we must take refuge in this extreme resource, in the case of Esau's wives. Other solutions have been suggested which are, to say the least, plausible. And if to some they may seem far-fetched or fanciful; the critic himself *pace illius* is needlessly rigid. He seems to take it as axiomatic that no person can have more than one name, and that no two persons can have the same name. The wives of King Henry the Eighth would have furnished a pretty problem of the same kind, if nothing but a brief mention of their names and parentage had come down to us. And we can imagine a critic convicting the chronicles of gross contradiction for saying in one place that Anne was the daughter of Thomas Boleyn, and in another affirming plainly that she was the daughter, not of Boleyn the Englishman, but of the Duke of Cleves; and, as if this were not enough, they must make Catherine the daughter first of King Ferdinand, then of Edmund Howard, and finally of Thomas Parr!

In much the same way, we find the critic making merry over a supposed mistake in the Book of Daniel:—

"But whatever Daniel may have learned did not hinder him from making a blunder, which alone is enough to ruin our faith

in the historical character of his story—a blunder as damaging as if a Londoner, writing an account of his alleged sojourn in a North American pine forest, were to inform his readers in a note, that during his first week there he was wont to gather pine-apples every morning for his breakfast. The prophet, who is supposed to have lived for years in Babylon, and to have been thoroughly conversant with the learning, history, and language of the people, makes King Nebuchadnezzar say that Daniel's name was changed to Belteshazzar, 'according to the name of my God'—*i.e.*, Bel. Now, this is absurd. Belshazzar—*i.e.*, Bel-sar-ussur—does indeed contain the name of the god in question, and means 'Bel save the King.' But, then, this was the name, not of Daniel, but of Nabonned's son. Daniel's name, Belteshazzar, has no more to do with Bel than pine-apples have to do with pines: it signifies, 'protect his life.' The two names are, therefore, *toto cælo* different, and no Jew who had spent a twelvemonth in the country could have confounded them, or have proposed such an impossible etymology for one of them."¹

The whimsical illustration of the Londoner gathering his pine-apples in the pine forest, is hardly a happy one; for this is not a mistaken etymology, but a confusion of things. The name of the fruit is derived from the name of the tree, just as Belteshazzar is supposed to be derived from Bel. No one really familiar with English would be likely to think pine-apple meant the fruit of the pine tree. But mistaken or fanciful derivations of words are by no means confined to strangers but slightly acquainted with the language. With certain etymologies of the Talmud before me, I should be sorry to say what a Jewish captive, or even the King himself might or might not do with the Assyrian names.

But is there any mistake at all in the present case? Before we can settle the matter in the critic's summary fashion, we must know the original form of the name given to Daniel. The comparatively recent discovery of the Cuneiform "Bel-sar-utsur" (as I should prefer to write it) has explained the meaning of the King's name. And there can be little doubt that the Biblical "Belshazzar" is merely a corruption or contraction of it, perhaps the Aramaic writer spelt it as he pronounced it. Now, it is, to say the least, possible that Daniel's name may be explained in the same

¹ Page 588.

way. In other words—it may be but a variant form of Belshazzar, and represent the same Assyrian name. The insertion of one letter, *t*, in the one name is not more difficult to explain than the omission of the *r* in both. This is not merely a conjecture, for the ancient Syriac translation uses the same form, *Belt'shatsar*, both for Daniel and for the last Chaldean King. I am quoting, I may add, from a Syriac MS., which is probably much older than any extant copy of the original text.¹

We turn from these minor difficulties, to larger questions that touch the character of the Bible as a whole. And here we find the critic calmly saying “this view of the religion of the Bible as a slow and gradual development, is the true line of cleavage between the honest convictions of Catholic scholars and the preconceived notions of professional theologians.” Well, well; let us hope that there are honest convictions on both sides. And I am afraid that “professional theologians” are by no means alone in harbouring preconceived notions. But what are we to say of this true line of cleavage? It may be allowed on all hands that some of the theories put forward by the critic are separated by a very decided line from Catholic theology. But the acknowledgment of gradual growth and development is hardly the best distinguishing mark. To many of us, it will seem that these things are found in a far truer sense in the theological conception of the origin of the Bible. That account of the matter has been exhibited in such a grotesque form to the readers of *The Contemporary Review*, that it may not be amiss to put it afresh in a somewhat different light. We acknowledge the whole Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the New Testament as the inspired word of God. So far it is all one, and not to speak of places where the text may have suffered some slight corruption, or where the words of erring men are reported, it is all true and consistent with itself. But with this unity there is combined a

¹ *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Testamenti e Codice Ambrosiano Saec. fœv. sexti. photolithographice edita, curante et adnot. A. M. Ceriani.* For some curious Talmudical etymologies, in part play on words, cf. Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 15, Berachoth ix. 5.

wondrous variety ; it is the unity, not of a dead mass, but of a living being. Even the revelation itself, the divine message to mankind, has a growth, an evolution, like the life of nature. What is dimly intimated at first, is made more marked and manifest in later utterances ; what is faintly foreshadowed from the beginning, is told in louder tones in the prophets, and made yet more clear in the brighter light of the New Testament. And even when the last page is written, the message is further expanded and unfolded in the gradual growth and development of Catholic theology. But, besides this there is another source of almost endless variety. Inspiration does not destroy or impair the natural gifts and character of the men who are made its chosen channels. Just as the books are now in Hebrew, now in Aramaic, and now in Greek, so each individual writer speaks in the dialect of his time and place, in his own voice and in his own way. The instruments have each a separate tone and a beauty of their own, though the same divine musician breathes through all.

In all this, we may see a real growth and development ; but it is a very different thing from the evolution of a true religion out of a false one. It is much the same with the document hypotheses, and the alleged alterations and additions of reforming prophets or priests. The more extreme theories on this subject are certainly hard to reconcile with a true idea of inspiration. But in saying this we do not deny that the inspired writers made any use of earlier documents, or that a book mainly written by one hand may have been completed by another.¹ As for the dilemma that the Bible was either written for those outside the Church who cannot understand it, or for those within who no longer need it, the answer is not far to seek. I should be sorry to say that outsiders can get no good from the Bible. Even men who acknowledge no revelation may learn something from its pages. Much more can those who read it in faith as the word of God derive benefit from studying the sacred book ; and to some, it is happily the means of coming to a fuller knowledge of the truth. But this, I take it, is not the

¹ On this see Kaulen, *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*, p. 164.

primary object for which it was written. It is chiefly meant for those within the true Church, who, with all deference to the critic, have a very real need of it. We must have a very strange notion of the Pope's infallibility, if we think that it makes the Scriptures superfluous. The Holy Father has no new doctrine of his own to teach us; he does but impart to us the unchanging truth that comes down from the beginning through the channels of Scripture and tradition. Even those Catholics who unhappily never read the Bible themselves are still fed from its pages when they hearken to the Church. At the same time, those who neglect the devout study of the Scripture, deprive themselves of a great benefit. And one reason for rejoicing at the appearance of the recent Encyclical, is the thought that it will do much to lessen their numbers. But whatever the "vast majority" of us may do, it is really too bad to mention Mr. Lilly's name in this connection. The passage which the critic quotes from a dialogue in *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, does not refer to "Bible questions" in general, but to such matters as the date of the books, the names of the human authors, and their conceptions of science and history. Mr. Lilly does not pose as a Biblical critic, but he has a real knowledge of the Scriptures, and makes good use of it in his writings. Those who can call to mind some notable passages in his *Chapters in European History*, will read the critic's language with mingled indignation and amusement.

There is no occasion to follow the author in his excursions into other fields; and I will say nothing here on the simplicity of Zosimus, the vacillation of Vigilius, and the real or fabled failings of the other pontiffs he has brought on the scene. But it is otherwise with his reference to the Holy Father's words on the study of history. A consideration of this may haply help us to understand both the present *Policy of the Pope* and the judgment of its critic. The Pope, we are told, advised his children to

"Set themselves diligently to study the science of comparative history. Since then not one of the hundreds of millions of his loyal children throughout the world who listened in wonder to his paternal advice has acted upon it. And for the best

and saddest of all possible reasons. Although there is a science of comparative philology, and another of comparative anatomy, we seek in vain for the name of comparative history in the list of sciences which theology deigns to employ as her 'inferiors and handmaids.' Indeed we venture, with all due respect to a Papal utterance, to doubt whether any such science is conceivable. History herself, even without the disturbing element of comparison, has not yet satisfactorily made out her claim to be recognised as a science."

Now, unless we adopt a very narrow and superficial definition of the word, it must surely be allowed that there is a science of history. "There can be no doubt," says Mr. Matthew Arnold, "that Wolf is perfectly right; that all learning is scientific which is systematically laid out and followed up to its original sources." But what shall we say of the "disturbing element of comparison"? On this point let us hear one of our most scientific historians, the late Professor Freeman: "The establishment of the Comparative Method of study has been the greatest intellectual achievement of our time. It has carried light and order into whole branches of human knowledge which before were shrouded in darkness and confusion." These words occur on the first page of *Comparative Politics*. In another part of the same work we find him saying, "We are learning that European history, from its first beginnings to our own day, is one unbroken drama, no part of which can be rightly understood without reference to the other parts which come before and after it."² The whole volume is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of history, and might well have been named after that inconceivable science, but that it is devoted mainly to one branch of history, that which deals with politics or systems of government. But Mr. Freeman was by no means the first in the field. Readers of M. Comte will remember what importance he attaches to the comparative method, and the use he makes of it in the field of social science. He speaks with scorn of the "irrational spirit of speciality" which threatened to make history "a vain accumulation of incoherent monographs." And he looks to

¹ Page 582.

² Page 303.

a different kind of history to support the "social sentiment," "l'histoire rationnelle et positive, envisagée comme une science réelle, et disposant l'ensemble des événements humains en séries coordonnées qui montrent avec évidence leur enchainement graduel."¹ The same pregnant principle which gives us the philosophy of history, has an important effect on merely national history. Nothing is isolated; the life of the nation is treated as an organic whole, and the various factors are combined and compared. This is what our Teutonic neighbours call *Pragmatismus*.² The modern scientific treatment of history is certainly a great advance from the histories which were, too often, little more than overgrown party pamphlets, or works of unimaginative fiction. Whatever their faults and failings, historians of the new school have two main merits. In the first place, by the method of observation, they make a rigorous and exacting examination of the facts. And then, by the help of the method of comparison, they endeavour to get behind the facts, to reach their causes, and trace the laws that govern the course of history.

Now, if we turn to the Pope's chief utterance on the subject of history, his letter to Cardinals De Luca, Pitra, and Hergenröther, August 18, 1883, we find him teaching the selfsame lesson. On the one hand, he insists on a careful study of the records, and he gives a practical force to his words by putting the Vatican Archives at the service of students. On the other hand, he sets before us the example of St. Augustine, the father of the philosophy of history, from whom we may learn the true knowledge of the causes, and he warns us against the errors of those who have forsaken his footsteps. It may seem a far cry from St. Augustine to the modern masters of historic science. Nevertheless, there is a real connection between the two

¹ *Philosophie Positive*, t. iv., page 327.

² So Kuenen: "De geschiedenis der Israelietische literatuur zal aller eerst geschiedenis moeten zijn en als zoodanig behooren te beantwoorden aan al de eischen, die onze tijd aan den geschiedschrijver stelt. Zij moet zijn pragmatisch; zij mag haar onderwerp—de heilige literatuur van Israel—niet isoleren." e. z. v. *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek*, page iii. Hegel uses the word in a different sense, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, page 8.

extremes. Comte owes something to Bossuet, and Bossuet in his turn, learnt of the great African father. Here, too, the Holy Father is sounding a note of progress, encouraging us to labour in the field of history as in that of Biblical science. And both these utterances, let us remember, are but parts of a large and generous and enlightened plan. On a former occasion he showed us the path of true progress in philosophy; and besides taking this deep interest in the studies, the intellectual culture of his world-wide flock, he has given us help and guidance on most of the burning questions of the day. The interests of labour, and the rights of property, liberty, and loyalty, the duties of Christian citizens, the dangers that lurk in the rash remedies for social troubles, the blessings of peace, and the burden of large armies, all these far-reaching questions have occupied his care. Why should we meet his messages with captious criticism, and raise doubts and difficulties, or presume to offer him advice? Is it in the interest of science? Surely not: *non tali auxilio*.

It is the glory of scholars, and critics, and masters of physical science to labour in the cause of truth, unfolding and interpreting to us the book of nature and the history of mankind. It is the glory of the Catholic Church to hold fast and hand onward in fulness, ever broadening in brighter light, the higher science of revealed religion; and the interests of the two are really one. There is no chasm to be crossed, no barrier to be broken. The blunders of untheological critics, and uncritical theologians, of men who mistake their pious opinions for dogma, and their brilliant hypotheses for established fact, may indeed raise a phantom feud between the two temples of truth. Hence come those attacks on religion in the name of science, or on science in the name of religion, that sometimes fill us with sorrow, but never with anxiety or fear. Who doubts the issue? Who fears the truth? Sooner or later, whatever is false in the systems of scientists or the theories of theologians, shall fall away and perish, and the truth shall triumph.

In this happy result, the wise words of the Holy Father will surely have their share. They may be misread by some,

and pass unheeded by others, but they will find out their own, and do their work; and their far-reaching influence will still be felt in the future when contemporary critics and contemporary champions are buried in oblivion.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF JULY

FIRST Sunday in July. *Feast of the Most Precious Blood.*
This day Holy Church, in grateful remembrance for the great price of our redemption, sets before us Jesus, "who has loved us, and who has washed us from our sins in His own Blood" (Apoc. i. 5), that we priests, who are the dispensers of this Blood to the world, may adore and worship the loving design of God in choosing us to be ministers of His mercy. If the angels were ministers of His justice when they broke open the fountains of the great deep, and opened the windows of heaven (cf. Gen. vii. 7), we, His other angels, are the ministers of His loving kindness to man; for by our ministry the fountains of the great deep of His tender compassion are broken up, and the deluge of His grace, which gushes forth from those windows of heaven, the Five Wounds, pours forth for the healing of men. Therefore, on this great priestly feast, let us renew "the one hope of our calling" (Eph. iv. 4), and come and adore the Christ, the Son of God, who hath redeemed us with His own Blood"¹

The Introit (Apoc. v.) is the song of the twenty-four elders, which they, the priests of heaven, sing prostrate before the Lamb: "Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord, in Thy Blood, out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation, and hath made us a kingdom to our God." We, His

¹ *Invit. ad Matt.*

priests, of whom He has made a special kingdom when He chose us out from all His creatures, have been redeemed in a special way by His Precious Blood. We have been signed and sealed therein as its ministers to those over whom we are set in the kingdom of our God, the Church.

The Collect is addressed to the Eternal Father, "who so loved the world as to send His only-begotten Son to redeem the world" (St. John iii. 16). We pray that we may ever have a love for this, the price of our redemption, which is also our safeguard against all present ills, even as was the blood of the Paschal victim sprinkled upon the lintels (Exod. xii. 22); and it is also the source of all our future joys: *in quo salvi erimus.*

The Epistle (Heb. ix.) is from the same chapter we read at Matins, and is St. Paul's glorious description of the eternal priesthood. The covenant, of which we are members, is one sealed with Blood, even the Blood of a God; and in the Mass we, clothed in the Person of the great High Priest Himself, go into the Holy of Holies, and there, face to face with our God, we plead, by the Blood of the Sacred Victim, that we and all God's people may be cleansed from the works of death, and serve the living God. As Jesus offered Himself, by the Holy Ghost, a spotless victim to His Heavenly Father, so does He call upon us to join with Him in this sacrifice, and keep our body and soul in the grace of the Holy Ghost, that we may also offer ourselves up as a sinless victim, together with Him.

The Gradual (1 John v.) is a hymn to the Sacred Humanity, of which the Precious Blood is the witness; and this Blood also beareth witness to the Divinity as well; for, if it were not divine, how could it wash away sin? The witness of the Blood calls from the earth to Him whose Son shed it; not as Abel's, which called for vengeance (Gen. iv. 10), but it sends up a cry for mercy which the Father cannot refuse.

The Gospel (St. John xix.) is the account of the last shedding of the Precious Blood. Loving us, our Jesus loved us to the very last drops of His Blood. "The Redeemer came and paid the price. He shed His Blood, and

bought the world. Seek ye to know what He did buy? See what it was for us He gave; so shall you find what He did buy. The Christ's sweet Blood is thus our price. The value whereof, what was it? What worth save that of all the world? What worth save that of all people . . . For all mankind gave He, all that He gave."¹ This great price of our redemption we are going to offer to the Eternal Father in the cup of benediction which we bless, and which is the communication of the Blood of the Christ. So now, as the Offertory begins, let us renew our faith and hope in the all-saving power of this Blood, and offer it to the Eternal Father as a most perfect worship and all-sufficing homage; and beseech Him that this Blood be communicated to us in all the fulness of its virtue.

The Secret reminds us we are going to draw nigh to Him who is the Mediator of the New Testament, and are going to offer up that very Blood which paid the price, and which speaketh better things than Abel's; so, entering into the dispositions and intentions of the Mediator, let us unite with His sacrifice, and be one heart and soul with him.

In the Communion (Heb. ix.) we are reminded that we, who were at one time afar off, are now brought near to our God by the presence within us of the Blood of the Christ, who is our peace.² The Sacred Heart is within us, and the Precious Blood is coursing through the Lord's Body, quickening it in all the joys of the glorified life. The fountain of that Blood "which was shed to exhaust the sins of many" (Heb. ix. 28) is now within us. May it so work in us that, without sin, we may look out for His coming as our eternal reward. The Post-Communion continues the same thought, and in a most beautiful prayer begs that we, who have been admitted to the Holy Table, and have there drunk in joy the waters from the Saviour's fountains, may have the blood spring up in us in a fountain of living water, welling up into life eternal. This beautiful prayer is full of matter for meditation, and forms a most suitable thanksgiving after Holy Communion.

¹ *Homil. S. Augus. ad Matt.*

² *Cf. iii. Resp. ad Matt.*

July 2. *The Visitation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin.*

The first triumph of the Sacred Heart was wrought by means of Mary's voice, and the Baptist was the first to feel the effects of her maternal love. One lesson we may gain from the Mass is, that all things come to us from the Father of lights (cf. James i. 17), through our ever-dear and blessed Lady. We who are so intimately connected with her Son are also more closely connected with the Mother than the rest of men. She brought Him forth, and we daily give Him a sacramental existence. She nourished Him, and we give Him the meat and drink which He loveth, the souls of men. She tended and cared for Him, and in the Blessed Sacrament He is committed to our guardianship. She carried Him to the Baptist, and was the means of His satisfaction, and we are the means of bringing Him home in His loving-kindness to many a thousand souls. She stood by the Cross, and joined in a most perfect manner in the Sacrifice; and we, by the very nature of our priesthood, are bound to do the same. All Mary's offices find their counterpart in ours. But to-day we especially think of "the day of the visitation" (cf. Mich. vii. 4, and St. Luke xix. 44), as it comes to us through our Mother Mary, and we will thank her for the grace of our vocation which we have through her prayers, and will place our priestly life in a special manner under her loving patronage.

The Introit from Ireland's saintly poet seems at once to strike the note of resemblance between our ever-dear and blessed Lady and ourself. We hail her as the holy parent of the King of heaven and earth; and to that same Everlasting King we give each day in the Mass a sacramental existence.

The Lesson (Cant. ii.) recalls our Lord's visitation to our soul in Holy Communion wherein the Beloved cometh to us leaping over the mountains and hills of physical difficulties in the great mystery of transubstantiation, as He was borne in great haste in His mother's womb to St. Elizabeth. He standeth behind the wall of our heart, knocking and waiting, oh! so patiently, until we open unto Him, even as He waited to enter into the Baptist's heart.

He looketh out with an eye of love, and regardeth us, oh! so tenderly, from within the lattice of the sacramental species, even as He cast His merciful eyes from within the virginal cloister upon the soul of His destined precursor. His sweet voice calleth us by the endearing names of "friend," "pure one," and "fair one," and biddeth us arise and follow Him to the marriage feast. He, therefore, trusting in our love that the harvest of His own planting will not fail Him, bids us go with Him and abide in the holes of the Rock ("now this Rock is Christ," says St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 4); and the holes therein are the Five Wounds sin has dug in His sacred body. There is our dwelling-place, large enough to contain the whole world; there is the resting-place for priests; "Thine altars, O God" (Ps. lxxx.), the place of sacrifice where He wills us to live, face to face with Him; there will our voice sound sweet in the ear of the Eternal, and there shall we feel for ever His love.

In the Gradual we celebrate the divine maternity with which we have so much in common, and we lovingly contemplate the mystery, that as she, the Virgin Mother of God, held within her womb Him whom worlds cannot contain, so do we hold in our poor feeble hands the vast Creator.

The Gospel is St. Luke's account of the mystery of the Visitation, wherein we may find some valuable lessons for our own priestly life. We may note the haste with which our dearest Mother rose up to carry the blessing of the presence of her Son to others. We want no better lesson of pastoral zeal than that of our sweet Mother hastening over the mountainous paths urged by the love of Christ who was within her (cf. 2 Cor. v. 14). Another lesson we may learn is that of attention to the courtesies of life. When our ever-dear and blessed Lady so courteously saluted her cousin, the greeting was a means of grace to both St. Elizabeth and her unborn son. Living as we do in the world, yet in a great measure out of the world, we are apt, perhaps, to forget those small courtesies of life which are the manifestation of that charity, that true gentlemanliness which ought to find its perfection in the priesthood. Our manner of dealing with our equals and with our inferiors has a great

deal to do with the success of our pastoral work and office and alas ! often instead of being a means of grace, it repels them from the priest, and causes them to remain in sin. One last lesson does she teach us by her *Magnificat*. When our work is blessed with success, we must refer it all to Him who is mighty ; for though we may plant and water, the increase is alone His, for He maketh the former and the latter rain (Joel ii. 23) to fall upon our work, and causeth our floors to be full of wheat, and the presses to overflow with wine and oil (*ibid.*).

July 5. SS. Cyril and Methodius, P.C., in their Mass gives us the important lesson of unity and obedience to the authority God has set up in His Church. This spirit, which is a characteristic of the priestly life, and is recognised as such by the outside world, will lead us on this day to pray for the re-union to the one fold of those sects who have cut themselves off from the divine unity of the Church. Their fathers did eat of the sour grapes of disobedience, and now their children's teeth are set upon edge (cf. Jer. xxxi. 29) ; and in God's mysterious providence they are to-day paying the penalty of their forefather's sins. May the prayers of these two great saints, who knew their missionary strength lay in Rome, plead for them that "they may come to the knowledge of the true name of Christ," and be joined in the Sacrament of unity to the Church which called them out of their original darkness, and now prays that they may be set free from the darkness of heresy and schism. The providential extension of this Mass of the two great missionaries so devoted to the Holy See, seems an indication of God's goodwill towards these nations, and His will that we should pray more earnestly for them, for "the time for having mercy has come" (Ps. ci. 14). The Communion tells that we have the fulness of light through no merit of ours, but through the boundless mercy of Him who is the very Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world (John i. 9), and who is now in our heart, and is searching Jerusalem with a lantern (Zeph. i. 12), and is casting its rays into all the chinks and corners thereof, revealing, alas ! so much that is unworthy of His gracious presence. Let us thank Him

for this mercy towards us, the mercy of self-knowledge; and beg Him that the light of His countenance which is signed upon us (Ps. iv. 6) in the priestly character, may so shine before men that they may glorify our Father who is in heaven.

July 17. *St. Alexius, C.* Priests have to lead the life of Jesus on earth, and His life has to be made manifest in us (2 Cor. iv. 10). And what was that life? Hidden, despised, poor, and humble. Like the saint, we have left our earthly father's house, and have taken up our dwelling in our heavenly Father's house, and there in the eyes of the world lead a hidden, despised, and humble life. What a priest's life is, is hidden from the world; what the joy and rapture which fill his heart as, morning after morning, he stands face to face with his Maker, no worldly man can know, and no human tongue can tell. It is a life hidden with the Christ in God (cf. Coll. iii. 3), and none know it save those to whom it is given. But as it is not the iron bars that make a prison, so the priestly life does not necessarily mean that we, in fact, do lead the hidden life. We have openly cut ourselves off from the world, and chosen the Lord for the lot of our inheritance (Ps. xv. 5). Our will must follow our outer act, and in the words of the *Imitation*: “*Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari.*”

In the Epistle St. Paul traces for us with a warning hand our path. Our wealth, our riches, our great gain, is piety, that gift of the Holy Ghost which is so abundantly given, together with our vocation, and is one of the signs thereof. The desire of wealth for wealth's sake, and ambition in its more subtle forms, are temptations we are very liable to from the very nature of our life. How often the thought comes to us: were I in such a position what could I not do? And meanwhile we forget that which lies at our hand, and by which alone at the present moment we can serve God. St. Paul warns us, and St. Alexius by his example confirms the warning, that he who would become rich falls into temptation, and into the snares of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful diseases which draw men into destruction; for covetousness is the root of all evils. We

may have known of some whose love of money and of that softness of life which money brings, who have fulfilled the Apostle's words: "who have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows." Oh! we who are priests of the most High God, let us fly these things, and be contented with what God in His providence gives us, knowing full well that He will not let us perish. He knows our wants for the position in which He has placed us. He loves to choose the weak, the humble, and the despised as His instruments, and makes of the least the greatest.

July 22. *St. Mary Magdalen, Penitent*. Which of us has not sinned, and sinned deeply? Which of us is worthy by the depths of our love to wash with our tears the feet of the Christ, and dry them with our hair? to kiss them, and pour upon His head the right spikenard of much value? That we *have* sinned, is no bar; it is our own want of love—our coldness. It was because the Magdalen loved much that she dared to fulfil her pious offices towards our Lord. And did we who have had so much forgiven, and so often, but love as she did, with the love of sin forgiven, then would our Lord be pleased to accept our services as pleasing to Him, and commend us. An abiding sorrow for sin, which is the well-spring of love, is taught us every day in the Mass at the Offertory: "*In spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito*;" and this sense of our sin being ever before us (Ps. l.), is the fitting spirit for one who makes offering for sin, and has to be more intimately engaged about our Blessed Lord's Body than did the Magdalen. May this holy penitent win for us some of her sorrow for sin and some of her love; then shall we be less unworthy to approach the Sacred Feet of our Master.

July 23. *St. Apollonaris, P.M.* This Mass has many instructions upon the priestly life which is so essentially that of a martyr, in spirit at least, that we need do no more than refer to the teaching of the Prince of the Apostles, who bids us be the *forma gregis animo*. We are also by profession victims, and must suffer for our own sins and for the sins of our people; and woe to the priest who suffers not, and whose higher yields to the weakness of his lower nature. And the God of all grace, who has called us to His eternal glory in

Jesus the Christ, after we have suffered awhile will make us perfect, will strengthen and establish us in the glory and divine rule which is His, and which is ours also by reason of the priesthood. But as we are to bear humbly whatever comes to us from His hands, so must we, as the Gospel says, practise in all ways the slow martyrdom of the will and intellect in humility as a daily value. For if we be the great ones of the earth in His kingdom, by His own free election and calling, we, who have no merits of our own to be proud of, must needs be humbler than those who have not been so elected and called. Since we know by experience how utterly unfit we are of ourself for the great work of the priesthood, as day by day our spiritual insight of the awfulness of the mystery grows clearer, and our own nothingness in His sight is seen. This self-knowledge, gained day by day in the Mass, should keep us in the slow martyrdom of humility, which, if well founded in our soul, will indeed bring forth a rich harvest of other graces, and make us the *forma gregis*.

July 31. *St. Ignatius, C.*, teaches us in all things to strive after the greater glory of God, and in no way can we advance this glory so well as by living up to our vocation and saying our Mass well. The Divine Sacrifice is the great act of our life, and gives to the Eternal Father the most supreme and all-satisfying glory, for it is done in and by Jesus, so that it is God who worships Himself. This, the essential glory of the Mass, is always given to God, and no want of worthiness on our part can hinder the worship of God the Victim to the Father. But there is also the accidental glory which God receives from the Mass, and this is in our hands to make less or greater at our will. Surely the union which exists between us and our Lord, that mystical kind of an Incarnation which makes of each priest another Christ, will make us strive to do all we can to increase that dear glory of God by the devotion and love, by self-immolation, with which we offer Mass. In this way we can add immensely to His glory, and as our Mass pervades our whole day, which is either a preparation for or a thanksgiving after the sacrifice, so will the desire to conceive

this accidental glory be always in our heart, and stir us up to neglect no opportunity of "seeking the better gifts" (1 Cor. xiv. 1). How can we be content with any sanctity save the very highest? We who feed on the Bread of Life, and are instruments by which Jesus is the Adorer of the Father, must surely be called to poverty of spirit, subjection of our will to God, and for God, and the immolation of our bodies by poverty and mortification. We must be, surely, religious in very deed, as those who are called so by the name; and the same spirit which animates those who are bound by the three vows to God, must also be ours. We are bound by the vow which we pay to the Lord morning by morning in the heavenly Jerusalem, and this vow needs no other binding force to make us be consumed with the desire of ever seeking to give more glory to the God who so glorifies us. Thus, walking worthy of our vocation (Eph. iv. 1), saying well our Mass, is our truest means of giving glory to God; and as God gets the most perfect, essential glory from the Mass in itself, so does He get the most perfect accidental glory from us when we have the same mind as was in Jesus the Christ.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

PETER O'HIGGINS (*continued*)

We now turn to Belling's rejoinder:—

RICHARDI BELLINGII—ANNOTATIONES IN OPUS J. PONCII—"BELINGII VINDICIÆ EVERSÆ."—PARISIIS. 1654.

"Addit deinde Poncius Marchionem Ormoniaë *duorum sacerdotum sanguine maculatum*, patris scilicet Petri Higgins et patris Henrici Viti. Quam natura et ingenio a crudelitate abhorreat, quantique faciat viri Ecclesiastici cujuscumque Religionis nomen et characterem, probe sciunt qui Marchioni amicitia, aut familiaritate conjuncti sunt, sed cum Poncius nulla alia accusatione convenientius adversæ religionis homini invidiam se comparare

posse arbitraretur, quam fideliter jam referam Ponciano more contextit historiam.

Anno 1642 cum Marchio Ormoniae militibus tantum praesesset, et rerum summa potirentur Duumviri, Gulielmus Parsonius et Johannes Borlaceus, exercitus partem ad firmanda adversus finitimos Hibernos qui in armis erant longinquiora a Dublinio Præsidia eduxit; cumque Naseum in Comitatu Kildariensi, duodecimo a Dublinio lapide situm, terrore advenientium copiarum pæne desertum intrasset, vidit hominem turbæ medium rudi militum insolentia coactum exclamare; huc citat equum, ibique Patrem Higgins hunc esse comperit, qui viso Marchione, se, ait, si is animus fuisset, cum aliis efugere potuisse, sed cum nequaquam in leges peccasset, et affictos sæpius Anglos, insanientis populi furore eripuisset, ereptasque victu et vestitu fovisset, sperabat se tuto vivere posse cum Marchio oppidum cepisset. At nunc se nihil aliud implorare, quam ut incolumis adducatur, crimini si quod obijci possit more subditi foro debito responsurus. Annuit Ormonius, et sedato milite, P. Higgins Thomæ Armstrong ex ordine equestri, qui in exercitu equitibus præerat, custodiendum tradit, eique imperat, ut omnem militis violentiam cohibeat; erat in oppido forte Carolus Coote cui accepta a Duumviris autoritate, Ecclesiasticos et minoris census Hibernos, indicta causa morte afficere permissum fuerat, is si mortalium quisquam vir sanguinarius; captivum quem sui fori esse contendebat ab equitum præfecto repetere voluit: sed Thomas Armstrong militaris officii memor hominem ab Imperatore suae fidei comissum retinuit, paulo post ex peditibus plurimi, authore, ut credebatur, Carolo Coote, tumultuario, minis etiam additis, Papisticum illum Presbyterum reposcere ceperunt, eoque ventum est, ut hinc peditum turma, illinc equitum cohors, in praelium descenderit; nec prius recesserunt quam equites impetu facto, pedites explosis tormentis, jam prope inermes dissipaverunt: Postquam vero Dublinium rediisset Ormonius Duumviris Regioque Consilio viginti ad minus Anglorum supplicationes porrexit, quibus Patrem Higgins qui tanta charitate, vitæ etiam suae discrimine eos texerat, libertate donari enixe implorabant, horum plerosque Marchionem Ormoniae ad hæc justiciæ et gratitudinis officiae invitasse satis notum est, nec dubitavit captivum omni culpa liberatum brevi remittendum, fore, cum Eduardus Butler ex famulis Marchionis qui forum primo mane præteribat suspensum patibulo vidit Patrem Higgins reversusque rem hæro indicavit, percussus inopinatæ Innocentis cæde Ormonius, ignorabat utrum tam iniquo facinore, Duumviri magis in justitiam quam in prudentiam peccaverint, quippe consultius videbatur quando Angli afflicti et desperati per omnem Provinciam errabant eorum Protectorem præmiis etiam cumulatam dimittere, ut plures eidem officio incumberent, eodem die cum in senatum venisset, Regisque Consilarii frequentes adessent, a Duumviris petiit si eorum

mandato quidam Higgins quem captivum ipse adduxerat, quique afflictos Anglos tot beneficiis devinxerat, cuique si quam culpam commisisset juridice discutiendam fore promiserat, morte multatus fuerat, illi ac si res nova esset admirantium vultus induunt. Responderunt tamen eam esse Caroli Coote auctoritatem ut inconsultis Duumviris, talia peragere possit, instabat Ormonius ut Carolus Coote in jus vocaretur, eum in leges peccasse qui subditum bene meritum legitimo et civili iudicio sistendum rapuerit, minime id se a Duumviris expectasse eum cujus cujus causæ quod justa esset favebat, morte tam subita tam infami afficiendum dixit, utrinque acriter res disceptata est, adeo ut se exercitus imperio abrogaturum minitaretur, sed cum Duumviri qui proculdubio illius sceleris et conscii et participes erant, partes Caroli Coote vehementer agerent, solemniter coram omnibus Ormonius protestatus est, cum aliud nil possit, illum nunquam Carolum Coote, in eandem secum exercitum admissurum, cujus eum voti semper memorem extitisse satis constat."

Bellings, the Secretary of the Confederation of Kilkenny, was at heart an Ormondist, and one of the chief promoters of the disastrous truce made by the Catholic party with that wily and unscrupulous statesman. Bellings also, in politics, opposed the Papal agent, Scarampi, and the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini. His purpose in the passage just quoted is to defend Ormond from the charge made by Pontius, who was thoroughly devoted to the Nuncio. But as Bellings, owing perhaps to the exigencies of controversy, evidently took pains with his answer, we may accept his account of the circumstances of Father O'Higgins' death. His statement is the fullest of any.¹ From it we learn that Ormond, who was at the time General of the English or Protestant army, was on his way to reinforce some garrisons when he passed through Naas: that he gave Father O'Higgins in charge to Sir Thomas Armstrong, who commanded the cavalry: that Coote, who had received from the Lords Justices the power of life and death over priests and Irishmen of low degree, happened to be in Naas at the time, and claimed the Dominican as *his* by right: that when Armstrong refused to give him up, some of the

¹ Carte, as appears from his reference, knew of this passage in Bellings, so did Clarendon (Borlase), though no reference is made by the latter, but his acquaintance with it is evident, for in many places his description is simply a translation.

infantry (it was believed at Coote's instigation) attacked the cavalry, but after discharging their muskets, were routed by a charge: that on his return to Dublin, Ormond presented petitions from at least twenty Protestants that the priest's life might be spared; all of them owed their property and lives to him, and most of them drew up their petitions at the suggestion of Ormond himself: that the latter expected that Father O'Higgins would soon be released from prison, and that he was amazed when a servant of his, Edward Butler, who happened to cross the Green on the morning of the execution, told him he had seen the dead body hanging from the gallows: and that Ormond in the Privy Council demanded that Coote should be tried for it, and though his appeal was disregarded, he declared before them all that he would never again allow Coote to accompany the troops. and he kept his word.¹

But by far the most valuable part of Belling's narrative is undoubtedly that in which is contained Ormond's promise to Father O'Higgins: "*Cuique si quam culpam commiserat*

¹ The Hist. MSS. Report ix., part ii., page 344, states that in Rinuccini's *Memoirs* (transcript in the Earl of Leicester's possession), fol. 447 a., an account is contained of "Higgins and White, priests, illegally put to death by Sir C. Coote." It is disappointing to find that instead of being an independent narrative, it is only an acknowledged copy from Belling's description of the double execution. The whole passage given above is quoted in the *Memoirs*, and is followed by an extract from O'Daly's *De Geraldinis*. Rinuccini had such splendid opportunities for getting information about those who died for the faith, that one cannot but regret he did not use them. As the following passage, which is the introduction to the quotations from Bellings and O'Daly, will interest many readers, it is here copied in full. It has never been published before. In it, as may be observed, the two priests are called martyrs, and this statement of Rinuccini's (or of his auditor, Massari), though unofficial, is nevertheless most valuable testimony:—

"*Pari hereticorum furore duo alia Capucinatorum hospitia, nempe Vadipontanum et Molingarrense in eadem vicinia Dubliniensi extincta fuere; quorum 1^m heretici Residarii suppresserunt, 2^m cum capella hereticus Ormonii exercitus incendio delevit. Alii quoque regni religiosi, presertim Dominicani, strictioris observantiæ Franciscani, Augustiniani, Carmelitæ, et Jesuitæ atque alii ecclesiastici similem Dublinii et alibi passi sunt jacturam et persecutionem quam nonnisi per transennam tango, quod monumenta me deficiant. Specialem autem meretur mentionem P. Petrus Higinus et P. Henricus Vitus quorum martyria ex Bellingi annotationibus, &c.*" Then on the next page opposite the words "more subditi foro debito responsurus annuit Ormonius," Rinuccini has written as a marginal note "*erat maxime indebitum.*"

juridice discutiendam fore promiserat"—if he had committed any offence, he promised him that he would get trial by law. This shows that some accusation or other had been lodged in court, and that Ormond or Father O'Higgins was aware of it. It is impossible to conceive what charge could be brought against such a man, as long as truth and justice prevailed. Even Protestants, during the war of 1641, when religious animosity was at its height, bore testimony to his boundless charity. But when a Catholic was in question, truth and justice were of no account in the eyes of Coote and his fellows. Again, it is not easy to conceive how Ormond could make legal proceedings the subject of a promise, as if they were a favour or the result of special clemency. How could he?

The answer is, if we mistake not, contained in some documents still to be seen in the Record Office, Dublin. Father Peter O'Higgins of Naas was an outlaw for high treason! This will surprise some readers, but anyone acquainted with the history of the period—with the fiendish hatred entertained towards priests, and the uncontrolled power of gratifying that hatred which those in authority possessed, and exercised on all occasions—will at once understand how matters were in the present case. In 1641, false charges were daily made against prominent Catholics, and the accusers were not questioned, provided the charges were sufficiently grave. The best of all works, however, was the extermination of the priesthood; it was the end of many a Protestant's existence, and an end which justified any means whatsoever. The documents in the Record Office (Writs of 'Capias' and Outlawries, 1641, Iron Chest, Record Treasury) contain hundreds of the best Catholic names, and among them those of priests (clerks) may be counted by the dozen.¹

We shall now examine in detail those that refer to our martyr. In 2 F., Iron Chest 1, is preserved the writ of 'Exigent,' dated April 27, 1642 (No. 21), in Latin, which

¹ In Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, the outlaws are remarkably numerous. These counties formed at the time the greater portion of the Pale, or that portion of Ireland where the King's writ ran. It was a proverb then, "West of the Barrow, west of the law."

begins thus :—" Charles, by the grace of God, King, &c., to the High Sheriff of Kildare," and commands him to pursue and to arrest, wherever they may be found, Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Kildare, of Kilkea Castle, in the same county, and the other persons indicted of treason, whose names therein follow. On the fourth line, high in the long list, we see Petrum Higgins de Naas. That the good priest and the others paid no heed to the King's command, appears from the endorsement of the writ itself, where it is stated that in virtue thereof, a certain Burrowes held in the same year, 1642, a commission or court at Athy on July 30th; a second, on August 22nd; a third, on September 24th; a fourth, on October 2nd; and a fifth and last court, all at the same place; and as the above-mentioned persons did not appear at any of the courts, that they were then declared outlaws by Thomas Weldon, Gilbert Rawson, Francis Dade, and George Clarke, coroners. (Signed) Fra (ncis) Burrowes.

Then, in the "Entry Book. (No. 4) of persons indicted of treason in the King's Bench, or removed by *certiorari*," on page 27 we find: "The persons undermentioned are indicted of treason in the Court of Upper Bench, in Hilary Term, 1641."—Kildare: 'Peter Higgin of Naas, in the same countie, clerk.' Opposite one name in the column, but not close to it, are the words, "indicted upon evidence," which the present courteous deputy-keeper of the Records considers equally to refer to all on that page, including Father O'Higgins. (We can estimate the truth of that evidence.) There is also in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 4,772) a catalogue of persons in Ireland outlawed for treason, 1641-42: and under the heading, "Persons indicted of treason in the King's Bench in Hilary Term, 1641, and outlawed for same, is "Higgins Petrus of Naas."

Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Nugent (Lord Delvin) and Lady Mary Fitzgerald, was the widow of Gerald, fourteenth Earl of Kildare. She was, so far as we know, a woman of piety. The sole motive apparently, for the proscription was her influential position and her attachment, to the ancient faith.

The only actions of the Countess that her descendant, the

Duke of Leinster, mentions in his work, *The Earls of Kildare*,¹ are the following:—"In 1634, she demised Kilkea Castle to the Jesuits, who retained possession of it till 1646." Was this the high treason? Long afterwards, "on 16th December, 1664, two strings of pearls, one containing 106, the other, 110 pearls, were presented to the church of Loretto by Elizabeth Nugent, Countess of Kildare. They were taken to Italy by Richard Arsdekin (S. J.), the author of a famous treatise."² Was this such an act as a traitress would be likely to perform? No papers could be got in the Duke of Leinster's archives that would throw light on the Writ of Exigent, though the Duke mentions that his ancestress was proscribed on account of the rising in 1641. At this distance of time, in default of precise contemporary information, it is only possible to conjecture how the Countess, Father O'Higgins, and others, came to be regarded as traitors. She was proscribed (women were not outlawed, properly speaking, *wavietur*—let her be *waived* or set aside, is the technical term applied to her in the writ; men were outlawed—*utlagentur*) probably because she protected or harboured priests, and the priests were outlawed because they remained in the country, despite the edicts of banishment. These proclamations of general persecutions were frequent; beside those of 1605 and 1613 already mentioned, fresh ones were issued in 1623 (Lord Falkland's), 1625, and 1641, in virtue of which, it is said, about a thousand priests were driven out of the country. This may have been the last straw, and may have determined the Catholics to wage war, and to continue it. In the Lismore Papers, lately published, there is a letter of Lord Cork's, that goes far to explain our subject:—"July 20th, [1641. We have lately had a popish priest here hanged, drawn, and quartered, and many more in prison, which, I think, will be brought to a like cloudy end, for that they did not depart the kingdom by the prefixed day limited by the late statute which made it high treason for any friar, Jesuit, or popish priest that is a natural born subject of our King's, to stay or be found in this kingdom."

¹ 3rd ed., p. 24.² Appendix, p. 360.

The non-appearance was regarded as conclusive proof of guilt. "And as to the forfeitures for refusing to appear, the law distinguishes between *outlawries* in capital cases, and those of an inferior nature, for as to *outlawries* in treason and felony, the law interprets the party's absence, and without requiring further proof, accounts him guilty of the fact."¹ The consequences of Father O'Higgins not appearing, are seen in Coote's hanging him with impunity, as a matter of course. But, even if he had appeared, he would have been executed. As regards his own behaviour in this, he may never have heard of the Athy Commissions (they may have been held in secrecy—snares such as this were laid for Catholics), or he may have disregarded them, "*suae innocentiae conscius cum nihil timeret*" (Poncius); or he may have kept out of the way till Ormond appeared, knowing what would befall an "outlaw" once he was in Coote's power. At any rate, neither Ormond nor the Lords Justices, so far as we know, attached the slightest importance to his non-appearance at Athy.

Dr. Burke, who mentions our martyr, distinguishes him from a Father Peter Higgins, who died for the faith in Dublin, March 23rd, 1641; but the distinction appears to be unfounded. His first argument is, that Father O'Higgins is commemorated in the General Chapter of 1644, and Father O'Higgins in that of 1656, in which the list of martyrs and others remarkable for holiness is entitled: "*Appendix aliquot precipuorum virorum Provinciae Hiberniae quorum justa memoria in Actis superiorum Capitulorum subticetur.*" This would be a valid reason if, as Dr. Burke supposes, the General Chapter of 1656 mentioned no martyrs whose names occur in that of 1644. But this is precisely what is to be proved as regards our martyr. Now, the 1656 list does not profess to include none whose names occurred in earlier lists (1644-1650). Its heading does not run thus, "*quorum memoria tacetur,*" but "*quorum justa memoria subticetur.*" It professes to do justice to some who were lightly passed over in 1644 in or 1650, from want, as it seems, of further

¹ Jacob's *Law Directory*, art. "Outlawry."

information. There is a great difference between mentioning for the first time, and supplementing a description. If Dr. Burke's postulate were granted, then there would be two Father Richard Barrys, one commemorated in 1650, the other in 1656. He does not, indeed, draw this inference, but elsewhere he does in virtue of his postulate make out that among the martyrs there are two Stephen Petits and two Raymond Keoghs. In the present instance, however, it must be said in Dr. Burke's favour, that the 1644 account tells us far more than the 1656 one; in fact, the latter does not contain half so much as the former; and the only new statement in it is that Father O'Higgins was Prior of Naas (which was already made in the 1650 list).

Dr. Burke's second argument is not so weak. The Father O'Higgins of 1656, was Prior of Naas; the Father Higgins of 1644, is not said to have been a Prior; in fact, the opposite is clearly implied. He was a simple religious. For these Acts state that during his incarceration he thrice made his confession to *his Prior*, who came in disguise to the prison. Dr. Burke thinks that the Prior of St. Saviour's, Dublin, is here meant; and from this he infers that Father Higgins was a member of the Dublin community. We cannot so answer this argument as to leave it no force, but we may say in passing that the Prior of St. Saviour's is not necessarily meant. It may have been some other Prior Conventual, or the Prior Provincial. No doubt, according to Poncius, Father O'Higgins had resided in Dublin, "*in hac civitate et partibus vicinis semper habitavi*;" but according to Poncius, also, he was apprehended in Naas. It may have been his successor in office there who absolved him while he was in prison in Dublin. His tenure of the priorship may have expired in the meantime; or he may have resigned his office, as being no longer able to discharge its duties.

Now to come to the proofs of our thesis that the 1644 account refers to our martyr. First, the date and manner of the death: "*Suspensus obiit die 23 Martii, 1641.*" Now Carte says that Father Higgins of Naas was hanged on March 24th, 1642. Second, the circumstances of the arrest, &c.,

narrated in the 1644 account : “ qui post initum a Catholicis Regni Hiberniae pro Fide et Patria bellum ab hereticis captus, post tetrum carcerem et diuturnam inedia, nemine licet accusante, quin potius plurimis ex ipsis hereticis innocentem verbo et scriptis acclamantibus.” “ During the war which the Irish Catholics waged for faith and fatherland, he was taken prisoner by the heretics and confined in a dungeon, where for a long time he suffered from hunger. No one accused him of any crime ; on the contrary, many heretics attested his innocence with voice and pen.” And, “ ejus in tormentis constans animus et animi in vultu expressa laetitia ex ipsis hereticis complures ad lachrymas et singultus movit.” “ The sight of his heroism in sufferings and of the joy that overspread his countenance moved many of the heretics to tears and sobs.’ These circumstances are identical with those which O’Daly and Pontius narrate. We therefore conclude that the martyr is the same (a second Father Higgins is not mentioned by O’Daly or by Bruodin : and in all the names of outlaws, in the Iron Chest, that of “ Peter Higgins of Dublin ” is not to be found). The 1644 account further informs us that others of the heretical party in their rage treated Father O’Higgins’s dead body with more than disrespect. Then an effort was apparently made to have the martyr’s remains interred in the Dominican convent of St. Saviour’s. This was near the Liffey, on the site of the present Four Courts. As this mark of honour would not be allowed, the remains had to be taken outside the city, probably to the spot where traitors and outlaws were buried .Yet even this could not satisfy the hatred which rankled in the breasts of Coote’s followers : they stopped the funeral ; one of them shattered the martyr’s head with his musket, and others stabbed or mutilated the body.

We subjoin the passages from the General Chapters of 1644, 1650, and 1656, as some of our readers may wish to compare them :—

“ Gen. Cap. 1644 : P. Fr. Petrus Higgin qui post initum a Catholicis Regni Hiberniae pro Fide et patria libertate bellum, ab hereticis captus, post tetrum carcerem et diuturnam inedia,

nemine licet accusante quin potius plurimis ex ipsis hereticis innocentem verbo et scripto acclamantibus, facta ter sacramentali confessione Priori suo simulato habitu ad eum accedenti, et absolutione toties percepta, publice de innocentia sua, fide Catholica, et Ordine Praedicatorum quem professus est testimonium reddens, patibulo in foro civitatis Dubliniensis suspensus obit die 23 Martii, 1641. Ejus in tormentis constans animus et animi in vultu expressa laetitia, ex ipsis hereticis complures ad lacrymas et singultus movit, alios ad majorem rabiem, qui in defunctum cadaver furorem sum resumentes necdum ludibrio omnium exposuerunt, sepulturam ei intra civitatem denegarunt, extra portas cum duceretur sclopeti ictu caput ei fregerunt, variisque id genus injuriis affecerunt."

"Gen. Cap. 1650: Reverendus P. Fr. Petrus Higin, Prior Nasensis, captus in suo conventu ac Dublinum abductus magna constantia mortis sententiam excepit nec minori subiit, publice ibidem suspendio necatus."

"Gen. Cap. 1656: Eodem anno (1641) R.P. Fr. Petrus O'Higgin, Prior Nasensis, eximiae constantiae Palmam Dublinii adeptus est. Adductus Proregi ibidem, et quod orthodoxam fidem seminaret in populo accusatus, tentatur lautis promissionibus, si ad sectam Anglicanam transire vellet, quod ubi constantissime recusavit damnatus ad laqueum glorioso certamine victor obijt."

It is somewhat strange that only one of the four authors quoted above, namely, Bellings, implies that Father O'Higgins was an outlaw. Ormond's promise, and Ormond's words subsequently in the Privy Council, on which Bellings lays such stress, show that the Dominican was denied the ordinary proceedings of a court. This was part of what was meant by "outlaw" as applied indiscriminately to the best Catholic laity, and to the priests of the pale. They were to be dealt with by martial law, to be got rid of as speedily as possible, on account of their religion. Hence Coote contended that the priest was *his* by right, and the Lords Justices approved his zeal. It will be remembered that Carte speaks of the executions by martial law that were then carrying on in Dublin, and that Borlase says that "he (Ormond) found himself upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been." Had Ormond succeeded in obtaining a trial, there would probably be papers in the Record Office that would clear up the whole matter. But in the actual circumstances it is not

to be wondered at that no official record exists of all that took place after Father O'Higgins' imprisonment.¹ He was no longer a subject of legal notice properly so called. Let us look again at Jacob's *Law Dictionary* : "Anciently outlawry was looked on as so horrid a crime that anyone might lawfully kill a person outlawed, as he might a wolf or other noxious animal, but the law herein was changed in Edward the Third's time, which provides that a person outlawed shall be put to death by the sheriff only, having lawful authority for that purpose." And the sheriff, or governor, or provost-master general of Dublin, Sir C. Coote, if he ever reflected on the death of Father O'Higgins, one victim among hundreds, was not the man to publish anything to his own infamy or to that of his masters.

Yet the fate of Father O'Higgins will be remembered, and his name be held in honour, when those of his persecutors will be buried in oblivion. He and the two other Dominican Priors whose martyrdoms were described in the April number, lost their lives for Christ's sake, and so have found them for ever.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

¹ As so many priests were outlawed at the time, Borlase, Carte, and Poncius, may have considered it superfluous to mention Father O'Higgins' outlawry in particular; or they may have considered it would be obvious to every reader from the manner of his execution.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

THE POSITION OF THE CELEBRANT AT THE LAST GOSPEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to answer in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following question, as I think there is some diversity in the practice:—

Q. What is the position of the Priest at the last Gospel—“Initium, aut Sequentia Sancti Evangelii”?

In the rubrics of the missal—“Ritus celebrandi missam, De Epistola,” &c. No. 1—“Et missale sic locat ut posterior pars libri respiciat ipsum cornu altaris, et non ad parietem sive ad partem ejus contra se directam.” No. 2—“Stans ut supra.”

This seems clear. Does it apply *in toto* to the last Gospel particularly when the *Initium* is from the card? (The rubric merely says, “genuflectit ad cornu Evangelii.”) . . . In the first “ad ipsum cornu,” the meaning is the same.

De Herdt says distinctly that it does:—“Accedat ad cornu Evangelii ubi oblique (uti deducitur ex modo legendi alterum Evangelium) stans seu parum conversus per suam sinistram ad populum dicit.” “Dominus vobiscum, deinde, Initium, aut Sequentia Sancti Evangelii.”

Is this the common interpretation and common practice, particularly when the card is used?

An answer will oblige.

SENEC.

Our correspondent may take it for granted that the position which the celebrant should occupy while reading the last Gospel is the same, whether the Gospel be read from the Missal or from the chart. Neither in theory nor in correct practice is there any foundation for a distinction. For it is not the position of either book or chart that determines the position of the celebrant at any part of the Mass, though the position which the celebrant takes up does in some cases determine the position of the book, and even of the chart; as, for instance, at the last Gospel in a Solemn Mass, the sub-deacon should hold the chart in accordance with the position of the celebrant,

The question, then, is, whether the celebrant, while reading the last Gospel, should turn towards the corner of the altar, as he is directed to do while reading the first Gospel. If we were to rely on analogy, we should answer unhesitatingly in the affirmative; for the reason which prompted the Church to define the position of the celebrant at the first Gospel holds equally with regard to the last Gospel. That reason is manifestly that the people should hear the Gospel, and understand that they are expected to listen to it. Now, in many cases, the last Gospel is considered by the Church to be even more important than the first, although the feast in the Mass of which the first Gospel is read may be of higher rite than the Sunday or *feria*, or vigil, from which the last Gospel is taken. This analogy has determined writers to teach, as De Herdt does in the extract given by our correspondent, that the celebrant should stand in the same position while reading the last, as while reading the first Gospel; and the same analogy, together, no doubt, with the teaching of rubricists, has determined intelligent practice.

Till August 30, 1892, the theory and practice in this matter were as we have just described. Analogy, and analogy alone, was the guide; and, however convincing an argument from analogy may be, it does not remove all doubt. This is especially true when dealing with positive laws, as in the present case. Hence, some time ago, one who, like our correspondent, was more than usually impressed by this doubt, asked the following question of the Congregation of Rites:—

“Rubricam Missalis (tit. vi., n. 1) non usquequaque claram auctores et professores Liturgiae sacrae interpretantes docent, ultimum evangelium in fine Missae eodem prorsus modo dicendum esse prout primum, i.e., Sacerdote *oblique* stante, sive parum per suam sinistram converso ad populum. Cum alii, tamen praesertim seniores sacerdotes, negent talem esse sensum hujus rubricae, quaeritur, utrum ultimum evangelium a sacerdote *oblique* stante rectari debeat?”

To this question the Congregation replied, on the date above mentioned, *Affirmative*; and, as neither question nor reply leaves any room for doubt, the matter must be regarded as finally settled.

THE OBLIGATION OF RECITING THE REQUIEM OFFICE

In the I. E. RECORD for January of the current year we gave a negative reply to the following question :—

“ Is each priest who receives a *stipendium* bound to recite the entire Requiem Office by a strict obligation of commutative justice? ”

The negative reply to this question was based—(1) on what we understood to be the practice of priests, and (2) on what we assumed to be the intention of the donors of the *stipendia*. With regard to the practice of priests, we have always been of opinion that even the most scrupulous among them would not consider themselves debarred from accepting the *stipendium*, though they might have been late for a part of the Office, or, though, during the Mass, when they themselves could not sing, or when there was a sufficient choir without them, they read their own private office. We confess that we may be mistaken in this opinion, but we had never hitherto had any doubt about it.

We also believed, and still believe, that the donors of *stipendia* for a Requiem Office have no intention of imposing a grave obligation on each individual who receives a *stipendium* to read all the Psalms, Lessons, &c., of the Office, and to take part in the singing of the Mass. All they wish or intend is that the priests present, taken collectively, will endeavour to make the chanting of the Office and Mass, as solemn and as becoming as they can.

Whether or not this opinion be true, it would seem that the conclusion we drew from it, and the preceding, is no longer tenable. This appears from a Decree of the Congregation of Rites issued as far back as 1857, of the existence of which we were unaware, until our attention was called to it by a learned and esteemed correspondent. We subjoin the decree, which is printed both in the Gardellini collection of the decrees of the Congregation of Rites,¹ and in the *Collectanea, S. C. de Propaganda Fide*.²

“ S. C. SS. Rit. 9 Maii 1857.

“ PETROCORICEN.—Utrum parochus aliquae sacerdotes Exequiis mortuorum Officiisque quotidianis pro iisdem assistentes, ac pro

¹ n. 5236.

² n. 916.

ea functione stipendium accipientes, teneantur per se Officium defunctorum persolvere, ita ut sollummodo assistentes, et non cantantes vel psallentes, fructus non faciant suos; an vero sufficiat ut assistant, et schola Officium persolvat, ipsis interea pro suo lubitu alias preces fundentibus, v.g. Breviarium recitantibus pro sua quotidiana obligatione?

“R. Affirmative quoad primam partem; negative quoad secundam.”

THE PRAYER “EN EGO”

Into this prayer, as printed in many of our best and most reliable books, a curious mistake has crept. The mistake consists in substituting *suo* for *tuo* in the phrase *quod jam in ore tuo ponebat David, Propheta de te*. A glance shows that the sense requires *tuo*, and that *suo* makes nonsense; yet, as we have said, the error is so widespread, owing to the number and character of the books in which it has appeared, that very many of our readers, we venture to say, never even heard of the correct form. The error appears in many of our breviaries, in many of the cards containing the prayers to be recited after Mass, and in other equally trustworthy collections. We are glad, therefore, to be able to set our readers right, and to be able to give them in the shape of a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences itself an argument still stronger than that derived from the rules of grammar. The decree, as will be seen, is a recent one, and is taken from the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, April, 1894.¹

“Redactor Ephemeridum cui titulus: ‘La Semaine Religieuse’ quae in civitate Tolosana typis mandatur exponit quod in oratione ‘*En ego bone et dulcissime Jesu, etc.*’, cui adnexa est quotidie plenaria Indulgentia ab his lucranda, qui eam recitant post susceptam Communionem et ante imaginem Crucifixi in quibusdam libris circa finem ejusdem orationis nonnulla verba diversimode leguntur. In aliquibus enim legitur ‘*quod jam in ore suo ponebat*’; in aliis vero, ut, in collectione Oratorum piorumque operum a R.R. P.P. Indulgentiis dittatorum edita Romae anno 1886 ‘*in ore tuo*’ quaeritur igitur ab hac S. Congregatione Indulg.

¹ Page 172.

"I. Utrum dicendum sit in oratione praefata '*ore tuo*' an vero '*suo*.'

"II. Utrum sit indifferens ad lucrandam Indulgentiam '*suo*' vel '*tuo*.'

"S. Congr. relatis dubiis respondit ad I^{um} standum omnino textui collectionis.

"Ad 2^{um} provisum in 1^o.

"Datum Romae ex Secret. ejusd. S. Congr. die 29 Martii 1894.

"Authenticae editae Romae anno 1886 ex decreto hujus S. Cong. diei. 24 Maii 1886.

"Fr. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praef.*

✠ "ALEX. ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secret.*"

DECREE MAKING VALID ALL INVALID ERECTIONS OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

The decree which we give below was issued about the same time, and is taken from the same source, as the one just given. The details connected with the erection of the Stations of the Cross are so many, and some of them are so minute, that a priest who procures the necessary faculties for erecting them only once or twice in his lifetime may easily overlook one of vital importance. Such is the one mentioned by Father de Parma, in his petition to the Holy See, which called forth the present decree, namely, the neglect to obtain, before the erection, the consent, *in writing*, of the ordinary of the diocese. There are others, however, which are equally important, and just as easily overlooked. Hence, from time to time, either *proprio motu*, or, as in the present instance, moved by the petition of the General of the Franciscans, the Pope *convalidates* all previous invalid erections. It will, then, we are sure, be a relief to many priests, both secular and regular, to know that all erections of the Stations of the Cross, made previous to the 7th April of the present year, are now valid, no matter what essential particular may have been neglected at the time of the erection.

"Beatissime Pater,

"Fr. Aloysius de Parma Minister generalis totius ordinis Minorum, ad pedes Sanctitatis Tuae prostratus sequentia humiliter exponit. In erectione Viae S. Crucis Stationum non semper

et ubique omnia ea adamussim observata fuerunt quae a S. Sede pro valida erectione praescribuntur praesertim quoad consensum in scriptis ante erectionem obtinendam. Quapropter, ne Fideles Indulgentiis pio exercitio Viae S. Crucis concessis frustrentur, humiles Orator Sanctitati Tuae enixe supplicat quatenus *omnes erectiones hucusque ob quoslibet defectus invalide factas, benigne sanare dignetur.*

“Quam gratiam, etc.

“Vigore specialium facultatem a SSmo Dno N. Leone Papa XIII. tributarum, Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita defectus omnes de quibus in supplici libello benigne sanavit. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

“Datum Romae ex Secr. ejusdem S. Congr. die 7 Aprilis 1894.

“L. ✠ S.

“FR. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praef.*

✠ “ALEXANDER ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secret.*”

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

“THE NEW NUT-BROWN MAID”

REV. DEAR SIR,—The interest created by the publication of the ballad under the above title, in the I. E. RECORD for May, has induced several friends to contribute their remarks, critical, illustrative, or supplementary, on the text as printed in your review. These, together with emendations and considerations, the result of further thought and correspondence, will be submitted to your readers in the following lines, which you are good enough to promise shall be published in a forthcoming issue of the I. E. RECORD:—

I.

The main *crux* of the ballad formerly centred in Stanza VIII., line 4: “By longes the blynde.” Two correspondents supplied the right explanation of these words, from different sources of inspiration. They refer, clearly as it seems now that the difficulty is solved, to the Roman soldier who pierced the sacred side of Christ. In mediæval literature this soldier is called “Longinus, the blind Knight;” and he is said to have

recovered the use of his sight by some drops of the Precious Blood and Water which spurted on his face. Amongst the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., published in 1892 by the Early English Text Society, mention is twice made of this beautiful legend. In a poem called the "Lamentation of Our Lady," attributed to St. Bernard, of which there is given an old English translation, at p. 323 we read, in a more modern English dress:—

"Beside the Rood there stood a Knight,
Full blind he was and lame also ;
They all said he was called Longeus ;
They made him go beneath the Cross ;
They took to him a goodly lance,
And put it to my dear Son's side ;
And Longeus thrust with great fierceness ;
It pierced to my Son His Heart,
And Water and Red Blood
Ran down of His Wounds five."

This poem, of seven hundred and thirty-six verses, is full of tenderness and beauty. The old English version is attributed to Richard Maidenstoon ; but nothing is here said either of the bodily or of the spiritual cure of the Knight, who is herein called Longeus, or Longinus, which would be popularized into Longes, though Longeus agrees better with the metre of the Ballad of "The New Nut-Brown Maid."

In the same volume, in another poem, on page 37, another side of the incident is related, and is here reproduced, under the like conditions as before :—

"At noon there pierced Jesus, Longinus, a blind Knight ;
He wiped his eyes with Jesus' Blood, through which he had
his sight."

Mary of Agreda attributes this grace to the prayers of our Lady, who, when she witnessed the outrage on the dead Body of Jesus, instead of words of upraiding or imprecation, exclaimed : "May the Almighty look on you with the eyes of His mercy, for the pain you have caused me." The French translation of the passage, freely rendered into our mother-tongue, says :—

"And it may be that our Saviour, touched by the prayer of His most holy Mother, allowed that the Blood and Water which poured from His divine side should spurt some drops upon the face of Longinus ; and by these gracious means should restore to

him his bodily eyesight, of which he had been almost deprived; and, at the same time, should enlighten his soul, so that he could recognise the Crucifix, whom he had so cruelly pierced."

Blessed Sir Thomas More somewhere says: "If he were as long as Longinus"—probably in reference to the wall pictures and miniatures of the day, in which the soldier was often represented as a very tall man. And, again, he writes: "Surely, if he be as long as Longinus, and have a high heart [compare the Ballad: Stanza XXV., line 2, highness; in both cases, *high* stands for *pride*], and trust upon his own wit, looketh he never so lowly that setteth all the holy fathers at nought, that fellow (I say) shall not fail to sink over the ears and drown."¹

Amongst other Stanzas, the following may be noted:—

II.

Stanza II., line 4: In manner; so to say.

line 5: *for* Through right wiseness, *read* Through rightwiseness; justice.

III.

Stanza III., line 5: *for* With, *read* Why.

IV.

Stanza X., line 3: "In Sathan's barge;" a corrupt line, hardly improved by reading (as it has been suggested) *targe for* barge.

line 7: *for* Thy witness, *read* By rightwiseness; in justice.

line 10: "action," Possibly, Act of Love, *i.e.*, Redemption, a form which makes the line rhyme with the last one of the stanza.

V.

Stanza XIII., line 1. *Read* to rend and draw.

line 9 refers to the sacrilegious custom, named in the following stanza, of swearing by the members of our Lord's sacred Body.

VI.

Stanza XVI., line 2: *for* What time, *read* "What mine (my) poor reason is;" an answer to XV. line 10: "No reason find ye can."

line 6: bliss; probably a corrupt reading.

¹ *English Works*, p. 162.

VII.

Stanza XVII., line 11: twined; In Halliwell's Illustrations from Lydgate, MS. Ashmoli, 39, f. 53, are found these lines:—

“That never twineth out of thy presence,
But in heaven abideth aye with thee.”

VIII.

Stanza XXIII., line 12: *for* Right as, *read*, As if.

IX.

Stanza XXV., line 2: His, or Its highness; either—(1) *His* highness (pride) is never content to admit my commandment; or (2) Man is never content to admit *its* highness (loftiness, holiness), *i.e.*, of the commandments. Probably the first gloss is the truer of the two.

line 7: *for* cloth, *read* mouth.

X.

Stanza XXVIII., line 6: Teen, or tene. The expression “trey and tene” seems to have been an accepted one in olden time. It may be found in one of the proverbs of Hendyng:—

“For when man is in trey and tene,
Then heareth God his bene (boon; prayer)
That is bid with heart:
When the bale is highest, then the boot is nighest;
Quoth Hendyng.”

Other points in the interpretation of *The New Nut-Brown Maid* are obscure, and will repay consideration at the hands of students of old English literature. The punctuation of the ballad is of very uncertain exactitude; or rather, probably, it is only correct, by accident, in certain passages. Still, with all its faults, or errors, of form or expression, the reproduced poem, as a relic of the past, is valuable, and deserves to be preserved by those who think that the ways and words of our Catholic ancestors should not be allowed to fall into entire oblivion.

I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, your obedient servant,

ORBY SHIPLEY.

Documents

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE. CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED WHEN TWO OR MORE MARRIAGES TAKE PLACE AT THE SAME TIME

S. C. S. Officii 1 Septembris 1841.

Quando plures simul copulantur, accepto primum singulorum consensu, et rite celebratis singulis matrimoniis, dictaque pro singulis a paroco forma *Ego vos coniungo in matrimonium*, etc., nihil obstat quominus benedictiones annulorum et reliquae benedictiones fiant in communi per verba generalia.

DECISIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. S. Officii 1 Septembris 1841.

1. Licite matrimonium contractum coram paroco benedici ab alio sacerdote de consensu parochi vel Ordinarii.—2. Quoad Missam celebrandam *de sponsis* vel *de sancto* standum decreto S. R. C. die 3 Martii 1818.—3. Sacerdotem non teneri Missam applicare pro sponsis nisi ab iisdem eleemosynam accipiat.—4. In eadem Missa posse sacerdotem plures sponso benedicere.—5. Ab eodem sacerdote celebrante aspergendos esse aqua benedicta sponso ante altare genuflexos, non autem ab alio sacerdote.—6. Non licere sponso benedicere in Missa defunctorum, sed potius transferendam esse benedictionem ad aliam diem.

WHETHER THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION MAY BE GIVEN TO CERTAIN CLASSES OF SPONSI

S. C. S. Officii 1 Febr. 1871. Vic. Ap. Mysur.

1. Utrum gentiles mulieres nuptae, vel viduae, vel notorie corruptae, quae ex gentilitate conversae christianum recipiunt matrimonium, possint recipere benedictionem nuptialem intra Missam.

2. An sponsi christiani qui pridie in pomeridiana matrimonium in Ecclesia receperunt, et crastina sequenti die ad Missam ambo veniunt, benedictionem intra Missam recipere possint, illis non interrogatis de continentia in nocte servata.

R. Ad 1. Affirmative.

Ad 2. Affirmative; neque ullo modo faciendam esse interrogationem de qua in dubio mentio fit: et ad mentem. Mens est quod in illis matrimonio iungendis admonitio praetermittenda non sit Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum hortari (Sess. xxiv. cap. I. De Reform. Matrim.) ut coniuges ante benedictionem sacerdotalem in templo accipiendam in eadem domo non cohabitent.

ADDITIONAL DECISIONS REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. S. Officii 31 Augusti 1881.

Benedictionem nuptialem quam exhibet Missale Romanum in *Missa pro sponso et sponsa* semper impertiendam esse in matrimoniis catholicorum, infra tamen Missae celebrationem, iuxta rubricas, et extra tempus feriatum, omnibus illis coniugibus, qui eam in contrahendo matrimonio quacumque ex causa non obtinuerint; etiamsi petant postquam diu iam in matrimonio vixerint, dummodo mulier, si vidua, benedictionem ipsam in aliis nuptiis non acceperit.

Insuper hortandos esse eosdem coniuges catholicos, qui benedictionem sui matrimonii non obtinuerunt, ut eam primo quoque tempore petant. Significandum vero illis, maxime si neophyti sint, vel ante conversionem ab haeresi valide contraxerint, benedictionem ipsam ad ritum et solemnitatem, non vero ad substantiam et validitatem pertinere coniugii.

THE CONGREGATION OF RITES

DECISION REGARDING THE NUPTIAL BENEDICTION

S. C. SS. Rit. 14 Augusti 1858. Montis Albani.

1. An possit sacerdos, quum matrimonia extra Missam celebrantur, sicut in ecclesiis civitatum Montis Albani dioecesis frequenter evenit, sponis benedictionem impertiri, et orationes recitare quae in Missali in *Missa pro sponso et sponsa* habentur, quaeque dicendae sunt tum post *Pater noster*, tum ante *Placeat*, quando non agitur de nuptiis, in quibus est deneganda supradicta benedictio. Et, quatenus affirmative, an teneatur.

2. Licetne Missam pro sponso et sponsa et benedictionem ad diem proxime sequentem vel in aliam multo remotiorem differre, etsi coniuges ante benedictionem sacerdotalem in templo suscipiendam in eadem domo cohabitent?

3. Utrum prohibitio nuptiarum tempore Adventus et

Quadragesimæ intelligi tantum debeat de Missa pro sponsis, ac de precibus pro nubentium benedictione in Missali positis; an ipsum etiam attingat matrimonium, quod cum solis celebratur caeremoniis, et precibus quae in Rituali reperiuntur.

4. An facta per Episcopum licentia contrahendi matrimonium temporibus a S. Concilio Tridentino vetitis, conseatur etiam permissa benedictio coniugum per preces et orationes in Missa pro sponsis contentas. Et quatenus negative, an possit Episcopus in casu eam facultatem concedere.

R. Ad 1. Negative in omnibus.

Ad 2. Negative in casu.

Ad 3. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam, dummodo accedat Episcopi venia.

Ad 4. Negative in omnibus.

Notices of Books

ST. EDMUND, KING AND MARTYR. From Original MSS.

By Rev. J. B. MacKinlay, O.S.B. Published by Art and Book Company: London and Leamington.

In this book we have given not only the life of St. Edmund (King of East Anglia, from 855-870), but also an account of the various translations of his body, of his miracles, of the devotion to him, and of his patrimony. The account is gleaned from original manuscripts, and at the head of each chapter and section is given a list of those on the authority of which the subjoined narrative is based. The whole constitutes a work that is really valuable, both from an historical and an archæological point of view. It is interesting also even to the ordinary reader, even to one who has no special interest either in St. Edmund, or in the old abbey, church, and town of Bury St. Edmund's: and to those who have such an interest it must be doubly interesting.

In the first part of the book, which is devoted to the king's life, there are some good accounts of East Anglian manners and customs under Edmund, and of the condition of the people under the Romans and the Anglo-Saxons, and during the Danish wars. As we should expect, the story of the king's struggle with the

Danes is full of dramatic incidents, but the most dramatic of all is the capture and martyrdom of the brave king. Everyone knows that, when all hope was lost of a successful issue to his struggle with the Danes, he delivered himself up to his enemies, in order to save his people from utter destruction. But people are not so well acquainted with that scene in the Palace Church of Heglesdune, when Edmund having determined now to give himself up, with only his old director, Bishop Humbert, by his side, waited at the altar, wrapt in prayer and defenceless, until the Danes who had advanced on the town should come and seize him. Nor do people in general know the striking features by which St. Edmund's sufferings before death so much resembled our Lord's passion ; so much so, indeed, that the old chroniclers commonly speak of the Passion of St. Edmund. For, like our Lord, Edmund was tried by a prejudiced judge, condemned on the testimony of a false witness, and scourged. Hinguar tried him for the murder of Lothbroc, Hinguar's father, and condemned him of gross deceit, perjury, and murder, but offered him his life if he gave up the Christian religion. On Edmund's refusal, he is brought to the outskirts of Heglesdune, and first scourged. But he is a strong man, and bears the scourging well. The Danish sharpshooters, without injuring any vital spot, send their arrows quivering into his flesh, until, as an old chronicler, St. Abbo, has it, the arrows on his body resembled the thorns on a thistle. Once again Hinguar offers him life and a power subordinate only to his own if he become a pagan : and again he professes his adherence to the Christian faith ; and at last Hinguar, weary of the agony, orders Edmund's head to be cut off.

In the next part of the book we have the story of the numerous translations of St. Edmund's body from one place to another. It remained incorrupt until it was carried to France by Louis the Dauphin. The French were noted relic stealers, and St. Edmund's were not the only relics that found their way to France, when the French were driven back to their own country after the death of King John. They also carried from the Church of Redbourn, a silver and gold cross, highly ornamented, which was said to contain a piece of the true cross, and other relics besides. The body of St. Edmund was finally deposited by Louis in the Church of Toulouse ; but here it lost its privilege of incorruption, and decayed. The greater part of the bones are still preserved in the Church of St. Sernin, in Toulouse. The ancient

incorruption of St. Edmund's body is well authenticated, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is a fact.

Along with the fame of the incorruption, and the numerous miracles performed by the saint, both for those who were devoted to him, and in punishment of those who offended him, there grew a widespread cultus of his relics. Kings and princes richly endowed the corporate body that had care of them. At first this was a body of secular canons, but after some time the charge was given over to Benedictine monks. A magnificent church and monastery were built. St. Edmund's was a vaster and more massive structure than Durham Cathedral. But the whole was destroyed at the time of the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. There are few remains, for gunpowder was used to blow up the buildings, and Camden considers that "so far as the works of man go, England never suffered a greater loss than this." The monks removed to France, and kept up their monastery at Paris, and after the Revolution at Douai, where at the present day there is a flourishing monastery of St. Edmund's.

In England, and even afterwards in France, St. Edmund's monastery had always a more or less close connection with the makers of English history. To cite only two facts, it was on St. Edmund's altar, during the saint's feast, November 20, 1214, that the barons laid their hands to swear never to sheath the sword until the king granted the charter they saw unfolded before them. Needless to add, the charter was the *Magna Charta*.

The other fact is, that in Paris the monastery of St. Edmund was a great resort of the Jacobite refugees, and it was there the embalmed body of King James was kept unburied until the French Revolution. Then the Sansculottes made a kind of cheap show of it, charging from a sou to a franc for the privilege of seeing a dead body so wonderfully preserved that the soul seemed to have departed from it but a few hours before. The body was buried at last in St. Germain-en-Laye, when the allies came to Paris in 1813.

What we have said will give our readers some idea of the wide interest attaching to a history of St. Edmund, of his relics, his patrimony, and the cultus shown to him. The book is written in an easy and flowing style, and is brought out as we should expect it to be brought out by the Art and Book Company. Altogether it is a credit to its author, and his Order, the English Benedictines.

P.M.

THE VICTORIES OF ROME, AND THE TEMPORAL POWER.

By Kenelm Digby Best.

DIVINE WORSHIP. By Sacerdos. Edited by Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J.

THESE two little works have been sent by Messrs. Burns and Oates, publishers, to whom the Catholics of these countries have every reason to be deeply grateful for their labours in the interest of Catholic literature of every description.

1. The first contains two papers: one on the *Victories of Rome*, now republished, sketches briefly the battles in which the Papacy has fought and conquered, and shows that "be the adversary heathenism, heresy, barbarism, statecraft, or revolution, the contest has always ended in the discomfiture of the gates of hell and the triumph of the tiara;" the other, on *The Temporal Power*, discusses the reasons of the necessity of the temporal power of the Popes, and strongly asserts the claims of the supreme Pontiff to liberty in teaching truth, in dispensing grace, in inculcating virtue, to such freedom as is possible, in the present order of divine providence, only in the hypothesis of actual sovereignty. Both papers are eloquently written, and with a devotion, too, towards the Church and the Holy See worthy of a son of St. Philip.

2. This interesting little book, intended for the instruction of the unlearned, gives a brief summary of the history of divine worship, both before and after the coming of Christ, and dwells on the unity of that worship throughout the Catholic world, as a means of differentiating the one true from the many false religions; then explains the nature of and defends the religious cult offered to the Blessed Virgin by reason of her special excellence and dignity as Mother of God. It would be well that books of this kind would come into the hands of Protestants and others outside the true Church, in whose minds many false notions of Church doctrines and practices exist.

J. K.

THE CHURCH: OR THE SOCIETY OF DIVINE PRAISE. By Dom Prosper Gueranger. London: Burns & Oates.

THE object of this little book, composed a few weeks before his death, by the author of the well-known *L'Année Liturgique*, is to recommend "aggregation to the great Monastic Order of St. Benedict by the reception of the Benedictine Scapular," as a

means of entering more fully into the spiritual life of the Church, and to lay down certain rules for the guidance of those who are thus aggregated. The latter half of the book is intended specially for priests. It is pervaded throughout by a spirit of fervent piety, and contains much salutary advice both for priest and layman.

P. J. B.

DEHARBE'S SMALL CATECHISM. B. Herder. Freiburg in Breisgau.

THIS is a simply-written, clearly arranged little catechism. It is divided into three parts: the first treats of "The truths we must all know and believe;" the second explains "The Ten Commandments, and the Precepts of the Church;" and the third treats of the "means of grace," the Sacraments, and Prayer. The explanations though necessarily brief, are always accurate, stated in clear and simple terms, and can be easily mastered by children.

P. J. B.

THE SUCCESS OF PATRICK DESMOND. By M. F. Egan, Office of the *Ave Maria*.

THIS story which is reprinted from the pages of that excellent Catholic magazine, the *Ave Maria*, is worthy of the deservedly high reputation that Mr. Egan has won in Catholic literary circles. It is written with that freshness of style, subdued humour, and pure Catholic tone that mark all Mr. Egan's writings. It is a story with a moral, and its aim is to show that worldly success is dearly bought at the cost of honesty, and that the life which is uninfluenced by religion is a barren, dreary life. It must not be gathered from this that the book is a dull one, full of prosy homilies; on the contrary, it is highly interesting, and once begun will be laid aside with reluctance till it is finished.

The characters of the hero, Patrick Desmond, of his friend Jack Conlon, a clerical student, and of Eleanor Redwood are drawn with great sympathy and skill, and the tyrannical house-keeper, Belinda, with her Calvinistic ideas of God, and her profound contempt for her fellow-mortals is delineated with much cleverness and humour. It is refreshing to meet a work of fiction like *The Success of Patrick Desmond*, combining high literary excellence, with a wholesome moral tone. It will be a valuable addition to any parochial library, and will make an ideal prize-book for our colleges and convent schools.

P. J. B.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGICAE, IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore, G. B. Tepe, S.J. Vol. I. CONTIMENS TRACTATUS DE VERA RELIGIONE, DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI, DE VERBO DEI SCRIPTO ET TRADITO. Parisiis Sumptibus. P. Lethielleux, 10, Via Dicta "Casatte."

FATHER TEPE intends to publish in four volumes, a complete course of Dogmatic Theology for the use of schools. The first volume has recently appeared. It treats of the "True Religion," "The Church," and the "Word of God." In the tract on "The True Religion," two main questions are discussed. The first has reference to Revelation in general, and its criteria, miracles and prophecy. The second refers to the Christian Revelation. It contains four chapters, the first of which proves the historical value of the Books of the New Testament. The second explains the criteria by means of which we can judge of the truth of the Christian Revelation. These criteria are the miracles and prophecies of Christ, the testimony of the Apostles; the death of so many martyrs, the statements of the fathers and doctors of the Church; the testimony of nations generally; and, finally, the fulfilment in Christianity of the prophecies of the Old Law. The third chapter proves the divinity of Christ. The fourth shows the necessity of the Christian religion.

The Church tract discusses six questions, viz.:—The Institution and Constitution of the Church; the Notes of the Church; the Members of the Church; the Infallibility of the Pope; the Ruling Power of the Pope, and the Relation between Church and State. The treatise on Scripture and Tradition treats of the Canon of Sacred Scripture and its Inspiration, the authenticity of the Vulgate; the existence of Divine Tradition, and the means of knowing it.

Father Tepe treats the True Religion treatise and the first two questions of the Church tract apologetically, while he treats the rest dogmatically. The nature of the questions discussed requires this distinction. The True Religion treatise deals with opponents who do not admit the truth of the Christian religion. Hence it can contain no argument that, in whole or part, derives its force from Christianity. Now the divine authority of Sacred Scripture and tradition is known to us only from the declaration of the Church of Christ. Therefore these sources can be used in the tract on True Religion only as historical documents. The same is to be said of the first two questions of the Church tract,

since we cannot use the divine authority of Sacred Scripture or tradition, till we have proved that the True Church is infallible in defining this divine authority, and what Church in particular is the true Church. Having done this we can use the Sacred Scriptures and tradition in the way pointed out by that Church; namely, as the sources of revealed truth.

Throughout the volume Father Tepe displays wonderful research. He has evidently spared no pains in collecting historical evidences in proof of his doctrines. Every portion of his work is replete with extracts from the fathers of the Church and Sacred Scripture. No doubt a work intended for the use of schools should not contain more matter than is necessary for the explanation or establishment of its doctrines; still it can be said that a large collection of appropriate extracts serves to express more forcibly the strength of Catholic teaching. This is the case especially when, as in Father Tepe's volumes, this abundance does not detract from the order or clearness of the work. Moreover, Father Tepe uses his historical knowledge with great force in controversial questions, such as the alleged fall of Pope Tiberius; the condemnation of Galileo; the nature of the powers given to the Pope by the false decretals of Isidore, &c. We can recommend the volume as an excellent treatise on the subjects which it undertakes to discuss, and we hope that the coming volumes will reach the high standard that their forerunner leads us to expect.

J. M. H.

SEPHORA: OR ROME AND JERUSALEM. Adapted from the French of Adrien Lemercier. By Rev. James Donohoe, LL.D. Published by the Editor, 249, Viattistreet, Brooklyn.

THIS is a story of the time when Octavian and Mark Antony proclaimed Herod the Great King of Judea. Sephora, its heroine, is daughter of the Lagan, as the vice-pontiffs were called, who under the Asmoneans filled the place of high-priest at the Temple when the reigning descendant of the Maccabees was unable or unwilling to do so. Her father is sent to Rome by Antigonus, the last representative of the Asmoneans, to use all efforts to gain over Mark Antony from the side of Herod to his own, for he knew that the Senate would not hesitate to name himself King of Judea, if Mark Antony recommended it. The father brings the daughter with him, being

unwilling that she should be left alone in Jerusalem, to be persecuted by the very unwelcome attentions of a powerful Pharisee. In Rome, however, she attracts the notice of Mark Antony, and his attentions become so troublesome that the father and daughter have to fly secretly from the city. They proceed to Jerusalem by way of Alexandria, and here they meet the Roman again. The Lagan is informed that his embassy has been unsuccessful ; and, as Mark's notice of Sephora again causes trouble, the father and daughter have to set out from Alexandria as hurriedly as from Rome. They go on in peace to Jerusalem, and the story ends with the capture of the city by Herod through the assistance of the Romans, the death in the struggle of Sephora's obnoxious suitor, the Pharisee, and her own happy marriage.

The story contains some very good descriptions of the manners and customs of the times, of the topography of Jerusalem and the surrounding district, and of some of the Temple rites. As a tale, however, it is disappointing. The plot is meagre, the delineation of character is wanting in vividness and naturalness, and, though the book is small, some of the situations are decidedly forced. The tone of the story is semi-religious, somewhat after the manner of *Fabiola* and *Callista*.

The book has been very well brought out, the printing being clear and large, and the binding tasteful.

P. M.

THE CONVERT'S CATECHISM. By Rev. Francis X. REICHART.

THIS short penny Catechism, intended specially for converts, might be used with much profit by the laity in general. It contains instructions on the principal truths of faith, the Commandments of God and of the Church, the Sacraments, and some devotional practices. Doctrines are expressed in simple language with brevity and clearness, Scriptural proof being in most instances added. A chapter on Indulgences would, we think, enhance its value.

MANUEL DU PRETRE AUX ETATS-UNIS. New York : Pustet & Co.

THIS Manual is written for the accommodation of priests of the United States in charge of missions, some of whose members speak the French, and others the English language. The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains disciplinary

decrees of the Council of Baltimore which affect missionary priests ; the second part contains simple instructions in French, to be delivered to the faithful on the Sundays and holidays of the year : while those same instructions rendered in plain, forcible English, make up the third part of the manual. While the work will save the priest much labour, the simple, solid explanations of doctrines which it advocates will minister to the spiritual wants of many on whom elegant, elaborate expositions of the Church's teaching and eloquent exhortations to virtue would have been lost.

A similar book adapted to the needs of this country would be of great utility to priests who have little time to prepare their sermons.

K. P.

MEDITATIONS SUR LA VIE DE N. S. J. C. Par le
R. P. M. Meschler, S.J.

THESE *Meditations*, published in three volumes, contain a series of beautiful exercises on the Life of our Saviour. They set forth a number of fruitful reflections on the virtues that shone in His character. The first volume brings us down to the third Pasch of the Redeemer's public life. The second treats of the intervening space to the Passion, whilst the last is concerned with the sufferings of the God-Man, His glorious life, and His existence in the hearts of the faithful. It is a work replete with pious sentiment. The virtues of Him, who came to be our Model, and the motives which should urge us to imitate them, are laid before the reader in a style at once forcible and attractive. As a meditation book it is excellent, and can be used with much profit by those who would advance in spiritual perfection.

D. O'C.

CHRIST IN TYPE AND PROPHECY. By A. J. Maas, S.J.,
Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College,
M.D. New York : Benziger Brothers.

THIS excellent book is devoted to the knowledge of Christ which we get from the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament. Each of the prophecies is given in English, and commented upon in footnotes. Each has an introduction and corollaries, in which are set forth the Messianic nature of the prophecy, the manner of its interpretation, whether literal or mystical ; answers to objections, and other points of general

interest in regard to the prophecy in question. There is a lengthy general introduction regarding the nature and existence of prophecy, and its value as a proof of Christ's divinity; and here, too, we have treated, at considerable length, the theory of Rationalists on the subject.

Dr. Maas's treatment of the prophecies is that of one who is thoroughly acquainted with his subject. His commentary is clear, merely explanatory of the text, without philological or grammatical criticism in matters of unimportance; whilst in those of general interest, or of special importance in regard to his subject, his exegetical and theological analysis is very full. The occasional references to the Hebrew of the original text are easily understood, even by one who has not a wide acquaintance with that language. In the various introductions and corollaries his proofs of the Messianic nature of the prophecies deserve an equal meed of praise. The style and the order are both fair; but in the introduction it would have been much better had the long lists of references been put into footnotes, instead of being inserted in the text.

The book is too diffuse for young students; but for those who have already studied the prophecy argument in the Incarnation tract it must be of real value and of great interest. It will be of especial use to priests who have finished their theological course, without having had time to devote to a special study of the Messianic prophecies; for from it they will be able easily to learn all that they could desire to know on the subject, one considerable advantage that they will derive immediately from this knowledge being, that they will read their Office with a new understanding, and consequent appreciation. P. M.

TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES. From the Spanish of Francisco de Paula Capella. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS handsome little volume, being a collection of tales and legends of a devotional character, and written in a simple and pleasing style, is very suitable for children, to whom it should afford pleasant and useful reading. Though gathered by the author in his native Catalonia, and associated with local names, and interspersed with local reminiscences, many of the stories are rather local adaptations of widespread traditions than legends of indigenous growth.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS. By Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins. London :
R. Washbourne. First English Edition.

As the quick disposal in America of four large editions is an undeniable voucher of the popularity of Father Jenkins's book, so the high recommendations of the episcopate of the United States is the surest guarantee of the soundness of the doctrines contained in it. No one will gainsay the vital importance of the education question, and at least no reasoning Catholic will deny the justness of the Church's claims to a sound Catholic education for Catholic youth. But should anyone be disposed to take a lenient view of the godless system of education in the State schools, both primary and superior, of the United States, and in the superior State schools or universities of this country, a perusal of the volume before us would quickly put his mind in touch with minds cast in a better mould, and more capable of forming a correct judgment on the question. Father Jenkins undertakes to put before the reader—

1. A view of the system of public schools in the United States. Here he develops, in a few chapters, the influence of teachers, fellow-pupils, and the text-books used in the various departments.

2. The decisions of the episcopate in those nations where similar systems exist. Here he devotes a short chapter to a sketch of the hard-fought battle of our Irish prelates against the State system, and their almost complete victory in the matter of primary education over the national school system, as originally planned.

3. The decisions of Pope Pius IX.

4. The decisions of the bishops of the United States, both individually and in council.

5. The instructions of the Sacred Congregation and of the reigning Pontiff.

From this very brief outline it will be evident that the cheap little volume is verily a mine of recondite information on this very important question of Catholic education. J. F.

LE CARDINAL MANNING ET SON ACTION SOCIALE. Par
M. l'Abbé J. Lemire.

THE late Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster is universally recognised as one of the finest figures of modern history. An account of the salient traits of his character cannot but prove of

deep interest to all who know aught of the great English Churchman. Father Lemire gives a brief outline of the holiness, the patriotism, and the philanthropic spirit that animated Cardinal Manning. The spirit of prayer, that informed his every action; the love of fatherland, that so facilitated his labours amongst his countrymen; his unfailing sympathy with the masses, and constant advocacy of their cause—all these characteristics are treated very fully in the present work. For the English-speaking public his memory requires no such tribute, for it is enshrined deep in their hearts; but French readers, for whom Father Lemire's book is written, will find in these pages a faithful reproduction of Manning's labours, and the motives that guided his various undertakings.

D. O'C.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FIRST CONFESSION. From the German of the Rev. F. H. Jaegers. B. Herder, Baden.

THIS little book seems to be intended as a guide and a help to priests in the performance of a duty as difficult as it is important—the instruction and preparation of children for first confession. Though it goes over the principal points to which attention must be paid, in giving such instruction, we doubt very much if it would render much assistance. And though much attention is paid to putting in various forms the points which are to be impressed on the child's memory, it lacks a very necessary qualification of books of its class, abundant and appropriate illustration.

L'ARGUMENT DE SAINT ANSELME, ETUDE PHILOSOPHIQUE.

Par Le Pere Ragey, Mariste. Delhomme & Briguey, Editeurs. Paris: 13, Rue de l'Abbaye. Lyon: 3, Avenue de l'Archevêché.

THIS work of Fr. Ragey is an interesting addition to several books he has already written on the history of St. Anselm. In the present volume the author purposes to discuss the nature of St. Anselm's argument for the existence of God and the validity of the objections that are urged against it by its many opponents. He also explains how, in his opinion, this argument differs, in the first place, from that of Descartes, and in the second place from some objections of St. Thomas, which theologians generally suppose to be the argument of St. Anselm.

The work contains an interesting account of how St. Anselm

discovered his argument. He had long sought for some *a priori* proof of God's existence. He spent many sleepless nights in his search. On one such night this argument suddenly occurred to his mind, and filled him with great joy. He wrote down his discovery, and entrusted the tablet on which it was written to the care of a brother of the monastery. The tablet disappeared in some unaccountable way. He wrote it down again, but the new tablet was mysteriously broken. Finally, he published the argument in his *Prosologium*. A monk named Gaunilo soon published a volume in which he denied the validity of St. Anselm's argument. St. Anselm replied, and the discussion thus begun has ever since been a fruitful source of thought for philosophers of every school. Father Ragey in his little book gives some of the arguments that have been urged for and against the proof of St. Anselm. Any person who desires to see how far the proof is valid, can read this little work with great benefit.

J. M. H.

A PRIMER FOR CONVERTS. By Rev. John T. Durward.
New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS little volume is the fruit of the author's zeal for the salvation of those who still live without the pale of the one true fold. In his preface, Father Durward writes: "The thought has forced itself on my attention for some years that we are priests not only for the faithful, but also for those outside; that, standing in the place of our Lord, we must repeat His words: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring." The author divides his little book into three sections. And, having in the first treated some preliminary questions about faith, religion, &c., in the second section he discusses questions concerning the existence of the world, the necessity of creation, the existence of an intelligent, self-existent, eternal, infinite Creator, man's supernatural end, the necessity and existence of revelation, the existence of one true Church, which is the Catholic Church; and in the third he explains what more is required for the act of faith, besides the examination of the motives of credibility.

The treatment is logical and clear; the arguments are sound and cogent; references are given to more exhaustive works for a fuller elucidation of some more difficult points.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

AUGUST, 1894

ST. COLMAN, PATRON OF LOWER AUSTRIA

THE story of St. Colman is very different from that of most other Irish saints whose names are still venerated in distant countries. He was not an apostle in any ordinary sense of the word. He was not sent nor did he go to preach the Gospel, nor to convert the heathen. He may, indeed, have had in his mind some ultimate aim of the kind, but it had not yet matured nor assumed definite shape when he was overtaken by the fate of the martyr. Neither was it his immediate intention to settle in any of the monasteries founded by his countrymen in the centre of Europe, nor to devote himself to teaching, nor to study, nor to the pious exercises of religious life. It is, we believe, more than probable that he would in due course have become a monk, a teacher, and a preacher; but his most pressing purpose at the time of his death was to wend his way to the Holy Land, to visit Nazareth, Bethlehem, Caphernaum, Jerusalem; to follow the footsteps of the Master through Samaria and Galilee; to venerate the earth on which He had walked in the flesh, where He was born, where He lived, and where He died; to meditate on Jordan's banks and on the Mountain of Beatitudes; to assuage his spiritual thirst at the fountain of Siloë and at Cedron's holy brook; and, above all, to fill his soul with memories of the Garden of Olives, of the Way of the Cross, and of Mount Calvary.

This was the motive which urged Colman to leave his country, and in obedience to which he one day found himself

in a strange land, unknown, unfriended, and unable to make himself understood. It is also remarkable that, notwithstanding that he was an utter stranger to the people who afterwards adopted him as their patron and protector, from the very first he took possession of their hearts, and retained his hold upon them, only with increasing power, through many changing centuries. It is really wonderful how his fame spread from the wood near the little town of Stockerau, where he was tortured and hanged, all over the province of Austria proper, away through Styria, Istria, and Carniola, through Hungary, Bohemia, Bavaria, and Poland. Kings and princes were called by his name at baptism; churches and chapels were dedicated in his honour. Coloman, King of Hungary, the nephew of St. Ladislas, and one of the immediate successors of St. Stephen the Great, promoted the fame of his holy patron wherever his influence extended. Rudolph IV. of Hapsburg¹ was equally devoted to his memory. This most peaceful and mildest of saints has always a great attraction for soldiers. One of them, a brave Austrian knight, who served under the Emperor Ferdinand III., lies buried near the tomb of his patron in the great Benedictine Abbey of Mülk, on the banks of the Danube; and on the marble sarcophagus erected over his grave appears the inscription:—

HEUS VIATOR!

HUC OCULOS, HUC MENTEM MODICUM REFER.

EX VEXILLO FIDELITATEM, EX LEONE VIGILANTIAM PENSAM.

FIDELIS FUI

DEO, CAESARI, AMICIS

USQUE AD ARAS.

VIGILAVI DONEC OBDORMIREM IN MORTE.

ET QUOD SOMNUS ESSET SUAVIOR,

HANC UMBRAM QUÆSIVI

TUTELARIS MEI SANCTI COLOMANNI.

¹“Wir Rudolph der Vierte von Gottes Gnaden Erz-Hertzog von Oesterreich, zu Steyr und zu Cärnten, Herr zu Grain, der Windisch Marck und zu Portenau, Graf zu Habsburg, Tyrol, zu Pfirt und zu Kyburg, Margraf zu Purgau, Landgraf zu Elsass bekennen hienmit dass Wir dieses Kreuz aus Ehererbietung gegen Gott und aus sonderlicher Liebe zu den Heiligsten Martyrer Colomannum verfertigen,” &c.—(*Geistliche und Wunderbarer Werke des Heiligen Colmanni, Königlichen Pilgers und Martyrers*, Durch P. Godfridum Deppich, O.S.B., page 236.)

St. Colman's Irish nationality is universally and gratefully recognised in Austria.¹ The standard work on *The Life and Miracles* of the saint is that of Father Gotfreid Deppisch, which was published in Vienna, by the University Press, in 1743. This learned writer was a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Moelck, on the Danube, and his work on St. Colman is dedicated to the illustrious Adrian, abbot of the monastery, and "Rector Magnificus" of the University of Vienna. He took great pains to find out all that was known about the honoured patron of his country. He came specially from Vienna to the Franciscan Convent of St. Antony of Padua, at Louvain,² in order to consult the *Annals of the Four Masters*, the works of Ussher, Stanihurst, and Ware, but especially some manuscript materials that had been left by Father John Colgan and Father Hugh Ward concerning the origin and descent of St. Colman. He was hospitably received by Father Antony M'Carthy, then guardian of the convent, who made all the researches the learned Benedictine required, and submitted them to him.³ The result could not be more satisfactory. The author takes much trouble to place St. Colman's Irish origin beyond all doubt; and he devotes several pages to refute the Scotch pretension that the saint

¹ "Bleibt also ausgemacht und unlangbar dass das eigentliche und wahrhaftte Vatterland unsers Heiligen Colmann das Konigreich Ireland und er folglich ein Irlander von Geburte gewesen seyc."—(Deppisch, *St. Colmann*, page 21.)

² The only reference made to St. Colman in any of the older Irish books is that found in the *Calendar of Donegal*, in which we read: "Colman ailthir in Austria mac Maoilscheachluinn mois mac Dohmnuill." "Colman the pilgrim in Austria, son of Maoilschlaun Mor, son of Dohmnall." This bears out Hugh Ward's contention, that the saint was the son of King Malachy, who was deposed by Brian Boroihme. See his work, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, pages 235, 240.

³ "Weilen aber gar kein antwort, unwissend aus was Ursachen, darauf erfolget, haben wir im Jahr 1739, da wir auf vieler Verlangen und wunsch das Leben und Wunder-Werke des Heiligen Colomanni in unser muttersprach heraus zu geben gänglich entschlossen waren einen neuen versuch au den obern oftgemeldten Closter zu Löven gethan . . . Darauf haben wir endlich ein sehr höfflicher schreiben von dem Hockwurdigen Pater Antonio MacCarthy des Irländischen Minoriten Closters zu Löven Vorsterer glücklich erhalten nebst einen Auszug von den Leben unsers Heiligen Colomanni, &c."—(Deppisch, *Geschichte des St. Colomanni*, page 38.)

was a son of King Malcolm III. and of St. Margaret of Scotland.

"We must now [he writes] bring forward proofs that cannot be contradicted to show that the native land of our glorious patron is no other than the kingdom of Ireland, and that he was born and bred an Irishman. The oldest and the strongest is to be found in that ancient chronicle of the Austrian Margraves of Babenberg, which a learned priest, named Aloldus of Bechlarn, composed in the year 1063, and which the illustrious Father Jerome Hanthaler, annalist of the Monastery of Lilienfeld, accidentally discovered, about three years ago, in the library of Maria-Zell, in Austria, to the great honour and profit of historical studies in our country.¹ The next is that of Thomas Ebendorfer von Haselbach, a canon of the Cathedral of Vienna, teacher of Holy Scriptures, and celebrated Austrian historian, who lived in the time of the Emperors Albert and Frederick III. This learned author, amongst other valuable works, has left us a long and beautiful eulogium² of St. Colman, in which he tells us that 'God sent us from Ireland, which is situated at the extreme end of the world, a saint who was to be the intercessor and advocate of our whole nation, and who would teach us by his example to despise all earthly things, and seek only those which lead to heaven.'"

The author further quotes several passages from chronicles and annals kept in different parts of Germany, many of which are to be found collected by Father Jerome Pez, the famous librarian of Moelck, and editor³ of two of the most valuable collections of historical documents ever published in Europe.⁴ It would, indeed, be a mere waste of time and space to dwell further on a matter which is universally admitted.

¹ "Pius Dei famulis Cholomannus ex Hibernia peregrinus adveniens ut iret in Hierosolimam Domini nostri Salvatoris sanguine rigatam ignotus habitu et lingua ab imprudente plebe hujus provinciae pro exploratore Hungarorum vel Bohemorum suspectus, apud Stockerowe post multa tormenta cum duobus latronibus suspensus est Decimo sexto Kalendas Augusti."

² "Congruum est, dilectissimi, in hodierna festivitate beati Cholomanni, Martyris et Patriae Nostrae, scilicet Austriae, Patroni Specialis, Deo devotos esse et sibi gratias agere, quia de ultimis finibus terrae, scilicet Hiberniae, nobis destinavit amicum suum ut ipse pro nobis apud eum esset intercessor et advocatus et ut suo exemplo despiciamus cuncta terrena et festinemus ad bona coelestia nunquam deficientia"—(Deppisch, *Gesichte des Heiligen Colomanni*, pages 16, 17.)

³ *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, 4 vols., fol.; and *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 2 vols., fol.

⁴ See also Erchinfried's account in the *Commentariorum* of Lambesius, lib. ii., chap. 8. Erchinfried was abbot of Molek.

St. Colman seems to have belonged to some distinguished family in Ireland, and was, possibly, as Ward suggested, son of Malachy, high king of Ireland, who lived towards the end of the tenth century. He was accompanied by a servant, Gothalmus, on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and is usually spoken of as having made great worldly sacrifices in order to devote himself entirely to the service of God.¹ The pilgrim's road to Jerusalem, in these days, lay through Austria, Hungary, and Turkey; and as it happened the throne of the Holy Roman Empire was then occupied by the pious Henry II. and his saintly queen, Cunigunde. St. Stephen was king of Hungary, and the province of Austria was governed by the wise and prudent Margrave, Henry of Bahenberg. Great political troubles disturbed all these countries at the time we write about; for the Austrians were beginning to assume that supremacy over their neighbours which they vindicated under several chiefs of the young Bahenberg dynasty, and have maintained to the present day under the time-honoured ægis of the Hapsburgs. When St. Colman arrived in the midst of their province, in the year 1014, it was overrun by soldiers from Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The minds of the people were greatly excited; and when they found a stranger amongst them, ignorant of their language, and hurrying on from one village to another, they came to the conclusion that he was a foreign spy, seeking information and an opportunity to betray them to their enemies. It was in vain that the poor pilgrim protested his innocence, kissed his crucifix, and pointed towards the east. What was regarded by them as hypocrisy only enraged them the more. A cruel and infuriated mob laid hold of him in the village of Stockerau, and led him out to a neighbouring wood, where they bound him hand and foot, and hung him from a gibbet, erected specially for the purpose. Nor were they satisfied with the

¹ "Cum beatissimus Martyr Christi Colomannus patriam suam Scotiam dominumque terrenum sive regnum prædictum pro amore et regno Christi relinquere disposuissit."—(From *Life of St. Gothalmus*, by Bernardus Dapifer.) See also Johannes Nandclerus, *Chronogr.*, vol. ii.; and Wolfgang Lazius, *De Migratione Gentium*, lib. viii., page 420.

cruel death which they decreed to the servant of God. They had recourse to other refinements of barbarism, which even at this distance are enough to make one shudder.¹ They scourged him with whips before his execution; they applied burning irons to his body while he was struggling for life; and they tore and lacerated his flesh till he had scarcely the human shape. The author of the hymn² which was sung in his honour in the Middle Ages accurately describes the nature of his torture:—

“ Scilices, ignita ova,
 Flagra tibi, vulnera
 Imprimebant, nec non nova
 Tormentorum genera.
 Carnes tuas vellicabant
 Forcipe ferrarrii;
 Ossa tua lacerabant
 Serra carpentarii.”

When the evil work was done, its authors hurried off to some kindred task, and so little thought did they bestow on the poor victim they left hanging in the wood that their crime seems to have passed without any special notice; for it was only a few years afterwards that some of the inhabitants of Stockerau were startled at the sight which they beheld at the spot where the saint had suffered.³ There was the gibbet still; but fresh leaves had grown from

¹The manner and surroundings of the saint's death are thus described by Erchenfried:—

“ Sed fortissimus athleta Cholomannus qui solvi et esse cum Christo cupiebat, acria tormentorum flagra, lapides ovaque fortiter ignita, canderem quoque forcipem qua quidam perversus malleator corpus ejus miserabiliter vellendo cruciavit; serram etiam qua crura ejus lacerabantur constanter praesidio Christi innixus nullificavit. Carnifices vero videntes invictam viri Dei constantiam, animam ejus tormentis sicut aurum quod in fornace probatur, excoctam extorsere suspensio.”

²Mone's *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. iii., page 253.

³“ Ita capitali sententia in eum prolata, de robore suspensus vitam quidem in stipite exhalavit, sed multis pendens adhuc prodigiis innocentiam declaravit; nam et palus qui furcam sustinebat, laeta fronde vernare vestirique flore coepit et coma quoque verticis et barbitium prolixè excrevit. Corpus quamvis per sesqui annum penderet nulla tæbe vel labe corruptum conspiciebatur quin et terrae postea principis imperio mandatum, illæsum perinde humi atque sublime permansit aliaque haud parva sanctitatis signa prodidit, quæ viri Deo gratissimi gloriam illustrarunt.”—(*Bararia Sancta*, vol. iii., page 112.)

the dry wood, and flowers that gave forth a fragrant perfume had blossomed from the beam. There was still the body of the saint hanging in the air: but it was whole and uncorrupted.

“ *Mire fragrans, indestructus
Permanens biennio.*”

The birds of the air had respected the temple of so pure a soul. The hair and beard had grown down over the pilgrim's frock, and a smile of heavenly peace and forgiveness seemed to light up the countenance of the victim. The people were struck with amazement when they witnessed the spectacle. They began to fear that the vengeance of God would overtake them and punish them for the crime that was perpetrated in their midst. The clergy were at once informed of the prodigy, and the remains of the saint were reverently taken away and placed in the church of Stockerau, where wonderful miracles testified to the sanctity of the murdered pilgrim.

An account of all these strange occurrences soon reached the ears of Henry, Margrave of Austria, who was greatly struck by all he heard, and proceeded to make a careful investigation into the whole history. When he was satisfied of the undoubtedly genuine nature of all the events narrated, he called together the bishops and clergy of the country, and had the body of St. Colman transferred to the important town of Moelck, where he himself resided.¹ There, in the Church of the Benedictine Abbey, it remains to this day,² surrounded by the veneration and love of a whole country. A rich mausoleum in Corinthian style is erected over the shrine of the saint. “*Justus ut palma florebit*” is written near its summit, and “*Sepulchrum*

¹ “*Hic Martyr Dei Cholomannus destinatus est ab Hainrico Marchione digniori sepulchro et magna cum celebritate, ipso comitante translatus est in Ecclesiam Medelik III. id Octobris.*”

² A short time after the remains of the saint were transferred to Moelck, the King of Hungary took possession of them, and carried them away for awhile, but they were duly recovered by the people of Austria. Poppo, Bishop of Trèves, arranged the first transfer; but Providence evidently destined the saint to be the patron and protector of Austria.

Sancti Colomanni Martyris," indicates the contents of the shrine. Here pilgrimages still come from all parts of Austria, and the glories of the saint are heard in the strong German tongue.

"Himmels, Erden, Meeres Herr !
 Was Gutes je dein Hand gemacht,
 Nimm't all's zu dir sein Widerkehr,
 Wie aller strömen Schnelle tracht
 Zum grossen See der Welt.
 Siehe ! wie sein Meer sucht ein Bach
 Sanct. Colmann, König, Irland's Licht
 Der durch so viele länd'ler brach
 Und seinen Schwellen Lauf gericht
 Eilend in das Heilig Land."

Churches were dedicated to him at Stockerau, Moelck, Laab, Aggstein, Vienna, Abenthull, Eysgarn, Aichabrunn, St. Veit, Steyer, Lebenan, Berlach, and many other places. A stone that was marked with the blood of the saint was brought by Rudolf IV. to Vienna, where it may still be seen in one of the walls of the Cathedral of St. Stephan.¹ This same illustrious duke had an elaborate cross manufactured, in which he had large relics of St. Colman encased, and surrounded by the relics of other saints. This precious memorial of princely faith is still to be seen in the treasury of Moelck, with an inscription² bearing testimony to the motives and object of the donor.

The learned Johannes Stabius, biographer of the Emperor Maximilian I., wrote an elegant poem in praise of the saint, commencing with the lines :—

"Austriac Sanctus canitur patronus,
 Fulgidum sidus radians ab alto,
 Scoticae gentis Colomanus acer
 Regia proles."

It is curious, that although St. Colman could not be said

¹"Wyennae ad Sanctum Stephanum in latere januae versus curiam Praepositi Wyennensis inclusus est unus lapis in quo litteris aereis scriptura sequens insculpta est. Hic est lapis super quem effusus est sanguis ex serratione tibiaram Sancti Colomanni Martyris quem huc collocavit Ill. Dom. Rudolfus IV., Dux Austriae II."

²"Rudolfus Dei gratia Achidux Austriae et Carinthiae, Dominus Carniolae, Marchiae Portnaonis, Comes Habsburg, Veretis, Kyburg et Athasis, Marchio Burgundiae et Landgravius Alsaciae me fieri fecit in honorem Sancti Colomanni."

to have been put to death *in odium fidei*, yet, on account of the violent character of his execution, he is generally regarded as a martyr. Not only do all the early writers of Austria itself, but also the learned Baronius, and several Popes speak of him as a martyr. His, however, is not the only case in which custom has sanctioned a title which technically belongs by right only to those who give their lives for Christ as witnesses to the truth.

Several Popes conferred rich indulgences on all who would visit with the proper dispositions, the shrine of the great national patron. Those granted by Innocent IV., Honorius IV., Boniface VIII., Clement VI., Boniface IX., Benedict XIV., and by a great number of bishops, archbishops, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, are enumerated by Father Deppisch, in the admirable work on St. Colman, to which we have already made frequent allusion. It is but right to add that Gothalmus, the faithful companion and servant of Colman, who shared with his master the hardships of the journey and his cruel death, shares likewise in his glory; for he, too, is honoured as a saint, and his memory is faithfully cherished, and can never be dissociated from that of his master. Father Deppisch gives a full description of the solemnities that were celebrated in his time at Moelck and in other Austrian churches, in honour of St. Colman. We understand that they have lost nothing of their impressiveness and popularity in later times, and that they are always attended by some representative of the royal Hapsburgs, who regard St. Colman as one of the most faithful protectors of their own interests, and of those of their people.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

PART I.

“Thy Word is tried to the uttermost,
And Thy servant loveth it.”—Ps. cxviii. 140.

FROM the earliest centuries has the Church been harassed by heresies, but in these latter times the Reformation has taken theology out of the province of the Church, has given the upper hand to reason, and has made faith subservient to it, setting up individual reason as the basis of man's belief. The Bible has been reduced to the level of an ordinary book, and to this, as forming the groundwork of the Christian religion, have the rationalists turned their attention. The Pentateuch, inasmuch as it is the first part of Scripture, has had to bear the brunt of these attacks.

As, however, the Church has always come forth triumphant from the attacks of heretics; as the system of Catholic Dogma has, by the gradual press of circumstances, become more explicitly defined; so, too, have the books of Holy Writ been more diligently weighed, become more thoroughly understood, and risen superior to the attacks of their assailants. In fact, the more the Catholic religion has been assailed, the more fully do we behold its permanent integrity, its ever-youthful vigour. That religion is revealed to us in Scripture. The more, then, “neological scepticism” casts doubts on Holy Writ, the more do we revere and esteem the sacred writings, seeing in them a work to which all attacks have not proved harmful.

The Pentateuch forms the foundation on which was built the Jewish Law—a law which was but the type and prefiguration of the religion of Redemption. The five books of Moses have come down to us through all these ages uninjured, intact, and unaltered substantially, by means of a divinely-protected channel. Our faith in the veracity of Moses must, then, remain firm till such time as rationalists and historico-critical investigation can prove the preposterousness of our belief in the divinely-inspired book. This it never has done, and, what is more, never will do.

True, numberless works have been written denying not merely the inspiration of Scripture, but even the very existence of such a person as Moses. Hengstenberg, Ch. Havernick, Keil, Natali, Ubaldi, and others of equal erudition, have written defending the authenticity of the Books of Moses; and the doubts that have been cast, and the objections raised, have again and again received crushing retorts. Heedless of these, other critics boldly renew their attacks, and continue to broach their opinions, as though they were the most evident of facts. It is, moreover, surprising to notice the dogmatic way in which they speak. Kuenen,¹ for instance, speaks of his "Deutero-Isaias," the "priestly Leviticus," the "prophetical Deuteronomy," the "Redactor" of this or that book—all mere figments of his own imagination—as if these opinions were historical facts which had gained for themselves universal credence.

Moreover, one cannot help remarking the utter triviality their arguments not unfrequently betray. Colenso, for example, charges the Pentateuch with inaccuracy, because, in saying that six hundred thousand armed Hebrews came out of Egypt, it employs a "round number." Is then a

¹ Another example will show the dogmatism to which the "critics" have recourse. In the Hibbert Lectures (1882), Professor Kuenen expresses himself on "Yahwism," as he calls it, or the national religion of the Jews, to the following effect:—"Yahweh [thus he writes Jehovah] is a national god or deity as conceived by the Jews. In the time of Josiah and the Pontiff Hilakiah, the Deuteronomic Torah is introduced, and the Prophetic Yahwism or Prophetic Universalism is enforced. The champions of this universal religion are the pre-exilian prophets as Micha, Isaia, Jeremiah, and the 'Deutero-Isaia'—the spiritual son of Jeremiah (*sic*). There are, however, two parties, the prophets who preach Yahwism as an universal religion, and who, predicting the influx of the Gentile world to the fold of Yahweh, are rejected and persecuted by the other party, the adherents of which believe in Yahwism as a strictly national Judaism. In the course of time a new phenomenon occurs; Ezechiel sets forth the plan, Ezra and Nehemiah produce the priestly legislation, or the priestly Leviticus, and national Yahwism is established. The priests of Yahweh, from Ezekiel to Ezra, see their attempt crowned with complete success. Now it is that the Levitical Laws form one nation for one religion, and one religion for one nation, with the temple as the *only* place of worship." This, we believe, to be the sum of Dr. Kuenen's scheme of Yahwism; and we cannot but wonder at the arbitrary and dogmatic way in which Dr. Kuenen asserts as Bible fact what cannot be proved from the Bible. A short reference will be made to Yahwism in Part III. of the present essay.

“round number” so totally inaccurate? Thirteen months later this number is stated quite definitely in the census, made by Moses of persons of twenty years and above who were able to bear arms, thus:—אלף ירלשת אלפִים וחמִשִּׁמָּאוֹת (603, 550). Besides, we must remark that in Exod. xii. 37, to which Colenso refers, Moses did not commit himself to a definite figure, but says כָּשֵׁשׁ (kāshish) “about six, &c.,” using the modifier כ (kā), “about.”

Against those who oppose the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, it is our intention to treat the following theses:—

I. Moses, the leader and lawgiver of the Hebrews, is the author of the Pentateuch.

II. The hypothesis of “fragments,” or of divers documents existing before the time of Moses, which he employs in compiling the Pentateuch, has no foundation.

III. The Pentateuch has suffered no change, but is the same as that committed to writing by Moses.

THESIS I.—MOSES IS THE AUTHOR OF PENTATEUCH

Before entering on our thesis, it seems advisable to premise that at one time the very existence of such a person as Moses was called into question.¹ But so completely has this been disproved that the most advanced of Biblical critics² can no longer doubt the fact. The testimony of

¹ Voltaire, for example, concluded that, because (as he said) Moses was not mentioned by any of the ancient writers, “all the world before Ptolemy Philadelphus was ignorant of Moses.” In reply, we may answer that Manetho is fragmentary; that the history of Egypt previous to Ptolemy Philadelphus is conjectural; that the writings of Hermes Trismegistus are apocryphal. Strabo, however, did know Moses. Diodorus Siculus (l. i. Biblioth.) says: “Moses lived among the Hebrews, left to them the law of the God Jao, from whom he had received it.” Photius also quotes this last author in reference to the Exodus, and tells how “Moses divided the people into twelve companies (turmae), and gave . . . a law opposite to that of the existing nations,” &c.

² We may here mention that Biblical criticism is of two kinds:—*Critica Sublimior*, which seriously attacks the integral authority or the authenticity of the Holy Scripture, and which has as its object of criticism the human and historical composition of the Bible, as well as its divine and canonical authorship; *Critica Verbalis*, which criticizes the style and literature of Holy Writ.

pagan historians,¹ the constant belief of both Jew and Christian, place beyond all doubt the fact that such a person as Moses did live, so that the most ardent advocates of Biblical criticism are fain to concede this point. Dr. Driver, who may be taken as a very advanced Biblical critic, is willing to grant not merely the historical existence of Moses, but even to admit that the Israelitish law originated with him.²

The fact of the existence of Moses being satisfactorily granted, let us endeavour to gain a short insight into the history and nature of this controversy, and, in the first place, of the various contentions of our opponents. The Nazarenes in the first centuries rejected the Pentateuch as "fictitious"—an assertion which was ably combated by St. Epiphanius. The author of the Clementines, contended that the Mosaic authorship of these books was an impossibility. We must pass over the opinions of Ptolemy, the Manicheans, and others, remarking *en passant* that the assertion of the Bogomils, that the Pentateuch was composed at the instigation of the devil, κατ' ἐπινόϊαν τοῦ σατανᾶ συγγραφέντα, was condemned *per se* by the traditions of Jew and Christian alike.

In the middle ages two celebrated Rabbis appeared, expressing their doubts whether the *whole* Pentateuch was the work of Moses. Isaac Ben Jasos (eleventh century),

¹ For instance, Strabo says:—ΜΩΣΗΣ γὰρ τις Ἀιγυπτίων ἱερέων ἔχων τὸ μέρος τῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἀπῆρεν ἐκείσε ἐνθεν δεδυσχεράνας τὰ καθεστῶτα, καὶ συνεξήραν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τιμώντες τὸ θεῖον. "Ἐφη γὰρ ἐκείνος καὶ ἐδίδασκεν, ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονῶνεν Αἰγύπτιοι θηρίους εἰκίζοντες καὶ βοσκήμασι τὸ θεῖον, &c. (Strabonis, *Geograph.*, lib. xvi., c. ii.; *Syria*, pp. 372-373.)

See also the first volume of Alex. Natalis, in which a long list of ancient profane writers who speak of Moses is given.

² "The 'Law of Moses' is, indeed, frequently spoken of [in O. T.], and it is unquestioned that Israelitish law did originate with him." Driver, *Introd. to the Literat. of the O. T.*, third edition, 1892, page 118, footnote. Again: "It cannot be doubted that Moses was the ultimate founder of both the national and the religious life of Israel (Comp. Wellh., *Hist.*, pp. 434-438 f., endorsed by Keunen, *Th. T.*, 1883, page 199); and that he provided his people not only with at least the nucleus of a system of civil ordinances . . . but also with some system of ceremonial observances. . . . It is reasonable to suppose that the teaching of Moses on these subjects is preserved, in its least modified form, in the Decalogue and the Ark of the Covenant." (Ex. xx. 23.)—(*Id.*, *ib.*, pp. 144-5.)

quoted by Ibn Ezra (twelfth century), maintained that the fragment concerning the Kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 31, *sqq.*) was inserted in the reign of Jehosaphat, King of Judah. Ibn Ezra opposed this opinion, but in his Commentary on the Pentateuch expressed doubts as to the genuineness of Gen. xii. 6, xxvi. 14, Deut. 1. i., iii. 2, and xxxiv., but he admitted the rest to be from the pen of Moses.

These doubts, though condemned by the Jews, presented a line of criticism which has been taken up by Calastodius, Thomas Hobbes, Isaac Peyrerus, Spinosæ and Clericus, who sought to destroy the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and in whose steps have followed the modern rationalists, such as Rich. Simon, Vater, De Wette, Ammon, Hartman, Knobel, Ewald, Gesenius, Geddes, S. Davidson, Colenso, and others. In our own days, Dr. Driver, Kuenen, and others ably represent the most advanced class of Biblical critics; and their knowledge of Scripture lore, as well as the philological acumen would gain for them the highest praise, were it not for the direction in which they extend their learning. But it is now high time to come to our thesis, which will stand thus:—

Whatever has been universally accepted as authentic and true, must continue to gain for itself credence until sufficient evidence has been adduced to disprove the authenticity. It is our intention to prove that the Books of Moses have been considered authentic, and that evidence sufficient has not been adduced to a contrary effect.

And, firstly, we shall consider the external arguments.

1. The tradition of the Hebrews, and the history of their nation, tells us that, by universal consent, has not only the giving of the Torah, but the actual composition of it, been ascribed to Moses; and under his name to this present day it is read in their synagogues. A tradition equally ancient, and opposed to this, would neutralize the effect of this argument; but such cannot be adduced.

2. In the Hebrew canon the books of Moses are named after the nature of their subject-matter: התורה (*hăthôrâh*), the "Torah," or Law. In the subsequent books of the Old and New Testament they are spoken of as ספר התורה (*sēphēr*

hāthōrāh), "Book of the Law," or "Book of the Law of God," or סֵפֶר מֹשֶׁה (sēphēr mōshēh), "Book of Moses," or simply Thorah. References are so many, that we omit them for brevity's sake. The books of Moses are not only prior to the other books of the Old Testament, but these latter are quite inexplicable without the aid of the former, which formed not only the rule and standard of the theocratic life of Israel, but also the basis of all the subsequent literature of the Jews. Consequently we may expect to find in the succeeding books frequent reference to the Pentateuch. And such is in reality the case.

The Book of Josue not only constantly refers to the books of Moses, but mentions expressly "The Book of the Law of Moses" (Jos. viii. 31). The Books of Judges and Ruth exhibit the Hebrews living under the law, and suffering the penalties resulting from the infraction of the Mosaic constitution. De Wette and others assert that Judges contains no reference to the Mosaic works—a statement quite at variance with the plain facts of the case. To exemplify: the address of the angel of Jehovah (Jud. ii. 1, *et sqq.*) is entirely compiled from the Pentateuch; while the first two clauses of verse 2 are word for word from Exod. xxxiv. 12, 13, and other places. The promise made to Gideon (vi. 16) is a repetition of that made to Moses (Exod. iii. 12). Jeptha's negotiation with the King of Ammon (xi. 15, *et sqq.*) presupposes chapters xx. and xxi. of Numbers, as also Numbers v. 14, 21. The angel of Jehovah promises a son to the wife of Menoah in the words which the angel spoke to Hagar; and even the unusual word לֹדֶת

(yōlādt), taken from Gen. xvi. 11, has been retained.¹ Moreover, we find that the people have one national sanctuary—the Tabernacle—and that the ritual of worship is in entire conformity with the Mosaic law; lastly, that the author (or authors) of these books judge the piety or impiety of their rulers, the merits and demerits of the people, entirely according to the standard of the Thorah. The prophetic

¹ Conf. Keil's *Introd. to the O. T.*, translated by Douglas, vol. i., pages 165, 166.

and poetical books also so absolutely presuppose the existence of the Pentateuch, that without it they are inexplicable.

Let us make a rapid survey of the books of the Old Testament, and we shall readily perceive their dependence on the Mosaic books. The books of Samuel (Kings i. and ii. are so named in the Hebrew canon) do not directly mention the Law, yet refer so frequently to it, and quote so often from it, that we cannot but recognise the testimony they afford. Mention of the Tabernacle, the "ark of the covenant," the priests, the consultation of God by the Urim-Thumim of the high priest, connected with the "ephod"—all these tend to prove the pre-existence of the Pentateuch. If the Pentateuch had not been in the ark, in the possession of Samuel and of the priests, how could we explain the following facts?—Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 33) exterminates the wizards, in accordance with the injunction of Deut. xviii. 10, 11; he confirms the prohibition of eating the blood, according to Gen. ix. 4, and Lev. iii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 13 is almost word for word¹ the same as Deut. xviii. 3; the speech of Samuel (xv 29) bears unmistakable reference to Num. xxiii. 19. In the election of the king, the Hebrew expressions, referring to Deut. xvii. 14, are so similar that, as Hengstenberg truly remarks, "had the law of the Lord not been lying before the ark, Samuel would scarcely have thought of laying this writing here." The destruction of the Amalekites strongly favours our contention of the pre-existence of the Pentateuch, since Samuel must have been acquainted with Exod. xvii. 8, *et seq.*, and Deut. xxv. 17, 19.

Subsequent books abound, not, indeed, in indirect references to, but in actual quotations from, the Pentateuch. David, in his dying moments, gives his last charge to Solomon: "I am going the way of all flesh . . . keep the charge of thy Lord thy God to walk in all His ways, and observe His ceremonies and His precepts, and judgments and testimonies, *as it is written in the Law of Moses*" (1 Kings ii. 1, 4).

These ceremonies, precepts, &c., evidently refer to the entire code of the law, which is dispersed throughout the

¹ In this and similar passages we refer, of course, to the Hebrew text.

whole of the Pentateuch, and which is inseparably commingled with the historical portions of this work. The existence of the Pentateuch at the time of David is clearly proved by these words ; for, as already said, the Jews were accustomed to call the Books of Moses by the simple term, "Thorah," or "Law."

The Psalms, too, speak of the glory of Israel springing from the observance of the law, and some of the later psalms repeat briefly almost the whole story written by Moses.

Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple is a commentary on the law, and especially on the blessings and curses set forth in Levit. xxvi. We may ask, *en passant*, how does Dr. Kuenen reconcile with this fact his statements that Leviticus was composed in the time of Esdras. Again, the Proverbs of Solomon are the production of a mind which had deeply pondered over the Law of Moses. In the last Book of Kings (xxi. 8) we meet the words, "according to the law of My servant Moses." To pass over Kings and Paralipomenon, the incident of King Amasiah (2 Paral. xxv. 3, 5) shows the acquaintance of the author with the Law of Moses. We are told how he put to death the assassins of his father, but spared their children, thus acting in perfect accordance with what is prescribed in Deut. xxiv. 16. The great feast of the Passover is fully described in Exod. xxi. ; Levit. xxiii. ; and Num. xxvii ; whereas the account in Deut. xvi. 1, 8, is very concise and insufficient of itself. Now, in the time of Hezekiah (2 Paral. xxx.) we find the feast celebrated "according to the disposition and law of Moses, the man of God"—a thing which could scarcely have been done without an intimate acquaintance with the Books of Exod., Levit., and Numbers.

The codex of Thorah found in the temple by the High Priest Helekiah under Josiah is thought by some¹ to have been the Book of Deuteronomy, but it is highly probable that it was the actual MS. written by the hand of Moses. In 4 Kings xxii. and xxiii. it is spoken of as

¹ Hibbert Lectures, 1882.

² Natali, vol. i., on *The Pentateuch*.

“the book of the law” (verse 8), “the words of the law of the Lord” (verse ii.) ; but in 2 Paral. xxxiv. 14, it is distinctly called “the book of the law by the hand of Moses.”

Space will not permit us to follow the history of the Pentateuch through all the succeeding books, but we must briefly mention that the only time the Pentateuch could, with any degree of probability, suffer mutilation would be at the time of the Captivity. But there is every reason to conclude such was not the case. Jeremiah gave the Thorah to the brethren as they were going into exile, that they might not forget the precepts of the Lord (2 Macc. ii. 2). And again, after the return to Jerusalem, we find the people begging Esdras (2 Esd. viii. 1) not, indeed, to re-write the Scriptures, but to bring the Book of the Law of Moses—doubtless the whole Pentateuch.

A further confirmation of our thesis is to be found in the words of our Lord and His Apostles. Christ tells the Jews that their disbelief in, and rejection of Him was condemned by what Moses had said of Him :—“For if you did believe Moses, you would perhaps believe Me, for he wrote of Me” (John v. 46). Evidently our Lord does not here refer merely to the legal portions of the Pentateuch, rather indeed to the prophetical parts. Gen. iii. 15, “*ipsa conteret caput tuum*,” is certainly prophetic; nor can objection be raised on the word “*ipsa*,” because the Hebrew הוּא (*hū*) may mean either “he” or “she,”¹ and thus St. Paul explains it (Colos. ii. 15; Heb. ii. 14; Rom. xvi. 20).

Another Messianic prophecy occurs in the same book, Gen. xlix. 10: “The sceptre shall not be taken away from Judah . . . till Shiloh (qui mittendus est) come, and He shall be the expectation of nations.”² The Chaldean Paraphrase, the Talmud, R. Selmoch, and R. Kimchi, all concur in calling this a prophecy of the Messiah.

The prophecy in Deut. xviii. 15, “The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet . . . like unto me; Him shalt

¹ The Septuagint uses *αὐτός*, he.

² The appositeness to the Messiah of the word Shiloh, or Shiloach, requires a detailed comment: cf. *Revue Biblique*, Aug. 1893, *L'exégèse en Orient au IV^e siècle*, page 179.

thou hear," has been referred by some to Josue or Caleb ; but the text of Deut. xxxiv. is at variance with this. Nor can any prophet of Israel be said to be really comparable with Moses ; rather, then, must it be taken as a prediction relating to Christ.¹ To such prophecies must we understand Christ Himself to refer. It must further be noticed that to the time of Christ these predictions were all understood by the Jews as relating to the coming of the Messiah. St. Philip's words (John i. 45), " We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write," evidently attest this belief among the Jews. Notice, too, that the word " law " is placed in contradistinction to the prophets (*nebiim*), and plainly signifies the Pentateuch. In Acts xvi. 21, and 2 Cor. iii. 15, we have a reference to the custom of reading the Scriptures in the synagogues, and the reference to Moses distinctly means the whole work of Moses or the Pentateuch. Repeatedly in the New Testament do we find the words " the law " or " the book of Moses," and we have already seen that this can signify the Pentateuch only, and in this acceptance it is used by the writers of the New Testament. Certainly, the Evangelists, and most certainly a scholar, such as was St. Paul, were as well acquainted with the Hebrew tongue as are the writers of the present day ; yet, nowhere do we gather that they perceived in the Pentateuch a difference of style--that favourite theme of the rationalists.

Besides what we read in the books of the Jewish canon, there is a further confirmation of our thesis to be found in the Pentateuch of the Samaritans. This codex, written in the ancient Hebrew characters, is pre-exilian, and probably dates back to the seventh century B.C., when the priest came from Assyria to instruct the Samaritans. Now, these latter attributed the whole Pentateuch to Moses. A theory has been propounded, that to Manashi (Manassi)—the deprived priest who built, by permission of Alexander the Great, the temple on Mount Gerizim—the authorship of this codex is to be attributed ; but this opinion has been exploded.

¹ Comp. Eusebius, l. 3, *Demons. Evang.*, ch. ii. ; Natalis, *Hist. Eccles.*, t. i., page 3 ; and St. Peter's sermon, Acts iii.

There are, indeed, some slight variations between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs; we, however, incline to the opinion which affirms that the Samaritan text remained unaltered, while the Hebrew text suffered some slight changes, which remained when Esdras edited it. Walton thinks that these variations may be explained.¹ Before concluding the external arguments, which prove the reasonableness of our contention, let us review in brief a few of the objections raised against Mosaic authorship.

Richard Simon² contended that Moses is the author not of the whole Pentateuch, but only of the law contained therein.³ He further broached the opinion that the books of Moses are but a compilation of a somewhat confused nature, from various independent writings of the annalists, to whom Moses had committed the writing of his history; he further supposed that Moses derived his narration of the Creation, and of the ages previous to his own time, either from ancient documents in his possession, or from oral tradition.

Clericus maintained that various passages (*e.g.*, Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 4; xxxv. 21; xl. 15), and the geographical notices (Gen. ii. 12, and x.), were interpolations of a much later period; later he said, that the Pentateuch was the work of the priest who was sent to Samaria from Assyria to teach the Assyro-Israelitish colony. However, Clericus himself saw the untenableness of such views, and in his Commentary, published in 1693, retracted these opinions, claiming for Moses the whole authorship of the Pentateuch, with but the exception of some few parts which he considered interpolated. Vater's endeavours were directed to prove that the Pentateuch was *not* written by Moses, nor even in his time. De Wette remodelled the work of Vater, and affirmed that some portions of the Pentateuch were composed in the time of David, and that the whole volume as such dates back not further than the time of Josiah, just shortly before the captivity. In his second work, he qualifies the history of Moses and the giving of the law

¹ Cf. Walton's *Proleg.*, xi., No. 9.

² Oratorian of Paris, seventeenth century.

³ *Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test.*, ch. ii.

as unauthentic and unhistorical; at a subsequent time, however, he modified these opinions, maintained the three-fold redaction of the Hexateuch—Elohistic, Jehovistic, and Deuteronomic—and admitted the greater part of the legal sections as Mosaic and genuine.

There are others who say that the testimony of the subsequent writers refers to the Mosaic authorship of the *law* only; to such we reply that the “law,” as such, is not a separate treatise comprised in one volume by itself; that it is so combined with and fused into the whole, that its removal renders the entire volume disjointed and disconnected. Moreover, it frequently happens that a volume receives its name from the main theme of the whole argument, as already stated. Now the name “Thorah” (law) is applied to the whole Pentateuch, because the law is explained in these books; so that in the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrews the word Thorah had a force equivalent to the later name, Pentateuch. But of these and other objections, more will be said in a subsequent part of our article.

D. BENJAMIN.

(To be continued.)

LAMENNAIS¹

JUST sixty years have passed since the memorable attempt to link Catholicism with Liberalism was condemned by Pope Gregory XVI.² Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and other noble spirits, disgusted with the servile position to which the Church in France had been reduced by the Concordat, boldly advocated the entire separation of Church

¹ (1) *Œuvres complètes*. 12 tomes. Paris, 1836. (2) *Œuvres posthumes*. 6 tomes. Paris, 1855. (3) *Œuvres inédites*. 2 tomes. Paris, 1866. (4) *Lamennais*. Par E. Spuller. (5) *L'Ecole Menaisienne*. Par Mgr. Ricard. 4 tomes. (6) *Nouveaux Lundis, Portraits Contemporains*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve.

² *Encycl. Singulari nos*, July 15th, 1834.

and State, and maintained that the great liberties proclaimed by the Revolution were part and parcel of the genuine teaching of the Church. Their views met with strenuous opposition from the French hierarchy; and when, in self-defence, they appealed to Rome, the case was decided against them. Thirty years later the hopes of their disciples, who still looked for a reconciliation between the Church and modern liberties, were dashed by the publication of the Syllabus (December 8th, 1864). Another generation has since passed away, and now a new spirit seems to have come over the Church. We have a Pope who is on the best of terms with republics, who preaches religious tolerance, who advocates short hours and the living wage. We in England have only lately lost a cardinal who was the recognised champion of the people's rights. There is another still living who holds a like position in the great Republic of the West. The views of the Irish hierarchy are too well known to require mention. Even the French bishops are rallying to the republic; and just a few months ago a distinguished archbishop did not hesitate to state openly that, though Lamennais and his party had made some mistakes, their opponents had made many more. We know well that the Church and her Supreme Head cannot err. Nevertheless there is an apparent opposition between the teaching and policy of 1834 and 1864, on the one hand, and the teaching and policy of 1894, on the other. Our enemies do not fail to reproach us with the contradiction. The present time, therefore, seems to be a fitting one to examine anew the aims and methods of Lamennais and his colleagues.

I.

Félicité Robert de la Mennais¹ was twenty-two years old when he made his first communion, and thirty-four when he became a priest. Born at Saint-Malo, in 1782, he had grown up amidst the excitement and confusion of the Revolution. He lost his mother, who was of Irish extraction, when he was so young that he could remember no more of her than seeing her say her rosary and play the violin. It was

¹ In later life he signed himself "*Lamennais*."

his uncle and aunt—his father's brother and his mother's sister—who had charge of him during his early years. They found him utterly unmanageable, but at the same time endowed with extraordinary intelligence and an insatiable appetite for books. La Chênaie, the country home of his mother and his aunt, possessed a library well stocked with the classics and theology, and the works of the eighteenth century philosophers. Here the boy was allowed to roam at will; nay, he was often, to his secret delight, shut up here in punishment for disobedience. He read everything that came to his hand, and thus filled his mind rather than trained it. Indeed, in spite of his great literary fame, he was never an exact scholar. Sainte-Beuve, who knew him intimately, gives ludicrous examples of the inaccuracy of his quotations from the classics. On the other hand, such early familiarity with the writings of Montaigne and Le Sage, Voltaire and Rousseau, could not fail to produce serious results. We are not surprised to learn that when the time for first communion drew nigh, the priest was shocked by the dispositions of the young candidate, and refused to recommend him. Hence that event, so important in the childhood of every Catholic, and especially of every French Catholic, was postponed till after manhood.

Meantime the wayward lad continued his studies with ardour. Among the ancient classics he gave most attention to Plato and Plutarch, Cicero and Tacitus. Of the literature of his own country, Montaigne was now, and all through life, his favourite; next came Pascal, Malebranche, and the Port-Royalists. Bossuet and Bourdaloue taught him eloquence; and to Rousseau we must trace the charming landscapes and idyllic touches which abound in his writings. Science and mathematics also were sedulously worked at. Finally, he applied himself to the study of modern languages, especially English and Italian, and became an ardent admirer of Milton and Dante. In spite of this devotion to books, and though his frame was small and delicate, he loved to be out in the open air, and to spend all the time he could in manly exercises. As a swimmer, he was bold even to rashness. He rode furiously over the

wastes and heaths around La Chênaie. Fencing became a passion with him, and stood him in good stead in a duel in which he wounded his adversary. And while these exercises served as an outlet for some of the passion which burned within him, he found in music a means of soothing what he could not expel. What would have been the fate of such a character brought up under such circumstances, we can only surmise. There are some vague allusions to love affairs; but whatever these may have been, he came soon after his twentieth year under an influence which changed the whole course of his life.

Félicité, or Féli, as he was generally called, had an elder brother, Jean. Seldom have two brothers been more unlike in disposition. Jean was the good child, who always did what he was told, and never gave any trouble. Though without the brilliancy of his junior, he was possessed of no ordinary intelligence, and was equally devoted to study. Mgr. de Pressigny, the last bishop of St. Malo, speedily discerned in him the marks of a vocation, and took him into his house to train him for the priesthood. During the Revolution his education was continued by Abbé Viel. Jean amply fulfilled the hopes of his early patrons. Even while yet a deacon he began the great work which is the glory of his name. Religious education had been impossible under the Convention and the Directory. A generation was growing up without any knowledge of God or a future life. Moreover, no means could be adopted to supply the place of the old clergy, who were fast dying out. As soon, however, as the Concordat became law, the young abbé opened a school at St. Malo for young children, and soon afterwards a high school, chiefly for those who were intended for the priesthood. Then he turned his attention to the foundation of schools in the neighbouring towns and villages. Though an illness compelled him to break off his labours and retire for some years to La Chênaie, he still continued to interest himself in education, and was able to take up the good work again. To extend it and secure its permanent existence he founded the institute of "The Brothers of Christian Instruction" for the education of boys; and a sisterhood,

"The Daughters of Providence," for the education of girls. Both of these are still flourishing, and have houses, not only in France, but in the French colonies, England, Canada, and the United States. Their pious founder continued to direct them for more than half a century, and at length died a holy death at the venerable age of eighty.

It was this brother, Jean, who now came to play so important a part in Lammenais' life. There were, no doubt, inner causes at work tending to bring about some changes in him. The heyday of youth was past; he had gone through some of the great sorrows and disappointments of life. His duel, too, may have suggested serious thoughts. There was his elder brother steadily advancing to the priesthood, and already doing good work in the world; while he himself was unsettled and hopeless, letting the years go by unprofitably. He felt the need of someone to take him in hand, and guide his steps. Who could better do this than the loving brother who was so famed for the soundness of his judgment and the skill of his direction? Under such able and tender treatment he soon began to turn religious, and was persuaded, though with some hesitation, to make his first Communion. Then he entered his brother's high school at St. Malo as professor of mathematics. Jean's illness, mentioned above, led them both to retire to La Chênaie (1807), where they lived together in complete solitude and steady reading and writing for three years. Their studies were almost entirely ecclesiastical: the Bible, the fathers and theologians, and the Church historians. Jean was here the guiding spirit, and it was he who gathered most of the material for their joint writings; but it was the younger who sorted and arranged this material, and gave it the stamp of genius, without which all the elder's industry would have been in vain. The first-fruit of their labours was a pamphlet entitled *Réflexions sur l'état de l'Eglise en France pendant le xviii^e Siècle et sur sa Situation actuelle*, in which the infidel philosophers are bitterly attacked, and the much-needed requirements of the Church are stated with admirable clearness and force. French critics find the style of this little work somewhat laboured, as though the writer was not

yet complete master of his instrument. Next came a lengthy work, *Traditions de l'Institution des Evêques en France*. Here the brothers prove the divinely established primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and endeavour to show by a *catena* of authorities that it had been continuously taught by the French Church. Such opinions were dangerous at a time when Napoleon held the Pope a close prisoner and filled the French sees with adherents of the Four Gallican Articles. Accordingly, the book did not see the light until 1814.

Meantime Lamennais had been induced to take the first steps towards the priesthood. In 1809, he received the tonsure and four minor orders. Beyond this, he would not go. The subdiaconate, from which there is no going back, terrified him. When Jean was called away to be Vicar-General of the diocese of Saint-Brieux, his brother implored him to stay : " Do we not owe each other more," he wrote, " than anyone else in the world ? . . . I must have someone to guide and support me ; someone who knows me, and to whom I can tell everything. On this, it may be, my salvation depends. Think well on this." But Jean had to go. Féli returned to Saint-Malo, and supported himself by once more teaching mathematics. In 1814, he wrote a bitter pamphlet against the university, and demanded its abolition. Next year Napoleon was back in triumph, and Lamennais had to fly to England. For seven months he stayed as master of studies at a boarding-school, in Kensington, founded by Abbé Carron. In this excellent priest he found the guide and support which he so needed. His long hesitation to take Holy Orders was overcome. He returned to France in November, 1815, and entered Saint-Sulpice. Next month he was made subdeacon ; but, even still, he writes :—" This step cost me a great deal ; God grant that it is for His glory." The diaconate and priesthood speedily followed, Jean and Abbé Carron urging him on in spite of his own terrible misgivings. His first Mass was an agony to himself, and the chosen few present. The unhappy celebrant was in a cold sweat ; he dared not utter the sacred words ; it seemed as though the ceremony would never come to an end.

I have dwelt thus at some length on the making of Lamennais, because both friends and foes have seen in it the explanation of his subsequent downfall. They have maintained that he never had the faith of a Catholic, much less the vocation of a priest. But this is surely going too far. Abbé Carron and his brother Jean knew him well, and fully realized the responsibility which they were imposing on him and on themselves. Many wild and wayward youths have entered the ministry in fear and trembling, and have made excellent priests; while, on the other hand, many who have been blameless and have taken orders with a light heart, have afterwards fallen away. We may, however, grant that the want of the vigorous discipline of the seminary told upon him when he had to pass through trials which were more than usually severe. Had he borne the yoke in his youth he might have submitted and kept silence. Had he been treated with the consideration due to his great services, perhaps even his untamed disposition might have been soothed into obedience. But it was not to be. Carelessness and harshness on the part of his adversaries, obstinacy and resentment on the part of Lamennais—here were some of the elements of the most mournful of the many tragedies in the later history of the Church.

II.

Towards the end of the year 1817, a book appeared in France which at once excited universal interest and provoked the liveliest discussion. It was entitled *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*. The author's name did not figure on the title-page; but whoever he was, it was agreed on all hands that he was worthy of a place beside Bossuet and the early apologists of the Church.

The time was ripe for the appearance of such a book. More than a quarter of a century had passed since the old religion had been swept away by the great tempest in which so many other ancient institutions had perished. A generation had grown up not so much hostile to the faith as utterly careless about it. The bishops, indeed, were back in their palaces, the priests in their presbyteries, and

services were performed in the churches. But for the vast majority of Frenchmen this restoration had only an antiquarian interest. They looked upon the churches as so many museums, and the clergy as fossils; while a bishop meant no more to them than a Bonze or a Brahmin. Chateaubriand's splendid genius had, however, invested religion with a halo of poetry and romance. De Maistre and De Bonald, too, had impressed thinking minds with its important place in philosophy and politics. But much more was wanted. Men had to be made to realize that religion was the one thing needful; that their origin, their destiny, their duty to God, were matters of supreme interest. Who could make the dry bones live? Not surely anyone of the inert mass of the clergy. The bishops were for the most part courtly prelates, whose zeal was blighted by Jansenist rigour and Gallican prejudices. The priests cowered under government tyranny, popular contempt, and episcopal suppression. Laymen, especially those just named, had done good service to the Church, but this was not layman's work. While pious and thoughtful souls were longing, but without hope, that a prophet might be raised up, they suddenly found to their delight that he was already among them. A voice that could wake the dead was ringing through France. Keen logic, fierce invective, bitter irony, brilliant figures, a style replete with every charm—all these roused the faithful to an extraordinary pitch of enthusiasm, and compelled the attention and admiration of the foe. Here, at last, was a priest who could write. But who was he? The episcopal bench could not claim him, nor could any of the cathedral chapters. He did not belong to Paris, or to any of the other great centres of culture. It was discovered before long that the author of the *Essai* was a newly-ordained priest living in Brittany, and was no other than Félicité de La Mennais.

The need of an appeal to the intelligence as a supplement, or rather as a basis, to Chateaubriand's appeal to the heart, had long been discerned by Lamennais. But he was convinced that any attempt to work on the old theological lines was doomed to certain failure. Arguments from miracles and prophecies would make no impression on men

whose reason told them beforehand that such abnormal phenomena were impossible, and the records of them false. What must be done was to go straight at reason itself, and show that authority was the sole means of acquiring certain knowledge. Accordingly he disclosed to his brother and Abbé Carron his design of composing a work to be called *Esprit du Christianisme*. The vastness and the difficulties of the undertaking were fully apparent to him and to his advisers; but they, being well aware of his great powers, gave him the warmest encouragement. He himself, however, suffered greatly from depression as he proceeded with his task. Despairing of bringing it to a completion, he determined to publish a preliminary volume, with the modest title of *Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion*. His opening words explain the choice of title and the scope of the argument:—

“The age that is most diseased is not one which is devoted to error, but rather one which has no care for the truth. As long as there are violent convulsions there is still hope; but when all movement has come to an end, when the pulse has ceased to beat, when cold has gained possession of the heart, what can we then expect but a sure and speedy dissolution? . . .

Who will breathe upon these bones, and bring them back to life?

Good and evil, the tree of life and the tree of death, nourished by the same soil, grow up side by side, and the people take the fruit of the one or the other without raising their head or caring which they get.

Religion, morality, honour, duty, the most sacred principles and the most noble sentiments, are now no more than mere dreams and dazzling phantoms, which hover for awhile in the far-off background of the mind, only to vanish without hope of return.

Never, never before, has the like been seen; never could it even have been imagined . . . Long and persevering efforts, a ceaseless strife against conscience and reason, were needed before such brutal recklessness could be reached . . . Looking with equal disdain upon truth and error, man affects to believe that the two cannot be distinguished, in order to confound both alike in common contempt: the lowest stage of intellectual corruption to which he has fallen. *Impius cum in profundam venerit, contemnit.*”

This deadly disease from which the world is suffering is the denial of the principle of authority. The divine authority of the Church is rejected in the supernatural

order ; revelation is rejected in the philosophical order ; divine law in the political order ; and the law of charity in the social order. Bring back respect for authority, and the health of the world will be restored. Let all acknowledge that there is no salvation out of the one fold ; let all recognise the Church's right to interpret revelation and to guide human reason, and her right to apply the divine law in the region of politics ; let her be allowed to resume her works of charity, and continue to be the peacemaker between the different classes of society.

Whether such remedies were the right ones or not, there can be no doubt of the "convulsions" which immediately followed. In spite of the bulk and price of the volume, forty thousand copies were rapidly sold ; in spite of the subtle character of much of the reasoning, the *Essai* was discussed and quoted in every salon. The author at once became the most celebrated and revered priest in France. His admirers even styled him the last of the fathers. Friends and foes alike eagerly looked forward to the appearance of a further instalment. Encouraged by this unexpected success, Lamennais went steadily to work, and brought out a second volume in 1820.

Continuing the line of thought already indicated by him, he set about the complete overthrow of reason and the establishment of authority as the sole basis or criterion of certainty. The infidel party, so sorely stricken by the first volume, now leaped for joy, while the Catholics, lately so exultant, were filled with dismay. Both saw clearly enough—what the author was blind to—that the new theory of certainty was nothing but the rankest scepticism. Lamennais had been quite right in his attacks on the rationalists for rejecting all authority. But his own system of rejecting reason was even more erroneous. Both reason and authority are *criteria* of truth ; and of these the ultimate criterion must be our own individual reason just as our own conscience is our ultimate rule of conduct. I need not reproduce here the arguments on this subject which are already familiar enough to us from our text-books of philosophy. Only a man who had had no scholastic training

was capable of falling into such an error. From being the last of the fathers and a second Bossuet, the great apologist came to be considered in some quarters as a more dangerous enemy than Luther or Voltaire. Jesuits and Jansenists, Gallicans and Ultramontanes, the Sorbonne and Saint Sulpice, all joined in a chorus of condemnation, while the unbelievers hailed with joy the overthrow of their mightiest assailant at the hands of his own friends.

Lamennais was deeply wounded and still more astonished at this treatment. To him the second volume was simply a continuation of the first. He could not understand how men could reject the one and accept the other.

“After all [he says in his *Défense* (ch. x.)], what do we establish in the first volume? That whoever cuts himself off from the Catholic Church is necessarily either a heretic, or a deist, or an atheist; that these three great systems of error rest upon the same basis. That is to say, the heretic, the deist, and the atheist, starting from the common principle of the supremacy of human reason, imagine that each man, apart from all faith and authority, can find out the truth by his reason alone, or, what comes to the same thing, by Scripture interpreted by reason alone; and hence, should admit nothing as true except what is clear, evident, and proved to that same reason; that this principle necessarily lands the heretic in deism, the deist in atheism, and the atheist in absolute scepticism. This is what we prove in the first volume.

What do we say in the second? That whoever sets out from the principle of the supremacy of human reason—that is to say, whoever holds that apart, from all faith and authority, he can find the truth by his reason alone; and hence, should admit nothing as true except what is clear, evident, and proved to this same reason—falls, if he is logical, into universal scepticism.

Now this proposition, which is exactly identical with the preceding one, cannot be true in the first volume and false in the second. To attack the latter is to attack the whole work or to fall into open contradiction.”

We deplore the fierceness of the onslaughts made upon the *Essai*. If Lamennais was wrong, he should have been refuted. Contempt and abuse should have had no place in a controversy where the orthodoxy of the greatest living Catholic champion was under discussion. True, indeed, he had spared none of his opponents, whatever their rank or

religious profession. The Gallicans especially, who still counted among their number many of the most venerated of the bishops, had been assailed by him with contempt and ridicule. But, like so many other violent disputants, he was keenly sensitive to the slightest attacks upon himself. He had felt confident that he had settled, once for all, every religious controversy, and instead of this he had only raised a fresh and fiercer discussion. He determined to appeal to Rome, but even while doing so he wrote:—"If my theses are rejected, I do not know any other means of solidly defending religion: if the decision goes against me, I will write no more." Could there be any plainer refutation of his own system?

The Holy See, be it noted, was careful to keep out of the strife. An Italian translation of the *Essai* was allowed to appear, accompanied by a letter of eulogy from the Master of the Sacred Palace; but the ordinary tribunals came to no decision on its doctrines. Lamennais himself, however, was received by Leo XII. with the warmest welcome. Rooms in the Vatican were even placed at his disposal, and when he was received in private audience he was gratified to find his portrait in a place of honour on the Holy Father's table. It was confidently expected that a cardinal's hat was in store for him. Indeed, the Pope declared in an allocution that he had created as cardinal a man of great talents, an accomplished scholar, whose writings drawn *ex authenticis fontibus* had not only rendered great services to religion, but had delighted and astonished Europe—whom, however, he reserved *in petto*. There could be no doubt that Lamennais was the person so designated; and the reason for the reservation was the opposition of M. de Villèle, who would suffer no Frenchman to be a cardinal except on the King's nomination.¹ Although he had not obtained the approval of his system of philosophy, and had been disappointed of the honours intended for him, he, nevertheless, returned to France (1825) well pleased with his reception in Rome.

¹ See Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*, page 209, *sqq.* Crétineau-Joly gives a very different and unlikely account of Lamennais' reception by Leo XII. (*L'Eglise Romaine en face de la Révolution*, ii. 338).

III.

From its first appearance the *Essai* had found its most ardent admirers among the younger clergy. The older ones, with memories of the dark days of the Revolution, were well content to be allowed to live at all, and resented any measures which threatened to disturb their peaceful existence. Not so their youthful brethren. Indignant at the degraded position to which the Church had been reduced, they felt that stagnation was worse even than persecution, and they resolved to fight rather than to rust and rot away in ignoble ease. Lamennais was the man for them. They were filled with delight as they saw him drive their impious foes into headlong flight, and wither with scorn the cowards who refused to join in the fray. Two distinguished chaplains of the Collège Henri Quatre in Paris—Abbe Salinis and Abbé Gerbet—became especially attached to him, and soon gained a name for their skill and ardour in defending his doctrines. To them he unfolded a plan which he had long been turning over in his mind. One man, he was convinced, could do little for the regeneration of France; something might be hoped for from a number associated together. Why should not his two young friends throw up their posts at the college, and join him in a life of study and writing? Others would soon follow, and so a great work might be done. Gerbet alone set out for La Chênaie with Lamennais, early in January, 1825. Such was the beginning of the renowned “*École Menaisienne*.”

La Chênaie we know already as the early home of the brothers Jean and Féli, and the scene of their joint labours. Many of those who went there to join the new society have told us what the place was like. Let us hear one of them describe it:—

“Here I am writing to you from the bosom of the woods, in the deepest and wildest of retreats. For three weeks I have been a recluse, but a recluse of my own accord, a recluse finding in the desert what is, indeed, rare—the most affectionate companionship and the sweetest friendship. There are four of us here, fugitives from the world, who have come to seek shelter and light from the Master; and surely this is the place to find refuge in study and in our Lord. La Chênaie is a sort of oasis

in the midst of the steppes of Brittany. In front of the chateau there is a large garden, divided by a terrace planted with lime-trees, with a small chapel at the end. This oratory, where one can breathe the peace of solitude and the peace of our Lord, is my favourite spot. In the springtime we say our prayers across two rows of flowers. Some little distance from the chateau, on the eastern side, sleeps a small lake between two woods, which are thronged with birds in the warm weather; and then on the right, on the left, on every side, woods, woods, everywhere woods. Just now it is rather sad, as everything is bare, and the forests have put on their rusty hue. The Breton sky, too, is always cloudy, and so low down that it seems ready to crush you."¹

Truly a man's surroundings are the symbols of his inner life. As we picture to ourselves the gloomy abode of the solitaires, we seem to see in it a figure of the sombre genius of the Master, and the melancholy destiny of his school. For a time, however, that school was a most brilliant one. The ablest priests and laymen from all parts of France were proud to join it. Their names are better known in their own country than on our side of the channel, but three at least are famed all the world over: Sainte-Beuve, Montalembert, and Lacordaire. Here again, the admirable organizing power of Jean de La Mennais was of good service. For some years past there had existed at Ploërmel a flourishing congregation of priests founded by him for giving missions and directing the diocesan seminary. These now begged to cast in their lot with the brethren at La Chênaie. The scheme soon began to take a definite shape. The name "Congregation of St. Peter" was chosen. The objects were: to restore faith in Jesus Christ, and respect for the authority of His Vicar, the successor of St. Peter; to reconcile religion and science, the Church and the world. Let the founder himself tell of one part of his aims:—

"The Church, even in scientific matters, has a magnificent part to play; to her it belongs to fertilize the chaos and separate once more the light from the darkness. To accomplish this it is not enough to perfect our early clerical studies; we must take a wider view and set before ourselves a loftier aim. Formerly the Church held in her hand the sceptre of science, and this was one of the causes of her control over men's minds. If she

¹ Maurice de Guérin, *Lettres*.

regained it, she would be mightier than ever, and she would turn to men's advantage those sciences which are in themselves indifferent, but which, when not directed by religion, infallibly produce more harm than good."

A house of higher studies was established at Malestroit, near Ploërmel, in which the leading principle was to allow the freest scope for individual genius. Blanc and Rohrbacher, the famous historian, were the directors. La Chênaie served as a preparatory novitiate, and was under the immediate care of Lamennais himself. Here, too, there was more freedom than in similar institutions. In the evening languages and literature, ancient and modern, were the only subjects studied. The Master's delight was to give lessons in Dante or Milton. During the weekly walk some foreign language was always spoken. Masters and pupils were devotedly attached to each other; and at recreation there was the keenest emulation to excel in the games. According to the testimony of the members, there prevailed the utmost unity and peace.

But it is time for us to see something of the personality of the Master. We are assured that all the portraits of him fail to reproduce his real physiognomy, "which was mobile, impressionable, ever changing with the impressions of his vast and ready genius."¹ Maurice de Guérin, who has already been quoted, thus describes him:—

"The great man is short, thin, pale, with grey eyes, an oblong head, a nose thick and long, a forehead deeply furrowed with wrinkles, which reach down to the root of the nose; dressed from head to foot in grey cloth; rushing about his room so as to tire my young legs, and when we are out walking, always keeping in front, with a battered old straw hat on his head, . . . When I first saw M. Féli (for this is what we call him familiarly) I felt that mysterious agitation which always seizes one in approaching divine things and great men; but soon this agitation changed into ease and confidence. M. Féli forced me, so to speak, to forget his great fame, by his fatherly kindness and by the tender familiarity of his conversation. His whole disposition overflows with kindness."

Cardinal Wiseman, big and burly himself, could not understand how one whose bodily presence was so weak, could

¹ Ricard, i. 115.

exercise such sway over others. Yet even he was fascinated with Lamennais' marvellous power of speech. Sainte-Beuve, too, tells us that the Master would enter impetuously into any lofty subject—metaphysics, mathematics, music, &c.—and pour out for hours together, without any special knowledge of the particular matter, any number of original ideas, exact and beautiful and weighty, all the while marching up and down with hasty strides, and quivering all over with emotion. This feverish, over-sensitive temperament, this impatience of delay, should be well noted. They will help us to understand some of the causes of the tragedy that was soon to be enacted.

And now the reader may feel tempted to ask: "Did Lamennais and his friends expect to convert the world by learning alone? Had they no trust in piety and prayer?" Here we have some thorny ground to traverse. When a priest forsakes his sacred calling, his former life is often held up as a warning. But in speaking of him, we must be sure of our facts. An apostate may have been a drunkard, a liar, a thief, or worse. If we have certain proof that he was one of these, we can account for his apostacy; but we cannot argue that because he was an apostate, therefore he must have been a thief. When Lamennais left the Church various causes were assigned for his fall. Among them the common one was that he had never been a man of prayer, and, in particular, that he had neglected to say his office. This latter accusation has been strenuously denied by those who knew him best. Unknown to him a dispensation had been obtained from the Pope on account of his weak eyesight, but he refused to avail himself of it. We are assured of his ardent piety and of his fervour while saying Mass. But his own writings are the best answer to his accusers. We must not think of him simply as the slayer of infidels and Gallicans. His edition of Blossius, brought out in conjunction with his brother, under the title of *Guide Spirituel ou Miroir des Ames Religieuses*, has been the delight of devout souls for three generations, and is still highly prized. For his young students he wrote the admirable *Guide de la Jeunesse*, a dialogue on the

dangers of the world, the end of man, fidelity to duty, and frequenting the sacraments. The *Journée du Chrétien* was a collection of prayers drawn from the Church's treasures, to which he added pious aspirations of his own. The needs of "the devout female sex" were not forgotten. The *Bibliothèque des Dames Chrétiennes* contained some of the best of the older ascetical treatises. No one can read any of his writings without being struck by the familiarity with the matter and words of Holy Writ, and so we are not surprised to find that he translated the Four Gospels. But the book which is the best indication of his inner life is his edition of the *Imitation*. Dissatisfied with the existing translations he determined to bring out a new one, with an introduction and reflections:—

"The *Imitation* [he says] requires a heart already prepared. Up to a certain point we can enjoy its charm and admire it, but without experiencing any change in the will or in our conduct. Nothing is of service to salvation except what is based on humility. If you are not humble, or if at least you do not desire to be so, the word will fall upon your soul like dew upon the barren sand. To believe in self alone, to love self alone, is the characteristic of pride. Void of faith and love, what can man accomplish? What good can be done to him by the most solid instructions or by the most moving exhortations? Everything is lost in the emptiness of his soul, or is dashed to pieces by his hardness. If we humble ourselves, faith and love are granted to us; if we humble ourselves, salvation will be the reward of the victory gained over our pride. When the Lord wished to show His disciples the road to heaven, what did He do? Jesus, calling a little child placed it in the midst of them, and said: 'Amen, I say to you, except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

He who wrote this could not have been a monster of pride; and the *Reflections*—of which it was said that they were the postscript left by Thomas à Kempis himself—could never have been composed but by a truly devout mind. Long years afterwards when Lamennais was asked which was the best of his works, he answered: *The Imitation*. He had reason to say so. His patrimony and the profits of his early works had been swallowed up in unsound speculations; his later books did not sell; his newspapers ruined all who

took shares in them. One little volume alone did not fail. Year after year it continued to be bought by the faithful for the food and nourishment of their souls, and thus it continued to provide its poor fallen author with his scanty daily bread.

T. B. SCANNELL

DISCALCED CARMELITE MARTYRS OF THE IRISH PROVINCE

A.D. 1642-43.

“Visi sunt oculis insipientium mori . . . illi autem sunt in pace.”—(*Sap.* iii.)

SINCE the victories of her martyrs reflect glory on the Church, each one should regard it as a matter of duty, not a mere question of choice, to do what is in his power to prevent that lustre from growing dim through forgetfulness in the course of time. It would seem that an unavoidable want of documentary evidence is the reason why the Discalced Carmelite martyrs of the Irish province do not appear more prominently among our other confessors of the faith. But the little that is known concerning them ought not, on this account, to be withheld from those who take a deep and edifying interest in the cause of Ireland's martyrs. If the narrative of their martyrdom must needs be brief and unassuming, perhaps it will read all the more like the simple records which we possess of the sufferings of the confessors who died during the early ages of the Christian Church.

With regard to the sources of information at my disposal, there is not much to be premised; and I can only hope that that little will prove satisfactory. Having carefully collated the various authorities on this subject, and seen them agree in every essential detail, I deemed it advisable to confine myself to the one which, I venture to say, will be found eventually of greatest practical importance. It is the *Enchyridion Chronologicum* of the Discalced Carmelites, compiled by Father Eusebius, written in Latin, and published at Rome in the year 1737. This author, as we learn

from the duly approved *Collectio Scriptorum Carmelitarum Excalceatorum*,¹ filled the responsible office of Definitor-General several times, and was the recognised historiographer of the Order. As a writer he is remarkable for a pleasing conciseness of style which increases our appreciation of a laborious task requiring a most persevering patience, and the utmost diligence in wearisome research. However, it is solely the trustworthiness of his work we are to look to now; and our surest guarantee in this respect is the approval merited by the *Enchyridion* as a safe medium of historical information. Not alone does it bear the sanction of the Superior-General of the Discalced Carmelites, and the formal testimony of the censors; but, also the *imprimatur* of the learned Dominican Zuanelli, the then Master of the Sacred Palace; and a decree of approbation from the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*. We are to bear this in mind while considering Father Eusebius's notice on the martyrdom of "Three Discalced Carmelites in Ireland."²

The question will suggest itself, as a matter of course: Whence did Father Eusebius derive those facts which he states with a positive assurance of their authenticity? In the preface to the *Enchyridion* he tells us that whenever it was feasible he sought information from the various provinces of the Order, and guarded himself against all unwitting deception by inquiring into the events narrated according to the principles of rigid criticism. He had exceeding great difficulty in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the history of the Irish province. And this he attributes to the sudden expulsion of the religious from their convents; after which the fathers were constrained to fulfil their missionary duties by stealth, in daily peril of their lives. Several of these Carmelites visited Rome in after years; and one of them furnished an official report, still extant, on the actual *State of Ireland*, which is a veritable concise history of the

¹ Vol. i. E., p. 192.

² I may mention that the details of their holy death were published in substance a few years ago by the late Rev. P. A. Callanan, O.D.C.; but the very interesting *brochure* (*Three Carmelite Friars*. Dublin: Dollard, 1887) has been out of print for some time.

persecution then waged against the faithful. Probably other Irish missionaries committed their own fearful experiences to writing, together with what they had heard from eye-witnesses concerning the martyrdom of the three confessors; and the facts, thus preserved, our annalist has transmitted to us in permanent form. Indeed, Father Eusebius himself joined the Carmelites when the trials of the Religious in "St. Patrick's province" must have been a topic of absorbing interest among the communities of the Order throughout the world. At all events, the *Enchyridion* received the unqualified approbation of those whose duty it was to satisfy themselves fully of its orthodoxy regarding matters of faith and morals, and of its genuineness as a history of the Carmelite Order.²

We have an interesting proof of the widespread fame of our martyrs, even a short time after their demise, in a splendid oil-painting still excellently preserved at the Carmelite Convent of Linz, in Austria. It is the work of a talented lay brother, who died towards the end of the seventeenth century. The holy confessors are represented in a group, with angels overhead, bearing crowns and palms; underneath are the names, and the text from the *Book of Wisdom* with which I have opened these pages.

I. FATHER THOMAS AQUINAS OF ST. TERESA
Martyred at Drogheda, A.D. 1642.

When rumours of *another* persecution were daily growing more rife throughout Ireland, a young man applied to the Discalced Carmelites of Dublin for admission to our Lady's Order. He was of Irish birth, very intelligent, and already well trained in the required preliminary studies. The signs of vocation to the Order must have been manifest in his case, for he was received into the novitiate immediately. In conformity to the pious usage of the Teresian Carmelites,

² " . . . in quo (*Enchyridion*) non modo nihil orthodoxae fidei, aut bonis moribus adversum suspexi, verum etiam omnia cum sententiarum acumine, ac verborum splendore ita reperi concinnata, ut ea, dissolutis ambagibus, ad Excalceatae Carmelitarum Familiae decorem, ac ad genuinam ejusdem Sacrae Religionis Historiam mira felicitate revocet, Adm. Rev. Pater Eusebius." (*Ex Decreto* p. xx.)

he renounced his name in the world. We shall henceforth recognise him by the names of his Patron Saints, Thomas of Aquin, and Teresa of Jesus. This novice's first fervour was most edifying, and Brother Thomas never lost it. His love of suffering was such, that not even the severities of the Church's austere Order could satisfy his spirit of mortification. Obedience was his guiding-star. It is the infallible test of genuine holiness; and the Discalced Carmelite is early taught to depend on it mainly for the acquisition of persevering sanctity.

Very soon the time for solemn profession came round, and Brother Thomas took the vows that bound him exclusively to God for ever. And now it was necessary that he should apply himself to the long course of studies by which was to be forwarded the twofold object of his vocation—his own spiritual advancement, and the sublime work of man's salvation. At length the great day arrived, all too speedily, no doubt, for the humble young Religious; and Father Thomas Aquinas celebrated Mass for the first time. He had not long to remain in seclusion, meditating on his newly-acquired wonderful power; he was called upon to help his brethren in their perilous missionary duties. As usual, he obeyed with cheerful submission, sometime in the year 1641.

The Puritans had already begun openly to persecute the Catholics of Ireland. Every other day there were reports of the faithful being cruelly tortured, or ruthlessly murdered in cold blood. Grossly ignorant of the nature of true religion, as heretics always are, the fanatics tried the fear of death as a means of disseminating their doctrinal views, when their victims would not hearken to the most lavish promises of temporal reward. But both bribery and threats were equally despised by the glorious confessors of the Irish Church. St. Patrick's spiritual children knew how to value the inestimable gift of faith; and the ardent zeal and persuasive eloquence of the young Carmelite friar encouraged them wonderfully in their heroic perseverance. The Puritans became aware of this, and quickly decided on Father Thomas's fate.

There dwelt in the vicinity of Drogheda an influential family whom our Carmelite had converted to the true faith. On making open profession of the Catholic religion, the father and his only son were seized, and cast into prison. The wife and mother was sorely tempted to simulate the errors of their persecutors, in order to preserve the lives and property of her husband and child. But Father Thomas, on hearing of her struggle, came at once to her assistance; assured her of the sinfulness of such a design, and counselled her to save herself by timely flight, leaving the rest to God's protecting care. While still engaged in this office of charity, he was betrayed into the hands of the Puritans. Diligent search was made for the priest, the house having been previously surrounded by the watchful soldiery; but all to no purpose. He was there, they knew, and to expedite matters instant preparations were made to fire the dwelling, so that the hateful friar might perish in the flames. Fearing for the safety of his timorous friend, Father Thomas came forward of his own accord, and delivered himself up to his implacable enemies. It is to be regretted that the reader cannot be informed of the subsequent fortunes of the family about whose welfare our confessor was so self-sacrificingly anxious.

Strange to say, that the friar's great act of generosity only rendered him more obnoxious to the Puritans. They dragged him with brutal violence into Drogheda; but, like the apostle, Father Thomas gloried in the outrages heaped upon him for his Divine Master's sake. And he, too, was not left without soothing solaces in the interval of his cruel captivity. One of his fellow-prisoners was a Franciscan priest, who attended assiduously to the spiritual wants of a number of Catholics suffering for the "sacred cause." By the assistance of this religious, Father Thomas was enabled to gratify a dearly-cherished desire, to die clothed in the holy habit of Carmel. There was yet a more special favour in store for him: the humane governor of the prison allowed him to offer the Dread Sacrifice daily. As no notice was taken of the Carmelite for the space of several days, the time was chiefly devoted to works of charity—more particularly

to the consoling of captives prone to despondency. And what must have been the effects of his words on the persecuted ones, when the grim Puritan jailers themselves were unable to resist the confessor's winning gentleness. Many of the heretics esteemed him a holy man, and were truly grieved for him. That sweetness of disposition, which endeared him to all, was entirely due to the young Carmelite's extraordinary spirit of humility. No one is more lovable than the man who is brought very near to God by this virtue.

A messenger came early in the morning of the sixth day of Father Thomas Aquinas' detention, to inform him that he had been sentenced to die by the halter within an hour. The priest was not in the least dismayed; he had just said Mass, and was making his "thanksgiving." Duly rejoicing at his speedy deliverance, he added a fervent petition for the necessary grace. It was the "appointed time" for him, and he felt that his work was done. His years were not many, it is true; but this matters little in the service of God. Loud and pitiful were the wailings of his companions when he visited them for the last time to say good-bye. But the expression of his countenance reassured them, revealing what he might not explain. And they knelt for his blessing, and implored him not to forget them, as he went forth with his guard, clasping a crucifix to his breast, and calmly telling his beads.

A remarkable incident occurred on their way to the scaffold. An unhappy woman was about to be put to death for some crime she had committed; and, to Father Thomas's horror, he heard her being promised an unconditional pardon, together with abundant means of livelihood, if she would renounce her faith to adopt the erroneous doctrine of the Puritans. Heedless of everything save the imminent peril of that poor creature's soul, the zealous son of Elias called out to her, and admonished her of the danger then threatening her—the danger which causes misery ineffable throughout eternity, and even in time. His appeal and warning were not in vain; and God's saving grace did the rest also. The condemned friar had the consolation of knowing that Satan had lost a victim, who was already safe in heaven, while

his executioners were imprecating him for the charitable interference which had saved an immortal soul.

Notwithstanding this, the Puritans were so shameless as to tempt the confessor himself to apostacy. They professed an eagerness for his spiritual welfare, and their own notions of the supernatural order were very *obscure*—to say the least of them. But the faithful follower of the Angel of the Schools silenced his persecutors quite easily; and, in silencing them, would have taught them a salutary lesson, if their irrational bigotry had not made them so criminally callous of heart:—

“What! [he exclaimed] do you ask me to forfeit my redeeming faith for the superstitious credulity that depends on the varying tastes of men? Rather should ye return to the secure fold of that Church, in loyalty to which your own country was once foremost among the world’s nations. As for me, it is my only ambition to show myself a true, if unworthy, child of hers in the trial that awaits me now.”

The preliminaries for the ghastly office were few, and the executioners eager for their work. It was a scene that can be realized with graphic vividness, and we almost forget that it is the imagination supplies local colouring for the striking picture which fancy frames. But we *know* that the mail-clad Puritan soldiers were there, and in their midst the self-possessed young priest, wearing his beautiful habit of white and brown. Above them the gibbet, barely outlined against a still darksome sky. The cord is well fixed by rude hands, and the fatal word given, and cruelly obeyed. Father Thomas does not die! The strong rope has parted in twain,¹ and one yet more surely tested proves equally inefficient. They raise their victim from the ground, and he stands before them uninjured. To their amazement he addresses them in a clear, high voice: “Before God, I can accuse myself of no crime. Why, therefore, will you put me to this unmerited death?” “Are you not a *papist*, and a *priest*, and a *monk*?” hissed back the heretical officer in charge. “Such is my profession,” replied the confessor

¹ . . . “effracto laqueo, alioque praevalido fune,” &c. (*Enchyridion*, p. 205.)

fearlessly, "in testimony of which I am now most willingly ready to suffer." Father Thomas was placed beneath the scaffold once more; and, with a last prayer on his lips for his murderers, this time secured his crown.

When the ignorant soldiery had gone away, smitten with superstitious awe, some Catholics came and bore the martyr's body to the ruins of an Augustinian friary, outside the walls of Drogheda. They interred it within the sacred precincts, and kept watch by the grave all day. But as the night-guard was being mounted on the ramparts, the Puritans drove them thence lest miracles should be attributed to the intervention of the slain priest. This was by a wonderful dispensation of Divine Providence. For, later on, when the tortured city had been at length relieved of the droning of the Puritan's evening hymn; when the camp-fires made visible the darkness around—one of the vigilant sentinels beheld a marvellous sight in the ruined abbey. Lighted torches, most beautiful in appearance, hovered in mid-air over the place wherein the soldier knew the remains of our martyr lay. He drew a comrade's attention to this spectacle most strange, and both warriors fled precipitately to the quarters of the commander himself. Instead of censuring them for cowardice and desertion, that officer came immediately to verify for himself his subordinates' strange tale. He, too, saw the apparition; and tried, in vain, to dissemble his fear. Bah! It was merely the lanterns of the papists, who were stealing the dead monk's corpse away. He would go, and see. A number of his more courageous men volunteered to accompany him. On their near approach to the ruins the marvellous lights vanished; but the soldiers carried burning matches in their hands.

Having hastily removed the loosened clay and stones, the Puritans gazed in wonder on the confessor's countenance. It was all radiant with that loveliness which the death-peace of the saints leaves after it always. They told each other that surely a just man had been slain without cause, and most heartily did they repent their own part in that cruel deed. One of them took possession of the Carmelite's mantle; another the crucifix still clasped to Father Thomas's

breast. These the heretics intended to preserve in memory of him who had died so singularly happy a death. Hardly had they replaced the body with reverential care, when a new *terror* put them to instant flight. The "torches" reappeared, poised high in the heavens, as if waiting there to descend, and illumine again the martyr's grave.

II. BROTHER ANGELUS OF ST. JOSEPH

Martyred in Louth, A.D. 1642

The country consecrated by a martyr's blood is most richly blessed, even when it may not claim him by title of birth and parentage. We are also to consider the Irish Province of Discalced Carmelites especially favoured in possessing another Christian hero in the person of a young Englishman, who came over to join their Order here at the beginning of the year 1640, and who bore in the world the name of George Halley. He had been educated by an Irish Carmelite missionary, while yet in his native Hereford; and his father and mother, earnest Catholics that they were, gave thanks to God for having called their child to the religious state. It was the youth's intention to remain in Ireland until his ordination, after which event he ardently hoped to be sent back to England, to labour there for the conversion of his heretical compatriots. Divine wisdom had decreed otherwise; and the grace that had guided our confessor from infancy enabled him to understand very early the grand secret of human happiness—loving submission to God's good pleasure always and in everything during the course of one's life. His name in religion was typical of the childlike guileness, which increased with his years—Angelus of St. Joseph.

A good resolution—one *seriously* made—is a certain incentive to virtue; and Brother Angelus began his religious career by determining, with gracious aid from on high, to be a true Carmelite at all events, be his life's success as God might please. Only the instinct of sanctity could have directed him to the surest, and most *easy* way of acquiring consummate holiness. Thus was it his ceaseless effort to advance in the fervent observance of the Primitive Rule: not even while a

prisoner with the Puritans would he avail himself of a dispensation from the very severest of its ordinances. He was permitted to take the solemn vows in the twenty-first year of his age, the unanimous consent of the Chapter testifying to his admirable piety and zeal.

Brother Angelus's first trial was one which young Carmelites must invariably encounter, even in our own times, namely, departure from the Novitiate for another *home* in the House of Studies. He left Dublin not very long after his profession; and had just entered on his scholastic course in the college at Drogheda, when that city was taken by the Puritans. Of course the friars were expelled their convents; and those deemed themselves fortunate who had escaped with their lives. Our student was among the number who did elude the enemy; but he was arrested later on that same year. He was endowed with a courageous spirit, which his persecutors thought to break by subjecting him to the most painful tortures. Worst of all, a Puritan minister endeavoured to draw him into controversy concerning matters of Catholic doctrine. But Brother Angelus was too prudent to notice their sophistries; and simply replied to their vain boast of possessing the only *pure* form of religion: "I know God's law must be undefiled; but what you teach is revolting in its sinfulness." Failing thus to shake his faith, they had recourse to another means of persuasion in vogue with persecuting heretics of every age—*bribery*. The young Carmelite's indignant contempt almost put the shameless Puritans to shame.

Meanwhile, he bore his sufferings with an heroic patience; and God comforted him in his loneliness. In lowly imitation of St. John of the Cross who so knew the nature of humility that he would have no favour from the graciousness of the Most High save constancy in humiliations and trials, Brother Angelus yearned for yet greater afflictions, and for reproaches more hard to bear. His was a loving heart—and he was very young—so can we well understand what keen pangs of grief he endured at the thought of fond parents sorrowing for him in that distant English home. Then, there was still more tender affection for his brother religious—the "Brothers of

Carmel's Queen"—and how he must have wondered which of those he had lived with were already wearing the martyr's robe and crown! But the long hours of his captivity did not drag on wearily with the fervent friar; they were passed, as we are told, in sublimest meditation on the eternal truths. That young Carmelite was quite a *proficient* in the contemplative life; for even the novices of the Order are encouraged to aspire to the very highest form of mental prayer. Thus it was that Brother Angelus's fellow-prisoners found in his simple words a most soothing solace for their own poor troubled hearts—a sympathy which can only flow from a rare intersenseness of divine love. He would suffer no allusion to his cruelly protracted torments, or to his expected violent death. And those who beheld the joyful expression of his features knew that God had vouchsafed to him the martyr's grace.

To the surprise of many, Brother Angelus was one day set at liberty. The Puritans failed to pervert him; and it was deemed inexpedient to detain him any longer, or murder him outright just then. He left Drogheda instantly with the intention of seeking some of the other Carmelites dispersed all over the country. He directed his course to a certain fortified place in Louth, which cannot be now recognised from its Latin name.¹ On his way thither, he met a number of nuns, travelling under a *safe-conduct*. He entered the fortification with them; and that same night the place was occupied by the troops of Lord (*Baron*) Moore, one of the Puritan generals.

Brother Angelus seems to have been favoured with a divine premonition of his approaching death; but he betrayed not the least anxiety, and tried successfully to reassure and console his terrified companions. They all assisted at Mass on the following morning, and had the much-desired happiness of receiving the Blessed Eucharist. We can only conjecture how they managed to obtain a privilege so extraordinary under such difficult circumstances.

¹ "Quod ralatiao Anglicana vocat Sedanum, P. Philippus vero Charigian." (*Euchyridion*, p. 207.)

Brother Angelus then advised the nuns to present their passport to Lord Moore; and in order to encourage them he unhesitatingly accompanied them to the general's tent. He reminded them of God's watchful care over His servants in presence of their persecutors, dwelling enthusiastically on the reward reserved for those who would be true to their profession at the sacrifice of liberty or life.

The Puritan treated the friar's companions with condescending courtesy, and gave them permission to depart when, and whithersoever they willed. Our confessor was received quite differently. "I know *you*," said the general, with a sinister smile. "You are an Englishman and a *monk*. On a former occasion you *escaped* from prison; not so easily shall you get out of my hands." However, there *was* a means of escape—nay, of acquiring the lasting friendship of Lord Moore himself; if the Carmelite would merely renounce the *superstitions* of Catholicism. A new and *dangerous* series of tortures had to be encountered; but God led His brave athlete safely through the ordeal. Brother Angelus told his persecutors that he had not left his own country to barter his faith for so poor an exchange as this miserable life and its transient pleasures. And the heretics saw it was useless to continue importunities that fell on deafened ears. Lord Moore could not help admiring the courage of his young countryman and reiterated the promises held out before, if the friar would wisely yield. But exasperated at length by such *perverse obstinacy*, he summoned his officers to form a court-martial; and they, at his bidding, condemned Brother Angelus to death for the *crime* of being a papist and a monk. It was the Feast of our Lady's Assumption.

Hardly able to conceal his joy on being informed of their decision, the holy religious told them how eager he was to shed his blood for the cause they had proscribed. He begged them not to defer his execution beyond that day, in order that he might worthily celebrate the grand prerogative of the Queen of Carmel by this voluntary offering of his life. Incensed beyond all measure by that request, the general ordered him to be shot forthwith; and his ready emissaries hastened to carry out his brutal design. Brother

Angelus began to invoke aloud the Blessed Virgin's further aid, thanking her also for her never-failing protection. They made a final effort to overcome his fortitude, but he sternly rebuked them in the words of our Saviour, silencing the tempter of all men.

A file of soldiers took him apart, and, while they were preparing their deadly weapons, the holy youth chanted the praises of the Queen of Martyrs. Three fierce Puritans advanced close to where he was kneeling, and discharged their heavily-shotted firearms at his unprotected breast. The smoke cleared away, revealing Brother Angelus in his kneeling posture, praying as calmly as if he alone were not concerned in that terrible tragedy! Yet so manifest a sign of Divine intervention did not deter his barbarous persecutors in the least. Like the pagan tyrants of old, Lord Moore now had recourse to the sword, which did not *fail*,¹ because God showed mercy to His faithful servant; and Brother Angelus gazed on the marvellous splendour of the "Beauty of Carmel" in heaven.

His death was witnessed by the nuns whom he had befriended. These sisters communicated the foregoing facts to the Carmelite Fathers; and told them, moreover, that the martyr's body was buried secretly at first. But in more peaceful times the Catholics of the district bore the remains to their favourite church, and deposited them there with every token of pious veneration. They rightly deemed themselves fortunate in possessing the relics of one, about whom the words of Wisdom had been so strikingly verified: "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time: for his soul pleased God" (chap. iv.).

III. BROTHER PETER OF ST. ANDREW Martyred at Dublin, A.D. 1643

Were these brief sketches of a more pretentious kind, a very apposite commentary on the martyrdom of the third of our Carmelites might be taken from St. Ambrose's beautiful interpretation of a certain passage in the Gospel narrative of

¹ "Quam (mortem) cum tera glande Milites non intulissent, unus, jussu Ducis, illum ense confodit." (*Enchyridion*, p. 209.)

St. Luke.¹ In this instance we have a remarkable illustration of how the sophistry of the worldly-wise may be refuted by the knowledge granted to "little ones." We shall see a man without human learning argue well and profoundly, in strict conformity to the irrefutable principles of dogmatic theology and mystical.

Brother Peter of St. Andrew received the habit of Carmel in the humble capacity of one whose vocation it is to sanctify himself by devoting all energy of mind and body to the domestic affairs of the community. With the Discalced Carmelites the lay brothers enjoy the same privileges as the other religious, and are so esteemed in the Order that they are called "Donati"—as being specially *given* by the Blessed Virgin to advance her glory in their own proper sphere. They do not ambition the science acquired by their brethren in the schools: the constant study of crucifix and rosary suffices for them all through the course of their useful lives. And thus, being firmly established in the virtue that maketh saints, they proceed, without pausing, in the way of perfection; swelling widely the ranks of those hidden ones, whose holiness is rendering the world more dear to God.

Little is known concerning Brother Peter's earlier years. It is said that his parents were of limited means, and resided in Dublin at the time of his birth. Here, also, he embraced the religious state. He soon became thoroughly acquainted with his various duties, being an indefatigable auxiliary to the fathers in their toilsome missionary work. He was noted for a rare prudence in business transactions; and an unbounded confidence in the Blessed Virgin was his chief characteristic in the spiritual way. Donning an ingenious disguise, he volunteered to continue with the fathers, who, after their convent had been seized and plundered by the Puritans, would still remain in Dublin to assist the persecuted Catholics during the awful troubles of 1643. Brother Peter's great charity merited the "hundredfold" reward, including, in his case, the glorious palm and crown.

The heretics had been apprised of the zeal of this Carmelite

¹ Lib. vii., cap. 10, 66.

and they accordingly singled him out as their victim. He was discovered, and made prisoner by them early in the March of that year. Once in the power of his enemies, the good brother's martyrdom began, for they took a fiendish delight in torturing him. These sufferings were too much for one whose strength had been well-nigh spent in braving the perils and privations of the previous months, and hour after hour he lay prostrate, writhing in a very agony of pain. His persecutors had no pity for him—until, on the vigil of the Annunciation, they condemned him to die on the scaffold next day.

And now our confessor had to enter on the most trying conflict of all; God permitted him to be tempted for a while with an overwhelming horror of that shameful death. But grace triumphed in the end, and joy ineffable filled his soul at the thought of his approaching martyrdom. Some political prisoners, also Catholics, who were confined with Brother Peter, implored him to allow them to appeal to the Puritan commander in his behalf, hoping to secure a reprieve, so pitiable was the poor friar's condition. They were yet ignorant of the wonderful change brought about by the *special* grace: that grace which is mercifully given to sustain one in every more grievous trial, whose issue the Almighty alone can previously know. Without it, Brother Peter was what he declared himself to be—a despondent, timorous man; from it he received the martyr's confidence and strength. Far from hearkening to the kindly solicitations and remonstrances of his friends, he assured them that he did not fear the gallows now at all; on the contrary, he longed to suffer the death which men abhor. He besought them to beseech God to pardon his pusillanimity, for he did desire to die a loyal son of Holy Church, a religious worthy of the habit which he wore. Let them not be moved by his bodily sufferings; these were necessary to prepare his soul for the consummation on the morrow. He would humbly beg of them to unite with him in fervent prayer, Brother Peter himself selecting by choice the rosary and lityny of Mary.

In the morning he was brave and calm when the soldiers

were conducting him to the place of execution ; and the faithful praised God for the victory of His servant. Brother Peter, devout client of Mary that he was, did not cease to thank her aloud, in the name of all men, for having consented to become Mother of the Incarnate Word. Over and over again he repeated the Angelic Salutation, heedless of the impious taunts of an heretical minister, who reprehended him for paying those tributes of honour to the Blessed Virgin, contrary to the right reading of Sacred Scripture. But Brother Peter reminded him of what the Holy Ghost Himself had proclaimed through Mary's own pure lips, and added that the reason why heretics blaspheme the Immaculate Mother of the Saviour was owing to the fact of their not belonging to the generation of the faithful, who alone worship the Living God in truth. After this the Puritan did not dare interrupt the loving homage shown to the Queen of Heaven.

The scaffold was reared in the most frequented part of the city, in order to mortify and intimidate the co-religionists of the friar about to be so disgracefully executed. This, however, served to remind the Catholics forcibly of the Cross set high on Calvary for the infamous death of that Carmelite's Divine Master. Having arrived in view of the terrible gibbet, Brother Peter prostrated himself to the ground in sign of his utter unworthiness of being numbered among those who had borne testimony to the truth by the voluntary shedding of their blood ; and having mounted the steps leading to the platform, he reverently kissed the instrument of doom. Then he renewed his profession of faith and his holy vows, and gave expression, again and again, to acts of deepest contrition for having offended his Creator, although he was not conscious of ever having knowingly injured human being. A zealous son of the Prophet of Carmel, he manifested his eagerness to give up this life for the greater glory of the " Lord of Hosts." " A very foolish thing on your part," blasphemed the executioner, with sarcastic terseness. " Yes," replied the confessor, meekly, " this is the folly of the Cross, which you fail to understand." At the age our Saviour died to redeem

us all, Brother Peter of St. Andrew thus gladly suffered a cruel death in vindication of the Christian faith.

Despite the menacing frowns of the Puritans, the Catholics took immediate possession of the holy friar's body, and did not fear to inter it publicly. They derived unwonted courage from the martyr's heroic constancy; and their persecutors did not attempt to interfere. Perhaps the Puritans were beginning to realize that there must needs be *something strange* which enabled those despised Papists to defy their power, or rather to seem to ambition Brother Peter's awful fate. The light of truth was wanting to show them that those who pass hence as he had died, merely enter on the enjoyment of everlasting life.

So concludes the narrative of the martyrdom of our three Discalced Carmelites of the Irish Province. Short as is the record in each instance, there is abundant matter for a lengthy and interesting biography, a praiseworthy work for some less faulty pen. In these pages the simple facts are but indifferently knit together; all critical comment, and much desirable reference to contemporary events, being left to the discretion of the martyrs' future historian. Yet, personally, I prefer the bare facts, as the annalists of remoter periods were wont to relate them; for even the mere record of the death of the saints is sure to suggest many a profitable meditation on their wonderful lives.

If express mention has been made in the *Enchyridion* of three martyrs only, we may not thence infer that no other Discalced Carmelites died for the faith in Ireland during those troublous times. We are told¹ that convents of the Order were plundered and ruined at Dublin, Drogheda, Kinsale, Limerick, Kilkenny, Loughrea, Athboy, Galway, and Ardee; but who shall say whether all the friars that dwelt in them timely escaped with their lives? Neither do we know the ultimate fate of those missionaries who would not forsake the faithful when the priest's head was priced with the wolf's. The reward of Ireland's unknown confessors is equally certain with God; and voluminous, indeed, should

the martyrology be that contained a summary of their names.

True, casual mention is made by certain authors to several other martyrs of the Discalced Carmelites in Ireland ; but I did not consider the facts concerning them so well authenticated as those relating to the confessors by whose holy death I wished the reader to be edified. If apology be necessary for bringing Father Thomas Aquinas and his companion martyrs under notice now, the opening paragraph contains it. I will only add, it is my sincerest desire that all on whose courteous patience such trespass has been made may be pleasingly interested in what has proved for me a most grateful duty of reverence and fraternal love.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

" PROPRIUM SANCTORUM "

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

August 2. *St. Alphonsus Maria de Ligori, C.P.D.* The Introit at once tells us to-day's lesson : " The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed Me, and hath sent Me to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to heal them that are broken in heart " (St. Luke iv.) These words of Isaias our Divine Master solemnly used when He began His public ministry, and they tell us about the apostolic vocation to which we are called. The Holy Ghost is upon us overshadowing us with His power, because He hath anointed us with the unction which abides in us in the sacramental grace of Order (cf. 1 St. John ii.), and in His strength, and as His instruments, we are sent to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to heal them that are broken in heart. Who are the poor ? Not only those who have not this world's goods, but far more those who are stricken with that true and real poverty, who have no grace, whose heart, instead of being wholly devoted to

God, is broken and given to the things of the world. These are the poor and the heart-broken to whom we are sent to preach the Gospel of penance which will give back the riches of God lost by sin, and will heal the wounds of the heart by the saving use of the sacraments. The whole life of St. Alphonsus was a continual pleading with sinners "to turn away from their sins and to live" (cf. Ezek. 18, xxxii.), and to use the means of grace so abundantly prepared for them. In season, and out of season, he never wearied, in the words of the Psalm, calling on the people to give heed to his teaching and to listen to his words; and by his writings and the spirit he has left in such abundance to his spiritual children he still calls upon the people to repent and live to God. Now this is our very work to-day; for this are we set up as teachers and as dispensers of God's mysteries. So in the Epistle (2 Tim. ii.) Holy Church teaches us how we are to labour in this apostolic charge which enters into the very idea of the priesthood. We must be *strong* in the grace which is in Christ Jesus; and being so united to Him, we have the most abundant means of grace whereby we can be strong. We must be *faithful* by the grace of our calling, if we would be fit to teach others; for how can we efficaciously teach men to repent and to follow the Royal Road of the Cross unless we are steeped through and through with the spirit of a victim? We must be *good soldiers*, and hence must keep ourselves free from all that hinders our work for souls. How can we preach against worldliness, if we be entangled in the love of the world? How can we preach humility, if we are striving unlawfully for the mastery? We cannot expect to sow virtues in the souls of our people, nor see them produce a rich crop thereof, unless we, the husbandmen, first be users of that seed. Who are the best preachers, who the best directors, whose labours are most abundantly rewarded with measure heaped up and overflowing? (cf. St. Luke vi. 38). The priest who considers all the apostolical advice given in this Epistle, and to whom the Lord hath given understanding in all things. This gift of understanding is one of the Holy Ghost's, and it is ours together with the other six when we are in a state of grace;

but how often we let our talents lie hidden instead of using them ! How seldom do we deliberately set to work, and, in our daily common life, use these seven great gifts which will make us saintly priests and most powerful instruments for good. They are a treasure inexhaustable at our very door, and we remain in our poverty because we will not stretch out our hand to use it !

The Gradual tells us we must join to our preaching penance for the souls we are striving to help. The awful judgments which await sinners, and the thought that we can avert that judgment by God's gracious acceptance of our penances and prayers on their behalf will keep us in fervour ; and when we see them at the thought of the hideous torrent of sin which overwhelms the land, we shall be consoled with the remembrance that we can do a real solid work which will stem the tide of iniquity, and save many from destruction.

The Offertory teaches us to devote to God's service, as did St. Alphonsus, all the natural gifts (our substance), and all the fruit of our talents ; and, for His sake, put ourselves entirely at the disposal of our neighbour. To be the servant of God's servants ; to leave Christ only to find Him in His members ; to claim nothing, and to refuse nothing, this is the perpetual life of sacrifice, and the honouring God with the very substance of our being. How can we refuse to take this generous view of our apostolic work when Jesus, the Eternal Priest, is going to place Himself in the Blessed Sacrament so entirely at our disposal, leaving us, therefore, an example ?

In the Communion we have, besides the picture of St. Alphonsus, the great priest who did so much to strengthen the Church, the secret of his success. It was by his union with the Great High Priest, that the saint could do what he did, and this Great High Priest is now at this moment engaged on the work of propping up by His grace the house He has chosen to abide in, and is now strengthening us to be His temple. He is a bright fire, and is longing to warm our heart with His love, and to burn up all that is deadly therein. In the midst of the fire He casts from His

sacred heart there ascends the incense of His divine prayer for us to the "Father of Lights, from whom comes down every good and perfect gift" (St. James i. 17).

August 6. *The Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus, the Christ.* "It is good for us to be here" (cf. Evangel.), and to contemplate awhile the unspeakable glory of Him in whose familiar service we are. He so hides His Majesty in the Holy Eucharist, and is so indeed the God-hidden in His action in the Church, that did not Holy Church, from time to time, bid us contemplate His awful Majesty, we might forget how great is the God, and how full of splendour is He whom we hold day by day in our hands. Hence in this Mass we gaze at the Eternal High Priest transfigured before us with the essential glory which is His from all eternity. The first words of our Matins, which, as is the custom, we have said as a preparation for the Sacrifice, fill us with awe; "The High King of Glory, the Christ, let us adore;" and in the whole office we contemplate Him as the King of Nations, the King of the Elect, promised to Father Abraham and his seed for ever; Him as foretold and witnessed by Prophets; testified from heaven by the Father's voice which orders us to hear and believe in Him (cf. *Hymn ad Mat.*); Him the fairest among the children of men, crowned with honour and glory, the Fount of Life, clothed with light as with a vesture, whose face shines as the sun, whose raiment is white as snow (cf. *Antiphs.*); Him who is our Saviour and God, who reforms the body of our lowliness making it like to the body of His own brightness (cf. *Capit. ad Laud.*); Jesus the fair light, who puteth to flight the darkness of sin and filleth us with all sweetness, who giveth joy to those He visiteth, who is the sweet radiance of our true home, the splendour of His Father's glory, the love surpassing understanding (cf. *Hymn ad Laud.*). This majestic image of the Divine Victim we are going to offer in sacrifice must needs fill our heart with awe, for in the words of the Introit (Ps. lxxiv.), the flashes of lightning which emanate from His glory light up all the world of our heart, and shakes and makes it tremble to its very foundations. Yet "it is good for us to be here" in this blinding light, for we get self-knowledge,

and we begin to know ourselves even as we are known by God. Then, also, the visions of His sweet beauty, and the fairness of His tabernacles make our heart sigh after and long for the courts of God, where, we shall see the King in all His ravishing beauty; for, as the Collect says, we have received the fulness of the adoption of sons, and are made co-heirs of the all-glorious kingdom, and sharers in His marvellous majesty. This gives us strength to bear "the eternal weight of glory" (2 Cor. iv. 17) which is laid up for us, and of which we here get a glimpse. Did we not know that it was our Elder Brother's glory, and that some day, by His mercy, we should share therein, our heart would be troubled for fear of His majesty, for He, our Lord, is very admirable, and His face is full of grace; down prostrate would we fall and swoon away, and be overcome with His beauty, and have no more spirit within us (cf. *Esther*, lv). We are made, as St. Peter tells us, witnesssss of the wonder of the Transfiguration, which takes place day by day, as He, the All-Majestic, appears before us in all the lowliness of the Sacred Species. When we offer Him in sacrifice, the Eternal Father from His magnificent glory tells us that He is well pleased with the victim we present. When we are on the mystic mount of Calvary, sometimes the glory of Thabor visits us, and our faith is quickened, and we see Him, oh! so plainly, beneath sacramental veils, and He is transfigured before us; and, oh! the rapturous joy that fills our heart, the burning adoration and blissful worship which wells up without effort from the lowest depth of our being, when we thus see the breaking of the day and the morning star arising in our heart, and the day of the Lord seems so very near at hand.

On occasions like these, our faith is deepened, and our love grows warmer. The world and self seem so paltry and little when we see Him in the light of eternal majesty. So, we come back from the altar as another Moses from the mount, or, as one come back from the dead, having seen and heard things which are not given to human tongue to tell; and the graciousness of this vision rests upon us, and its glory remains with us, and we are never the same men afterwards, "for no man can see God and live" (1 St. John iv. 12)

his old life. We must either advance rapidly, or sink down to greater misery. But the vision we have seen we tell to no man, for no one can understand but him who has heard, and no man can see save him who has seen. The favour we have received, and the sense of the infinite majesty we have seen, seal up our lips, and in reverence we keep silence about the great things God has done for us, and we ponder over them in our heart. Silent, because the light which comes from the throne shows us ourselves in all our utter nothingness; hence, humility guards our tongue; silent, because the infinite condescension of our God makes His favours far too secret, far too private for us to tell to others. When the sons of men are risen from the dead, then can we speak with safety about secrets of the King; then can those who listen understand, and we need not fear to lose anything of the happiness we enjoy. *Secretum meum mihi.*

August 7. *St. Cajetan, C.* For the lessons of this Mass, see I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 712.

August 10. *St. Laurence, M.* Why is it we have so little heroism in our life and, find it even difficult to keep the dead level of ordinary virtue? Why is it that we feel so small and mean when we compare ourselves to some of the great saints; for instance, to St. Laurence? He was only a deacon, and yet he achieved so much, and we who have the greater grace of the priesthood, and can so more easily attain the heights of holiness, do so little? The Epistle (2 Cor. ix.) tells us the reason: "He that soweth sparingly, sparingly also will he reap." We grudge God our service, and do not trust Him with all our life; we keep back something, perhaps many things, some cherished disposition, some unwise friend, some dangerous employment, some unnecessary study; we let these stand in our way, and we will be generous with God in everything else save this particular. We make our service one of necessity, not one of love; hence we sow in the field of our heart but sparingly, scattering only a few grains, when out of the abundance of sacramental grace we have in Holy Orders we ought to cast huge handfuls into the furrows. No wonder then that the result is so meagre. Were we as generous in our sowing

as was St. Laurence, we too would reap a harvest worth the garnering, for "God is powerful to make all grace abound in us," so that we may always have in all cases, and at all times, a sufficiency of grace to correspond with our opportunities, and thus abound in all good works, and increase the harvest of our justice.

As the Gospel (St. John, xii.) tells us, if we love our souls with that selfish love which seeks its own and not the things of God; if we dethrone Him, and set up self as Lord and Master, we shall lose eternally that soul we have so slavishly served. But if we are generous with God, and keep him ever on the throne of our heart, we shall lose our soul in this life by losing the mastery of self-worship, and we shall find it in the safe keeping of our Maker, who will guard it for ever, and we shall be honourable, and set among the chosen of the kingdom.

August 12th. *St. Clare, V.* See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 716.

August 15th. *The Assumption of Blessed Mary the Virgin.* This day of rejoicing for the triumph of God's sweet Mother, is a day of family festival, for it is the triumph of our Mother too. To us, priests, who share so much in the work of our ever dear and blessed Lady, and who are in such a special way her children, being clothed, as we are, with the very Person of her Divine Son, it is a day of special delight, and it is a foreshadowing of the good things to come to us after our course is over.

The Introit well represents the sentiments of our heart rejoicing with the angels upon the coronation of their Queen, and praising the Son of God who has so glorified His Mother. If He has so glorified His earthly Mother, what will He not do for us who are, if I may say, His sacramental mothers? This is "the good word" with which our heart breaks forth, no longer able to contain itself, and our works, our Masses are what we may indeed tell to the King, for we know they will be acceptable to Him. One lesson of the many this Mass contains, is to be drawn from the Gospel (St. Luke x.), where we read that in the town Jesus visited there were two sisters, Martha and Mary. In

our heart, to which He comes so often in such sweet intimacy, we can find two ways of serving Him: by deed and by loving worship, by the active and the contemplative life. But our Lord tells us that the spirit of Mary, the loving worship of contemplation, is the better of the two. He does not, blessed be His name! value us for the *works* we do, but for the love with which we do them. He loves to see us ready to work if He so wills, "at His work to let down the net," and get to find our real, true, and solid happiness at His feet in the loving worship of contemplation, in the interior activity of the soul which fixes upon Him who is the source of all life. This is the better part; for it is of value by itself, consisting as it does in the union of our will with that of God; and because no one can take it from us, for nothing can break this union save our own free and deliberate act. The outer life is only of any profit in as far as it is joined to the inner life, nor is it in any real sense complete without it. Again, the inner life is the better, because it is the safer: for this reason, because the life of exterior activity, unless firmly founded on the inner, eats away our spiritual growth by the cares and constant round of distracting occupations which are inseparable from it, and tend to absorb the whole man to his loss. Whereas the inner life depends wholly upon God; it deepens our spiritual life, and shuts out as far as possible all earthly things which can dim the visions of peace.

This being so, do we not make a great mistake when we *seek* our spirituality in exterior works: "the kingdom of heaven is within." If God in His wisdom wills us to undertake them, that is one thing; but for us to seek them, and to make them the one thing necessary, instead of that which God has so made, must end in a disorder, for it inverts the rule as laid down in this day's Gospel. The feverish activity of modern life, the wild race against time which characterizes our day, is a potent weapon in the hand of the devil to rob us of that peace which the strong man enjoys who is armed with the weapons of union with God in contemplation, and it is one which unless we are on our guard will take from us all our wealth. He only is safe in

the outer life who makes the inner life of worship, of which Mary is the example, his joy and the source of the strength he shows against the distractions of life.

How often do we hear others say, and sometimes say ourselves : " I am drying up and my soul is become a thirsty land and an arid desert. My Mission is burdened with debt, and all my time is taken up with labouring to gather pence here and there. I have become a mere money-making machine"? Alas ! this terrible disease attacks most of us in the midst of our poverty and the life we lead, with one hand building up the walls of our Sion, and with the other trying to hold the sword with which we repel the enemy. It can best be met with this thought : " The Master does not want us to free our missions from debt at the loss of our spirituality." His first law is : " Seek ye first the kingdom of God (which is within), and all else shall be added unto you." He does not require us to succeed ; that is a matter entirely in His own hands ; and He has no need of *us* to bring about what His wisdom has ordained. But He does require that what we do in obedience to His will we should do in the spirit of loving worship and with an eye single fixed on " God alone."

And how are we to get this spirit of loving worship unless we drink often and deep of the fountain of love which springs forth at His footstool, where we prostrate ourselves, and listen, like Mary, to what He deigns to say? This contemplative spirit is best cultivated, then, by the recollection, the practice of the presence of God, and the habit of listening to what God says to our soul. So often we miss this Voice, so low and gentle, because we do not give ourselves time to listen, but are so busy in speaking ourselves. We read that Mary was sitting at our Lord's feet, *hearing His word*. We do not read that she was talking. Our true attitude is that of listeners, not speakers ; and it is because we usurp our Lord's place, and try to make Him sit at our feet, and hear our word, that we fail so in prayer. If we have not got the profit out of our prayer, it is because we have attempted to let in the activity of the world into the realms of prayer, and are puffed up with the idea that

of everything that has to be done, we must have the doing. Let us cultivate the spirit of Mary, and then we shall never lose our inner life in the midst of any work God sends us; for we will never lose the union of our will with His. Then will we be quite content and at peace, whether our work be crowned with success or remain unfinished; for our mind will be at perfect peace, because it is stayed upon Him. Then, indeed, will we do the work for as long as He wishes, in the manner He wishes; and the work will be to our profit, for it will be done in love to Him. When He takes away from us the means of carrying on the work, well, we shall only be laying down an instrument which had been useful to us, which was no longer so; and we shall not repent it nor repine. Our ever-dear and blessed Lady, who so perfectly practised these two lives (hence the choice of this Gospel), and who, in the midst of her earthly business, "always kept all these things in her heart," will teach us by her example, if we only consider it well, how to do what God wills, *in the way* God wills.

This same lesson, our true strength being in the contemplative life, is again enforced in the Communion, but now on the grounds of the closeness of the union which exists between Jesus and our soul. The greatest help to a priest for preserving his union with God amid all the cares of life, is the thought of the Mass that is over and the Mass that is coming. This is the fruit of "always giving thanks," which St. Paul so often recommends in his Epistles. How can we allow anything to destroy this union? Nothing will, and nothing can unless we so choose: "Who shall separate me from the love of Christ," who has been our Guest this morning, and who will be ready to come again as another morning breaks; and who is with us, even now, in the closest spiritual union: his soul knit with ours, as was Jonathan's, the King's son, to David's, the poor shepherd.

August 28. *St. Augustine, C.P.D.* See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 720.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

PRIVATE MASSES ON THE VIGIL OF PENTECOST

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I request you to solve what to some may appear a stupid difficulty?

It is the interpretation of the rubric of the Missal for the commencement of "Private Mass" on the Eve of Pentecost. The rubric is: "In Missis autem Privatis hujus Vigiliis omissis prophetiis, orationibus, et Litaniis, Missa absolute incipitur ab Introitu, ut infra."

Now, the difficulty is, how to interpret correctly the words "absolute incipitur ab Introitu." Do they mean that the form usually gone through at the foot of the altar is to be omitted, and that the Mass on this day is to be commenced on the predella, as the Mass of the Pre-sanctified on Good Friday?

There are those who say "yes," and, it appears to me, give plausible reasons for this interpretation.

They say that the words, "absolute incipitur," are invariably interpreted in this way, and they bring forward a number of examples. To begin with:—

We find attached to the Introit for Passion Sunday a rubric as follows: "Non dicitur Gloria Patri . . . sed finito Psalmo absolute repetitur Introitus usque ad Psalmum." Here "absolute" has an unmistakable meaning.

Again, we find the rubric for the beginning of the Passion on Palm Sunday is: "Passio absolute incipitur," &c.; and, of course, we know the meaning of these words.

Now, on Holy Saturday, when the Mass is to be commenced in the ordinary way, the rubric is detailed, and says: "Et dicto psalmo 'Judica' cum Gloria Patri facit Confessionem ut moris est in loco consueto." Here the rubric is plain.

Finally, to take an example from the Breviary, we find the rubric for the opening of the Matins on the Epiphany is: "Omissis v. Domine . . . 'incipitur' ab Ant."

Hitherto I have followed what I believe to be the general practice, viz., to commence the Mass on the Eve of Pentecost in

the ordinary way; but finding a difference of opinion on the point, I will be thankful for your view of the matter.

AN INQUIRER.

We are glad to find that the difficulty which our correspondent proposes has, in his case at least, been hitherto confined to the domain of theory, and has not induced him to adopt a practice which we consider would be wholly erroneous, and entirely devoid of foundation. Apart altogether from the arguments with which the rubrics supply us in refutation of the novel theory put forward by our correspondent, its very novelty is of itself sufficient to show that it must be erroneous. It is surely very unlikely that on one, and only one day out of three hundred and sixty-five, and then, too, without any apparent reason, the Church should prohibit the usual introductory prayers at the foot of the altar, and command that the Mass should begin with the Introit, read as usual by the priest standing on the predella at the Epistle side. It would elicit no little comment from even the most uneducated, and inattentive of the faithful, if the priest, after arranging the chalice on the corporal, and opening the Missal, should proceed at once to read the Introit without descending to the foot of the altar. Had the Church really intended to derogate so far from the ordinary law on this one day in the year, she should have made her intention so plain that there could be no second opinion about what it was. Nor can it be urged that the rubrics are sometimes obscure, or that they lend themselves to a variety of interpretations. On the contrary there is not, we venture to state, in existence a collection of laws so clear, so full, and so easily interpreted as are the rubrics, both general and special, of the Missal and Breviary. It would be strange, therefore, if in one point only these same rubrics were so obscure that the true interpretation was not discovered until more than three centuries after they were compiled under the direction of Pius V. For we take it for granted that had any writer on the rubrics ever heard of, or discovered for himself, so extraordinary a deviation from the ordinary practice, he would have mentioned it either to approve or condemn. But so far as our reading

of liturgical works has gone, we have never met even a hint at the possibility of the rubric to which our correspondent refers bearing the above interpretation, which we believe is now published for the first time.

The silence of liturgical writers is emphasized by the general practice of priests. This our correspondent himself admits, and admits also that he has hitherto followed this general practice. We hope he will see that a general practice, hoary with antiquity, is not to be abandoned because certain words of the rubrics *might possibly* bear an interpretation which would be adverse to it.

But the rubrics themselves exclude even the possibility of this novel interpretation of the rubric for the Vigil of Pentecost being the correct interpretation. In the first place, in the rubrics of the Missal we read regarding the psalm *Judica* :—

“Qui psalmus nunquam praetermittitur nisi in Missis defunctorum et in Missis de tempore a Dominica Passionis inclusive usque ad Sabbatum sanctum exclusive.”¹

Now, the words “nunquam praetermittitur” which we have printed in italics forbid all exceptions other than those mentioned in the rubric itself; for so minute are all the directions relating to the Mass, that even a single exception to a general law would be mentioned. This anxiety on the part of the compilers of the rubrics to prevent doubt or misinterpretation is strikingly illustrated by the directions given for the recitation of the *Gloria in excelsis*. Having laid down the general rule that the *Gloria* is to be said in the Mass when the *Te Deum* is said in the Matins of the divine office, they go on to point out the only two exceptions :—

“ . . . praeterquam in Missis Feriae quintae in Coena Domini, et Sabbati Sancti, in quibus *Gloria in excelsis* dicitur, quamvis in officio non sit dictum *Te Deum*.”²

Again, the special rubric for the solemn Mass on the very day of which there is question—the vigil of Pentecost—

¹ *Ritus Servandus*, tit. iii., n. 6.

² *Rub. Generales*, P. i., tit. viii., n. 1.

directs the recitation of the usual prayers at the foot of the altar in the words which follow :—

“ In fine Litaniarum cantatur solemniter, *Kyrie elcison* pro Missa et repetuntur ut moris est. Quo incepto sacerdos cum ministris procedit ad altare et *facit confessionem* ; deinde ascendens illud osculatur.”

It is unnecessary to point out that the word *Confessio* is often used to signify the *Confiteor* itself, but also the psalm *Judica*, together with the versicles and responses usually recited at the foot of the altar. Now, since these preliminary prayers at the foot of the altar are to be recited in solemn Masses on the vigil of Pentecost, it must be evident to anyone that, unless there is a very explicit statement to the contrary, they should be also recited in private Masses on the same day. There are, indeed, occasions on which certain commemorations are to be omitted in solemn Masses, though they are to be made in private Masses on the same day ; but we know of no case in which prayers omitted in private Masses are to be said on the same day in solemn Masses.

What, then, is the meaning of the phrase “ *absolute incipitur*,” which has excited our correspondent’s doubts? It means, as he correctly implies, that something usually said is to be omitted. But wherever this phrase is employed, though the context may indicate with perfect clearness what is to be omitted, the rubrics do not permit us to determine this for ourselves, but, with that minuteness of detail which characterises them, mentions everything that is to be omitted. This is strikingly true of everyone of the examples which our correspondent brings forward in support of his novel theory. We will examine one or two of these examples for the purpose of illustrating this.

On Passion Sunday the Rubric is not satisfied with saying, *Finito psalmo absolute repetitur Introitus*—though had it confined itself to this statement, we hardly think that anyone could have been misled—but it explicitly states, *Non dicitur Gloria Patri . . . sed finito psalmo, etc.* Now the *Gloria Patri* alone is to be omitted ; hence, the meaning of *absolute incipitur* is strictly and explicitly defined.

Again, though we may, as our correspondent says, know, as a matter of course, the meaning of the words *Passio Domini incipitur absolute*, still the Rubric does not presume that we know any such thing; for it goes on to mention in detail everything we are to omit, just as if the phrase "*incipitur absolute*" had not been used, or as if we did not know the meaning of the phrase. We give the whole context:—

"*Passio Domini incipitur absolute: non dicitur Munda cor meum, non petitur benedictio, non deferuntur luminaria, nec incensum; non dicitur Dominus vobiscum, nec respondetur Gloria tibi Domine: et celebrans seu diaconus dum pronuntiat Passio Domini nostri non signat librum neque seipsum.*"

We need not go over the other examples brought forward by our correspondent. The two we have examined show clearly that whenever the phrase "*absolute incipitur*" is employed, care is taken to mention in detail everything that is to be omitted. We have taken these two, not because they suit our purpose better than the others, but solely because they are given first in order by our correspondent. A glance will show that an equally clear and convincing argument in favour of the principle we wish to establish can be drawn from the others, or indeed from any context in which the phrase "*absolute incipitur*" is found. And having now established this principle, it is easy to interpret, without the possibility of error, the special Rubric regarding Private Masses on the Vigil of Pentecost. The words of the Rubric are:—

"*In Missis privatis hujus vigiliae, omissis Prophetiis, Orationibus, et Litanis, missa absolute incipitur ab Introitu ut infra.*"

According to our principle of interpreting the phrase "*absolute incipitur*," only those things are to be omitted of which explicit mention is made. Here mention is made only of the prophecies, prayers, and litanies recited in the solemn function, previous to the solemn Mass. Hence only these are to be omitted by priests who celebrate privately on that day.

D. O'LOAN.

Documents

APOSTOLIC LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

EPISTOLA APOSTOLICA PRINCIPIBUS POPULISQUE UNIVERSIS

LEO PP. XIII.

SALUTEM ET PACEM IN DOMINO

Praeclara gratulationis publicae testimonia, quae toto superiore anno, ob memoriam primordiorum episcopatus Nostri, undique accepimus, quaeque proximo tempore insignis Hispanorum pietas cumulavit, hunc imprimis attulere Nobis laetitiae fructum, quod in illa similitudine concordiaeque voluntatum eluxit Ecclesiae unitas, eiusque cum Pontifice maximo mira coniunctio. Videbatur per eos dies orbis catholicus, quasi rerum ceterarum cepisset oblivio, in aedibus Vaticanis obtutum oculorum animique cogitationem defixisse. Principum legationes, peregrinorum frequentia, plenae amoris epistolae, caerimoniae sanctissimae id aperte significabant, in obsequio Apostolicae Sedis cor unum esse omnium catholicorum et animam unam. Quae res hoc etiam accidit iucundior et gratior, quia cum consiliis coeptisque Nostris admodum congruens. Siquidem gnari temporum et memores officii, in omni pontificatus Nostri cursu, hoc constanter spectavimus, atque hoc, quantum docendo agendoque potuimus, conati sumus, colligare Nobiscum arctius omnes gentes omnesque populos, atque in conspicuo ponere vim pontificatus romani salutarem in omnes partes. Maximas igitur et agimus et habemus gratias primum quidem benignitati divinae, cuius munere beneficioque id aetatis attigimus incolumes: deinde viris principibus, episcopis, clero, privatisque universis, quotquot multiplici testificatione pietatis et obsequii dedere operam ut personam ac dignitatem Nostram honore, Nosque privatim opportuno solatio afficerent.

Quamquam ad plenum solidumque solatium, multum sane deficit. Nam inter ipsas popularis laetitiae studiiue significationes, observabatur animo multitudo ingens, in illo gestientium catholicorum consensu aliena, partim quod evangelicae sapientiae est omino expers, partim quod, licet christiano initiata nomini, a

fide catholica dissidet. Qua re graviter commovebamur, commovemur : neque enim fas est sine intimo doloris sensu cogitationem intendere in tantam generis humani partem longe a Nobis, velut itinere devio, digredientem. Iamvero, cum Dei omnipotentis vices in terris geramus, qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire, cumque Nos et sera aetas et amara curarum ad humanum urgeant exitum, visum est redemptoris magistrique nostri Iesu Christi in eo imitari exemplum, quod proxime ad caelestia rediturus summis precibus a Deo Patre flagitavit, ut alumni sectatoresque sui et mente et animo unum fierent : *Rogo . . . ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu Pater in me, et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint.*¹ Quae quidem precatio obsecratioque divina quoniam non eos tantum complectitur qui tunc in Iesum Christum crederent, sed etiam quotquot credituri reliquo tempore essent, idcirco dat illa Nobis caussam non ineptam aperiendi fidenter vota Nostra, conandique, quoad possumus, ut homines, nullo generis locorumve discrimine, ad fidei divinae unitatem vocentur atque incitentur universi.

Urgente propositum caritate, quae illuc accurrit celerius, ubi opitulandi necessitas maior, primum quidem provolat animus ad gentes omnium miserrimas, quae Evangelii lumen vel nullo modo acceperunt, vel acceptum, incuria seu longinquitate, restinxerunt : proptereaque Deum ignorant, et in summo errore versantur. Quoniam salus omnis a Iesu Christo proficiscitur *nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo nos oporteat salvos fieri,*² votorum Nostrorum hoc est maximum, posse sacrosancto Iesu nomine cunctas terrarum plagas celeriter imbui atque compleri. Qua in re munus efficere sibi demandatum a Deo Ecclesia quidem nullo tempore praetermisit. Quid enim undeviginti saecula laboravit, quid egit studio constantiaque maiore, quam ut ad veritatem atque instituta christiana gentes adduceret ; Hodieque frequenter maria transmittunt, ad ultima loca progressuri, ex auctoritate Nostra praecones Evangelii : quotidieque a Deo contendimus ut multiplicare benigne velit sacrorum administros, dignos munere apostolico, qui scilicet commoda sua et incolumitatem et vitam ipsam, si res postulaverit, pro Christi regno amplificando non dubitent devovere.

Tu vero propera, humani generis servator et parens Iesu Christe : exequi ne differas quod olim te dixisti facturum, ut cum exaltatus esses a terra, omnia traheres ad te ipsum. Ergo illabere

¹ John xvii. 20, 21.

² Acts iv. 12.

aliquando, atque ostende te multitudini infinitae, beneficiorum maximorum, quae cruore tuo peperisti mortalibus, adhuc experti: excita sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis, ut radiis illustrati sapientiae virtutisque tuae, in te, et per te sint consummati in unum.

Cuius quidem unitatis sacramentum cogitantibus, occurrit Nobis universitas populorum, quos ab erroribus diuturnis ad evangelicam sapientiam divina pietas iamdiu traduxit. Nihil profecto ad recordationem iucundius, neque ad laudem providentissimi numinis praeclarius veterum memoriâ temporum, cum fides divinitus accepta patrimonium commune atque individuum vulgo habebatur: cum excultas humanitate gentes, locis, ingenio, moribus dissitas, licet aliis de rebus saepe dissiderent, dimicarent, nihilominus in eo, quod ad religionem pertinet, fides christiana universas coniugabat. Ad huius recordationem memoriae, nimis aegre fert animus, quod successu aetatum suspicionibus inimicitisque commotis, magnas ac florentes nationes de sinu Ecclesiae romanae male auspicata tempora abstraxerint. Uteumque sit, Nos quidem gratiâ confisi misericordiaeque omnipotentis Dei, qui novit unus opitulandi maturitates, et cuius in potestate est eo, quo vult, voluntates hominum flectere, ad eas ipsas nationes adiicimus animum, easdemque caritate paterna hortamur atque obsecramus, ut redire, compositis dissidiis, velint ad unitatem.

Ac primo peramanter respicimus ad Orientem, unde in orbem universum initio profecta salus. Videlicet expectatio disiderii Nostri iucundam spem incohare iubet, non longe abfore ut redeant, unde discessere, fide avita gloriaque vetere illustres, Ecclesiae orientales. Eo vel magis quod non ingenti discrimine seiunguntur: imo, si pauca excipias, sic cetera consentimus, ut in ipsis catholici nominis vindiciis non raro ex doctrina, ex more, ex ritibus, quibus orientales utuntur, testimonia atque argumenta promamus. Praecipuum dissidii caput, de romani Pontificis primatu. Verum respiciant ad initia, videant quid maiores senserint sui, quid proxima originibus aetas tradiderit. Inde enimvero illud Christi divinum testimonium, *Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam*, luculenter extat de romanis pontificibus comprobatum. Atque in Pontificum numero lectos ex Oriente ipso non paucos prisca vidit aetas, imprimisque Anacletum, Evaristum, Anicetum, Eleutherium Zosimum, Agathonem: quorum plerisque contigit, ut universae christianae reipublicae administrationem sapienter sancteque gestam, profuso

etiam sanguine consecrarent. Plane liquet quo tempore, qua causa, quibus auctoribus infelix excitata discordia. Ante illud tempus, quo tempore homo separavit quod Deus coniunxerat, sanctum erat apud omnes christiani orbis gentes Sedis Apostolicae nomen, romanoque Pontifici, ut beati Petri successori legitimo, ob eamque rem Iesu Christi in terris vicario, Oriens pariter atque Occidens consentientibus sententiis sine ulla dubitatione parebant. Hanc ob causam, si respiciatur ad initia dissidii, Photius ipse oratores de rebus suis Romam destinandos curavit: Nicolaus vero I Pontifex maximus Constantinopolim legatos suos, nullo contra dicente, ab Urbe misit, *ut Ignatii Patriarchae causam diligenter investigarent, et Sedi Apostolicae plenis ac veracibus referrent indiciiis*: ita ut tota rei gestae historia primatum romanae Sedis, quacum dissensus tum erumpebat, aperte confirmet. Denique in Conciliis magnis tum Lugdunensi II, tum Florentino, supremam romanorum pontificum potestatem nemo ignorat, facili consensione et una omnes voce, latinos graecosque ut dogma sanxisse.

Ista quidem ob hanc rem consulto revocavimus, quia ad reconciliandam pacem velut invitamenta sunt: eo vel magis, quod hoc tempore perspicere in orientalibus videmur multo mitiorem erga catholicos animum, imo propensionem quamdam benevolentis voluntatis. Id nominatim non multo ante apparuit, cum scilicet nostris, pietatis causâ in Orientem advectis, egregia humanitatis amicitiaeque praestita officia vidimus. Itaque *os Nostram patet ad vos*, quotquot estis, graeco aliove orientali ritu, Ecclesiae, catholicae discordes. Magnopere velimus, reputet unusquisque apud se illam Bessarionis ad patres vestros plenam amoris gravitatisque orationem: *Quae nobis relinquetur apud Deum responsio, quare a fratribus divisi fuerimus, quos ut uniret et ad unum ovile redigeret, ipse descendit de caelo, incarnatus et crucifixus est? quae nostra defensio erit apud posteros nostros? non patiamur haec, Patres optimi: non habeamus hanc sententiam, non ita male nobis consulamus et nostris.* Quae sint postulata Nostra, probe per se ipsa et coram Deo perpendite. Nullâ quidem humana re, sed caritate divina, communisque salutis studio permoti, reconciliationem coniunctionemque cum Ecclesia romana suademus: coniunctionem intelligimus plenam ac perfectam: talis enim esse nullo modo potest ea, quae nihil amplius inducat, quam certam aliquam dogmatum credendorum concordiam fraternaeque caritatis commutationem. Vera coniunctio inter

christianos est, quam auctor Ecclesiae Iesus Christus instituit voluitque, in fidei et regiminis unitate consistens. Neque est cur dubitetis, quidquam propterea vel Nos vel successores Nostros de iure vestro, de patriarchalibus privilegiis, de rituali cuiusque Ecclesiae consuetudine detracturos. Quippe hoc etiam fuit, idemque est perpetuo futurum in consilio disciplinaque Apostolicae Sedis positum, propriis cuiusque populi originibus moribusque ex aequo et bono non parce tribuere. At vero redintegrata nobiscum communione, mirum profecto quanta Ecclesiis vestris dignitas quantum decus, divino munere, accedet. Sic igitur vestram ipsorum supplicationem Deus perbenigne audiat, *Fac cessent schismata ecclesiarum*,¹ atque, *Congrega dispersos et reduc errantes, et coniunge sanctae tuae catholicae et apostolicae Ecclesiae*;² sic ad illam restituamini unam sanctamque fidem, quam ultima vetustas nobis perinde vobisque constantissime tradidit; quam patres ac maiores vestri inviolate servarunt: quam ipsam splendore virtutum, magnitudine ingenii, excellentia doctrinae certatim illustrare Athanasius, Basilus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Ioannes Chrysostomus, uterque Cyrillus, aliique magni complures, quorum gloria ad Orientem atque Occidentem, tamquam communis hereditas aequae pertinet.

Vosque nominatim compellare hoc loco liceat, Slavorum gentes universae, quarum claritudinem nominis multa rerum gestarum monumenta testantur. Nostis quam egregie de Slavis meruerint sancti in fide patres Cyrillus et Methodius, quorum memoriam Nosmetipsi honore debito augendam aliquot ante annis curavimus. Eorum virtute et laboribus parta plerisque e genere vestro populis humanitas et salus. Quo factum ut Slavoniam inter et romanos pontifices pulcherrima vicissitudo hinc beneficiorum, illinc fidellissimae pietatis diu extiterit. Quod si maiores vestros misera temporum calamitas magnam partem a professione romana alienavit, considerate quanti sit redire ad unitatem. Vos quoque Ecclesia pergit ad suum revocare complexum, salutis, prosperitatis, magnitudinis praesidium multiplex praebitura.

Caritate non minore ad populos respicimus, quos, recentiore memoria, insolita quaedam rerum temporumque conversio ab Ecclesia romana seiunxit. Variis exactorum temporum casibus oblivione dimissis, cogitationem supra humana omnia erigant,

¹ Παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (In liturg. S. Basilii).

² Τοὺς ἰσκαρπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους ἐπαγάγαγε, καὶ σύναψον τῇ ἀγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ (ib.).

animoque veritatis et salutis unice cupido, reputent apud se constitutam a Christo Ecclesiam. Quacum si velint congregationes conferre suas, et quo loco in illis religio sit aestimare, facile dabunt, se quidem multis maximisque in rebus, primordiorum oblitos, ad nova errore vario defluxisse; neque diffitebuntur, ex eo velut patrimonio veritatis, quod novarum rerum auctores secum in secessionem avexerant, nullam fere formulam fidei certam atque auctoritate praeditam apud ipsos superesse. Immo vero illuc iam deventum, ut multi non vereantur fundamentum ipsum convellere, in quo religio tota et spes omnis mortalium unice nititur, quod est divina Iesu Christi Servatoris natura. Pariter, quos antea novi veterisque Testamenti libros affirmabant divino afflatu conscriptos, eis nunc talem abnegant auctoritatem: quod sane, data cuilibet potestate interpretandi sensu iudicioque suo, omnino consequi erat necesse. Hinc sua cuiusque conscientia, sola dux et norma vitae, qualibet alia reiecta agendi regula; hinc pugnantes inter se opiniones et sectae multiplices, eademque persaepe in *naturalismi* aut *rationalismi* placita abeuntes. Quocirca, desperato sententiarum consensu, iam coniunctionem praedicant et commendant fraternae caritatis. Atque id sane vere: quandoquidem caritate mutua coniuncti esse universi debemus. Id enim maxime Iesus Christus praecepit, atque hanc voluit esse sectatorum suorum notam, diligere inter se. Verum qui potest copulare animos perfecta caritas, si concordēs mentes non effecerit fides?

His de causis complures eorum de quibus loquimur, sano iudicio, veritatisque studiosi, certam salutis viam in Ecclesia catholica quaesivere, cum plane intelligerent nequaquam se posse cum Iesu Christo tamquam capite esse coniunctos, cuius non adhaerescerent corpori, quod est Ecclesia: nec sinceram Christi fidem adipisci, cuius magisterium legitimum, Petro et successoribus traditum, repudiarent. Ii videlicet in Ecclesia romana expressam verae Ecclesiae speciem atque imaginem dispexere, inditis ab auctore Deo notis plane conspicuam: ideoque in ipsis numerantur multi, acri iudicio subtilique ad antiquitatem excutiendam ingenio, qui Ecclesiae romanae ab Apostolis continuationem, dogmatum integritatem, disciplinae constantiam scriptis egregiis illustrarint. Igitur horum virorum proposito exemplo, compellat vos plus animus quam oratio, fratres nostri, qui tria iam saecula nobiscum de fide christiana dissidetis, itemoue vos, quotcumque deinceps quavis de causa seorsum a nobis

abiistis. *Occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei et agnitionis filii Dei.*¹ Ad hanc unitatem, quae nullo tempore Ecclesiae catholicae defuit nec potest ulla ratione deesse, sinite ut vos invitemus, dextramque peramanter porrigamus. Vos Ecclesia, communis parens, iamdiu revocat ad se, vos catholici universi fraterno desiderio expectant, ut sancte nobiscum colatis Deum, unius Evangelii, unius fidei, unius spei professione in caritate perfecta coniuncti.

Ad plenum optatissimae unitatis concentum, reliquum est ut ad eos, quotquot toto orbe sunt, transgrediatur oratio, quorum in salute diu evigilant curae cogitationesque Nostrae: catholicos intelligimus, quos romanae professio fidei uti obedientes facit Apostolicae Sedi, ita tenet cum Iesu Christo coniunctos. Non ii quidem ad veram sanctamque unitatem cohortandi, quippe cuius iam sunt, divina bonitate, compotes: monendi tamen ne, ingrantibus undique periculis, summum Dei beneficium socordia atque ignavia corrumpant. Huius rei gratiâ quae Nosmetipsi gentibus catholicis vel universis vel singulis alias documenta dedimus, ex iis cogitandi agendique normam opportune sumant: illudque imprimis velut summam sibi legem statuunt, magisterio auctoritatisque Ecclesiae non anguste, non diffidenter, sed toto animo et perlibente voluntate omnibus in rebus esse parendum. Qua in re animum advertant, illud quam valde sit unitati christianae perniciosum, quod germanam formam notionemque Ecclesiae variis opinionum error passim obscuravit, delevit. Ea quippe, Dei conditoris voluntate ac iussu, societas est genere suo perfecta: cuius officium ac munus est imbuere praeceptis institutisque evangelicis genus humanum, tuendaque integritate morum et christianarum exercitatione virtutum, ad eam, quae unicuique hominum proposita in caelis est, felicitatem adducere. Quoniamque societas est, uti diximus, perfecta, idcirco vim habet virtutemque vitae, non extrinsecus haustam, sed concilio divino et suapte natura insitam: eademque de causa nativam habet legum ferendarum potestatem, in iisque ferendis rectum est eam subesse nemini: itemque aliis in rebus, quae sint iuris sui, oportet esse liberam. Quae tamen libertas non est eiusmodi, ut ullum det aemulationi invidiaeque locum: non enim potentiam consecratur Ecclesia, neque ulla cupiditate sua impellitur, sed hoc vult, hoc expetit unice, tueri in hominibus officia virtutum, et hac ratione, hac via, sempiternae eorum saluti consulere. Ideoque facilitatem

¹ Eph. iv. 13.

indulgentiamque maternam adhibere solet : imo etiam non raro contingit, ut plura temporibus civitatum tribuens, uti iure suo abstineat : quod sane pacta ipsa abunde testantur cum imperiis saepe conventa. Nihil magis ab ea alienum, quam rapere ad se quicquam de iure imperii : sed vicissim vereatur imperium necesse est iura Ecclesiae, caveatque ne ullam ex iis partem ad se traducat. Nunc vero, si res et facta spectentur, cuiusmodi est temporum cursus? Ecclesiam videlicet suspectam habere, fastidire, odisse, invidiose criminari nimis multi consuevere : quodque multo gravius, id agunt, omni ope et contentione, ut ditioni gubernatorum civitatis faciant servientem. Hinc sua ipsi et erepta bona, et deducta in angustum libertas : hinc alumnorum sacri ordinis circumiecta difficultatibus institutio : perlatae in Clerum singulari severitate leges : dissolutae, prohibitae, optima christiani nominis praesidia, religiosorum sodalitates ; brevi, *regalistarum* praecepta atque acta acerbius renovata Hoc quidem est vim afferre sanctissimis Ecclesiae iuribus : quod maxima gignit civitatibus mala, propterea quod cum divinis conciliis aperte pugnat. Princeps enim atque opifex mundi Deus, qui hominum congregationi et civilem et sacram potestatem providentissime praeposuit, distinctas quidem permanere eas voluit, at vero seiunctas esse et configere vetuit. Quin immo cum Dei ipsius voluntas, tum commune societatis humanae bonum omnino postulat, ut potestas civilis in regendo gubernandoque cum ecclesiastica conveniat. Hinc sua et propria sunt imperio iura atque officia, sua item Ecclesiae : sed alterum cum altera concordiae vinclo colligatum esse necesse est. Ita sane futurum, ut Ecclesiae imperiique necessitudines mutuae ab illa sese expediant perturbatione, quae nunc est, non uno nomine improvida, bonisque omnibus permolesta : pariterque impetrabitur, ut non permixtis, neque dissociatis utriusque rationibus, reddant cives *quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, quae sunt Dei, Deo.*

Simili modo magnum unitati discrimen ab ea hominum secta impendet, quae *Massonica* nominatur, cuius funesta vis nationes praesertim catholicas iamdiu premit. Turbulentorum temporum nacta favorem, viribusque et opibus et successu insolescens, dominatum suum firmitus constabilire, latiusque propagare summa ope contendit. Iamque ex latebra et insidiis in lucem erupit civitatum, atque in hac Urbe ipsa, catholici nominis principe, quasi Dei numen lacessitura consedit. Quod vero calamitosissimum est, ubicumque vestigium posuit, ibi in omnes sese ordines

in omniaque instituta reipublicae infert, si tandem summam arbitriumque obtineat. Calamitosissimum id quidem : eius enim manifesta est quum opinionum pravitas tum consiliorum nequitia. Per speciem vindicandi iuris humani civilisque societatis instaurandae, christianum nomen hostiliter petit : traditam a Deo doctrinam repudiat : officia pietatis, divina sacramenta, tales res augustiores, tamquam superstitiosa vituperat : de matrimonio, de familia, de adolescentium institutione, de privata omni et publica disciplina, christianam formam detrahere nititur, omnemque humanae et divinae potestatis reverentiam ex animo evellere populorum. Praecipit vero colendam homini esse naturam, atque huius unius principiis aestimari ac dirigi veritatem, honestatem, iustitiam oportere. Quo pacto, uti perspicuum est, compellitur homo ad mores fere vitaeque consuetudinem ethnicorum, eamque multiplicatis illecebris vitiosorem. Hac de re, quamquam alias a Nobis gravissimeque est dictum, Apostolica tamen vigilantia adducimur in idem ut insistamus, etiam atque etiam monentes, in tam praesenti periculo nullas esse cautiones tantas, quin suscipiendae sint maiores. Clemens prohibeat Deus nefaria consilia : sentiat tamen atque intelligat populus christianus, indignissimum sectae iugum excutiendum aliquando esse : excutiantque enixius, qui durius premuntur, Itali et Galli. Quibus armis, qua ratione id rectius possint, iam Nos ipsi demonstravimus : neque victoria incerta eo fidentibus duce, cuius perstat divina vox : *Ego vici mundum*.¹

Utroque depulso periculo, restitutisque ad fidei unitatem imperiis et civitatibus, mirum quam efficax medicina malorum et quanta bonorum copia manaret. Praecipua libet attingere.

Pertinet primum ad dignitatem ac munera Ecclesiae : quae quidem receptura esset honoris gradum debitum, atque iter suum et invidia vacuum et libertate munitum pergeret, administra evangelicae veritatis et gratiae ; idque singulari cum salute civitatum. Ea enim cum magistra sit et dux hominum generi a Deo data, conferre operam potest praecipue accommodatam maximis temporum conversionibus in commune bonum temperandis, caussis vel impeditissimis opportune dirimendis, recto iustoque, quae firmissima sunt fundamenta reipublicae provehendo.

Praeclara deinde coniunctionis inter nationes accessio fieret, desideranda maxime hoc tempore, ad taetra bellorum discrimina

¹ John xvi. 33

praecavenda. Ante oculos habemus Europae tempora. Multos iam annos plus specie in pace vivitur, quam re. Inidentibus suspicionibus mutuis, singulae fere gentes pergunt certatim instruere sese apparatu bellico. Improvida adolescentium aetas procul parentum consilio magisterioque in pericula traditur vitae militaris: validissima pubes ab agrorum cultura, a studiis optimis, a mercaturis, ab artificiis, ad arma traducitur. Hinc exhausta magnis sumptibus aeraria, attritae civitatum opes, afflicta fortuna privatorum: iamque ea, quae nunc est, veluti procincta pax diutius ferri non potest. Civilis hominum coniunctionis talemne esse naturâ statum? Atque hinc evadere, et pacem veri nominis adipisci, nisi Iesu Christi beneficio, non possumus. Etenim ad ambitionem, ad appetentiam alieni, ad aemulationem cohibendam, quae sunt maximae bellorum faces, christiana virtute imprimisque iustitia, nihil est aptius: cuius ipsius virtutis munere tum iura gentium et religiones foederum integra esse possunt, tum germanitatis vincula firmiter permanere, eo persuaso: *Iustitia elevat gentem*.¹

Pariter domi suppetet inde praesidium salutis publicae multo certius ac validius, quam quod leges et arma praebent. Siquidem nemo non videt, ingravescere quotidie pericula incolumitatis et tranquillitatis publicae, cum seditiosorum sectae, quod crebra testatur facinorum atrocitas, in eversiones conspirent atque excidia civitatum. Scilicet magna contentione agitur ea duplex causa, quam *socialem*, quam *politicam* appellant. Utraque sane gravissima: atque utrique sapienter iusteque dirimendae, quamvis laudabilia studia, temperamenta experimenta sint in medio consulta, tamen nihil aliud tam opportunum fuerit, quam si passim animi ad conscientiam regulamque officii ex interiore fidei christianae principio informentur. De *sociali* causa in hanc sententiam a Nobis non multo ante datâ operâ, tractatum est, sumptis ab Evangelio, itemque a naturali ratione principiis. De *caussa politica*, libertatis cum potestate conciliandae gratiâ, quas multi notione confundunt et re intemperanter distrahunt, ex christiana philosophia vis derivari potest perutilis. Nam hoc posito, et omnium assensu approbato, quaecumque demum sit forma reipublicae, auctoritatem esse a Deo, continuo ratio perspicit, legitimum esse in aliis ius imperandi, consentaneum in aliis officium parendi, neque id dignitati contrarium, quia Deo verius quam homini paretur: a Deo autem *iudicium durissimum*

¹ Prov. xiv. 34.

iis qui praesunt denuntiaturum est, nisi personam eius recte iusteque gesserint. Libertas vero singulorum nemini potest esse suspecta et invisa, quia nocens nemini, in iis quae vera sunt, quae recta, quae cum publica tranquillitate coniuncta, versabitur. Denique si illud spectetur, quid possit populorum ac principum parens et conciliatrix Ecclesia, ad utrosque iuvandos auctoritate consilioque suo nata, tum maxime apparebit quantum salutis communis intersit ut gentes universae inducant animum idem de fide christiana sentire, idem profiteri.

Ista quidem cogitantes ac toto animo concupiscentes, longe intuemur qualis esset rerum ordo in terris futurus, nec quidquam novimus consequentium bonorum contemplatione iucundius. Fingi vix animo potest, quantus ubique gentium repente foret ad omnem excellentiam prosperitatemque cursus, constituta tranquillitate et otio, incitatis ad incrementa litteris, conditis insuper auctisque christiano more, secundum praescripta Nostra, agriculturalum, opificum, industriorum consociationibus, quarum ope et vorax reprimatur usura, et utilium laborum campus dilatetur.

Quorum vis beneficiorum, humanarum atque exultarum gentium nequaquam circumscripta finibus, longe lateque, velut abundantissimus amnis, deflueret. Illud enim est considerandum, quod initio diximus, gentes multitudine infinitas plura iam saecula et aetates praestolari, a quo lumen veritatis humanitatisque accipiant. Certe, quod pertinet ad sempiternam populorum salutem, aeternae mentis consilia longissime sunt ab hominum intelligentia remota: nihilominus si per varias terrarum plagas tam est adhuc infelix superstitio diffusa, id non minima ex parte vitio dandum subortis de religione dissidiis. Nam, quantum valet mortalis ratio ex rerum eventis existimare, hoc plane videtur Europae munus assignatum a Deo, ut christianam gentium humanitatem ad omnes terras sensim perferat. Cuius tanti operis initia progressusque, superiorum aetatum parta laboribus, ad laeta incrementa properabant, cum repente discordia saeculo xvi deflagravit. Discerpto disputationibus dissidiisque nomine christiano, extenuatis Europae per contentiones et bella viribus, funestam temporum vim sacrae expeditiones sentire. Insidentibus discordiae caussis, quid mirum si tam magna pars mortalium moribus inhumanis et vesanis ritibus implicita tenetur? Omnes igitur pari studio demus operam ut concordia vetus, communis boni caussâ, restituatur. Eiusmodi reconciliandae concordiae, pariterque beneficiis christianae sapientiae late

propagandis, opportuna maxime fluunt tempora, propterea quod humanae fraternitatis sensa nunquam altius in animos pervasere, neque ulla aetate visus homo sui similes, noscendi opitulandique causâ, studiosius anquirere. Immensos terrarum marisque tractus celeritate incredibili currus et navigia transvehuntur; quae sane egregios usus afferunt, non ad commercia tantummodo curiositatemque ingeniosorum, sed etiam ad verbum Dei ab ortu solis ad occasum late disseminandum.

Non sumus nescii, quam diuturni laboriosique negotii sit rerum ordo, quem restitutum optamus: nec fortasse deerunt, qui Nos arbitrentur nimiae indulgere spei, atque optanda magis, quam expectanda quaerere. Sed Nos quidem spem omnem ac plane fiduciam collocamus in humani generis Servatore Iesu Christo, probe memores, quae olim et quanta per stultitiam Crucis et praedicationis eius patrata sint, *huius mundi* obstupescence et confusa *sapientia*. Principes vero et rectores civitatum nominatim rogamus, velint pro civili prudentia sua et fidei populorum cura concilia Nostra ex veritate aestimare, velint auctoritate et gratiae fovere. Quaesitorum fructuum si vel pars provenierit, non id minimi fuerit beneficii loco in tanta rerum omnium inclinatione, quando impatientia praesentium temporum cum formidine iungitur futurorum.

Extrema saeculi superioris fessam cladibus trepidamque perturbationibus Europam reliquere. Haec, quae ad exitum properat aetas, quidni, versa vice, humano generi hereditate transmittat auspicia concordiae cum spe maximorum bonorum, quae unitate fidei christianae continentur?

Adsit optatis votisque Nostris *dives in misericordia Deus, cuius in potestate tempora sunt et momenta*, benignissimeque implere maturet divinum illud Iesu Christi promissum, *fiet unum ovile et unus pastor*.¹

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx Iunii anno MDCCCXCIV, Pontificatus Nostri decimoseptimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ John x. 16.

Notices of Books

LA DEVOTION AU SACRE-CŒUR DE JÉSUS. Par R. P. Jean Baptiste Terrien, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux.

MANY books have been written on Devotion to the Sacred Heart, yet the subject is an inexhaustible one, and every new writer, treating of it, who can produce a really valuable work, such as that before us, need have no fear of a cold reception.

Father Terrien treats of this devotion almost exclusively in its dogmatic aspect, discussing its object, end, and fruits; how it fits in with the established worship of the Church, with other approved devotions; and, finally, the circumstances of time and place under which God, in His wisdom, thought proper to propose it to the faithful. Bringing to his subject a thorough intimacy with the fathers, a profound Scriptural knowledge, and a mind well trained in theology, the author imparts much valuable information in simple language. Against the many opponents of this devotion he shows that the object of our worship is the physical material Heart of our Saviour, together with the divine love which that Heart symbolizes, and this worship is truly and properly *Latria*. In truly eloquent terms the writer touches on the tenderness and depth of God's love for us, and shows that no more fitting object of our worship could be found than the Heart of Jesus, which "offers us by Itself a living manifestation of divine love. In it, as in a mirror of matchless perfection, we can contemplate all that our Divine Saviour has done, and is doing, for the love of His Father, and especially for the love of us" (p. 158).

Anyone who is anxious to obtain a clear, full, satisfactory, and scientific explication of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, cannot do better than read Father Terrien's book. P. K.

CARMINA MARIANA. An English Anthology in Verse, in Honour of, or in Relation to, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Collected and arranged by Orby Shipley, M.A. Second Edition. London: Burns and Oates.

It is only a few months since we called attention to a notable book which had just come from the press—*Carmina Mariana*, or a collection of sacred poetry, in English, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, compiled by Orby Shipley. We then anticipated

for the work a ready sale, and we are rejoiced to find that already a new edition has been called for.

The few things in the first edition, that might be improved, have been attended to in this new edition; a few misprints have been corrected, and the contents have been printed anew, with a variation of type, and a footnote, which make them more easy to be consulted.

An interesting appendix is added, containing extracts from the criticisms of the reviews—Irish, English, Continental, and American; and the unanimity of their commendation is the highest testimony to the literary merit of the collection. The Catholic reader will have the additional pleasure of seeing in this most varied collection of poetic gems, a world-wide testimony to the love and tenderness inspired by reflection on the character and virtues of the Mother of God.

THE LAYMAN'S DAY. By Percy Fitzgerald. London:
Burns & Oates.

THERE are numberless laymen in the world, who play the part of Mary's sister, who are busy and troubled about many things, but who are wanting in solicitude about the one thing necessary. For such our author writes endeavouring to set before them the great truth that salvation, while it is a serious business, an affair of the highest importance, is not to be secured on the easy terms of merely attending at chapel on a Sunday or holiday. The author sketches for his reader a very vivid picture of the daily life of the ordinary layman, pointing out, as he goes along, the defects that are noticeable, and indicating at the same time how religion may, and ought to exercise its influence on a man's every action.

A little volume such as this, replete with solidly pious thoughts and practical suggestions, and written in an easy and interesting style, will be read with pleasure, and could not, we feel certain, be read by any reflecting person without much profit.

J. F.

EXPLANATION OF DEHARBES' SMALL CATECHISM. By James Canon Schmitt, D.D. Translated from Seventh German Edition. Freiburg: B. Herder.

THIS is an excellent English translation of a valuable manual of religious instruction. Canon Schmitt aims at presenting

the great doctrines of our religion to the minds of the young in a simple, homely, and attractive way. The work is divided into three parts. In the first part, the author discusses the great truths of religion, which all must know and believe ; the second part deals with the commandments of God and of the Church ; while the third treats of the sacraments and of prayer. Written in the simplest language, containing a vast amount of information, and numerous illustrations that cannot fail to affect the youthful mind for good, this book will be of great utility to any one on whom the important duty of teaching Christian doctrine to children devolves.

SICK CALLS. From the Diary of a Missionary Priest. By Rev. E. Price, M. A. London : R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row.

THE work before us is a new edition of a very interesting book. It is a chapter from the life of a zealous priest. It tells the story of some bed-sides of the dying that he attended in the performance of his sacred duties. The scene of his labours was England, and especially London, that little world where people of every walk of life are to be met with. Its Catholics are not a very prosperous race ; hence it is not surprising that many scenes of sorrow come before our English priest in going among his people. Some of Fr. Price's experiences in this way are narrated in his little book. Poverty under its many forms appears in its stories, and ever allied to it is confidence in God. The poor have always been God's special friends, and certainly many of the Catholic poor of London are not without God's best gifts, as can be seen from their dying moments.

Bad literature is one of the greatest evils that now-a-days saps the foundations of spiritual life. Young men and women are led into the worse vices that human nature is subject to, by the reading of immoral books. The faith of many a once zealous Catholic is undermined by the infidel works that now abound. Hence good Catholic books are of immense value. Fr. Price has done his part towards providing such books for the people. His work is full of interesting scenes and graphic descriptions. No Catholic reading-room should be without a copy of it. We should like to see it also in Catholic homes.

J. M. H.

RECENT EVIDENCE FOR THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE GOSPELS: TATIAN'S "DIATESSARON." By Michael Maher, S. J.

MODERN infidels, in their attacks upon the authenticity of the Gospels, have laboured to show that the works attributed to the Evangelists were written in the middle of the second century, and, consequently, at a time when their supposed authors had long since gone to their reward. But this theory of the infidels—if it ever had an air of plausibility—must go to the ground when it is shown that a harmonized version of the four Gospels was made and circulated among the Christians early in the second century. Such was the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, written about 160 A. D., and brought to light a few years ago. Father Maher gives us the history of this interesting document; discusses the changes that may have taken place in the original version, and shows that in substance and order the work is the same as when composed by Tatian, and is, therefore, a powerful weapon in the hands of orthodox biblical critics against those who deny the authenticity of the Gospels.

P. K.

SIMPLICITY IN PRAYER. From the French. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS small volume is made up of a number of counsels intended to show the faithful how they may pray with confidence and fruit. The counsels are taken from the lives of the saints and the writings of Boudon and Rigolene. The various methods of prayer and their advantages are touched upon.

I. **LIFE OF THE BLESSED GERARD MAZELLA.** By Rev. O. R. Vassall, C. S. S. R. London: Charles M. Rock.

II. **LENTEN SERMONS.** By Rev. P. Sabela. London: Burns & Oates.

III. **PAROCHI VADE-MECUM.**

I. THIS very interesting and highly edifying monograph deserves our highest commendation. It is an excellently written sketch of the life and miracles of the Blessed Gerard, a Redemptorist lay brother of the last century, in whose marvellous life no student of the lives of the saints can fail to discern all the distinguishing traits of a remarkable servant of God. Indeed, as Father

Vassall says, "Almighty God seems to have raised up this lay brother to confute, in the very age of Voltaire, the flippant scepticism of a false philosophy by the stern logic of incontestable facts." Moreover, we believe that the study, with the proper spirit, of such a life, would be an efficacious antidote to the shallow scepticism and growing infidelity of our own time.

II. This is a second edition of a short course of well-written sermons, suitable for the holy season of Lent. The little volume contains six sermons on the Passion of our Lord, one on the Seven Dolours of His Blessed Mother, and a charity sermon. The sermons on the Passion develop at length the Gospel narratives of the Evangelists, and should be found very useful in the preparation of Lenten discourses.

III. We wish to draw the attention of missionary priests to this tiny volume, in 32mo, having the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Birmingham. It contains the rubrics and prayers in Latin for the administration of the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction, and for imparting the last blessing; also, in English, the prayers for the recommendation of a departing soul. J. F.

THE FIRST AND SECOND RESURRECTIONS. By C. H.
London: Burns & Oates.

THE author of this pamphlet tries to show that a spiritual *Millenium* will intervene between Christ's second coming and the general judgment. He argues chiefly from the account of the second advent given in Apocalypse (chaps. xix.-xx.), to his singular interpretation of which he adapts the accounts given in the Synoptic Gospels, and other texts bearing on the second coming. We think a more natural process would be to interpret the obscure and highly figurative passages of the Apocalypse in the light of the commonly received interpretation of the Gospel accounts. The author lays great stress on the fact that his theory was held by St. Irenæus, Papias, and a few other early Christian writers; but he is seemingly oblivious of the fact that it was discarded by the bulk of the fathers, and reprobated by practically all commentators. We do not think that this pamphlet will induce many Catholics to abandon the traditional view sustaining the simultaniety of the general judgment with the second advent of Christ. P. J. B.

LIFE EVERLASTING. A Sermon by the Right Rev. Dr. Hedley, O.S.B. Art and Book Company, London.

THIS is an excellent sermon. After briefly showing that the belief in a life of eternal happiness for the first prevailed among men from the earliest time, the preacher discusses the nature of this life, and pictures in glowing terms its surpassing excellence, closing with a warm appeal to his hearers to strive earnestly to attain it. It is truly a sermon calculated to lift the heart of the Christian above the cares and sorrows of this life, to the thought and desire of that true life, to which the good Christian will be introduced by death.

P. J. B.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT; OR, HOW THE PROBLEM WAS SOLVED.
By Francis T. Finn, S.J. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the hero of this tale, cannot fail to excite the keenest interest; his vivacity and sunniness are contagious, and we follow him through his escapades with unflagging interest and amusement. Notwithstanding his extreme wildness, however, his simplicity and candour, and the beautiful dispositions he displays in his preparations for that "greatest day of his life"—his first Communion day—excite our greatest admiration. The plot of the story is good, and is excellently worked out, the characters being very true to life, and such as everyone has met with; yet the tone of the whole tale is so high, that we cannot rise from the perusal of it without feelings of great pleasure and satisfaction; and, at the same time, of having derived considerable benefit from the maxims of piety, docility, and candour, so well inculcated in it.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

WE have received a number of the publications of the Catholic Truth Society, the merit and variety of which demand from us as detailed a notice as the space at our disposal will allow. The place of honour in our notice is, we think, deserved by the anonymous *Life and Letters of Father Damien* a brief record of the life and labours of the devoted Belgian missionary whose self-sacrifice and heroism, displayed in his fourteen years' ministry among the lepers of Molokai, have won for him the admiration even of Protestants. The book, though simply written, being mainly composed of Father Damien's own letters

is interspersed with graphic pictures of the scenes amidst which he laboured. We read every page with lively interest, and arose from the perusal with the feeling that we had been reading the history of one of God's great saints. Besides the life of Father Damien, which can be procured for a shilling, we have also received the lives of St. Anselm, St. Dominic, and Margaret of Scotland, the latest contributions to penny biographical series of the Society, and we can cordially recommend them to our readers.

A shilling volume of *Historical Papers*, edited by Father Morris, S.J., next claims our attention. It contains excellent articles on the Spanish Inquisition, the False Decretals, the Pallium, Cranmer, and Boleyn, the Immuring of Nuns, and the Huguenots. These articles, which are written in a popular style, will give the general reader a good deal of useful information on the different subjects with which they deal, and should have a most beneficial effect on the mind of any honest Protestant who happens to read them. Other papers of a like nature, published separately, are *St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572*, *How the Church of England Washed her Face*, and *The Rood of Boxley*, which are equally meritorious publications.

A pamphlet of a different kind from any of the foregoing is Father Bridget's *A Flag of Truce*, which is an attempt to convince Protestants of the reasonableness of certain Catholic practices, such as the invocation of saints, and the use of images, by putting before them the spontaneous, unprejudiced admissions of writers of their own sect. This little book is more ingenious than solid, and we think that Father Bridget would have better chance of winning the sympathy of our Protestant opponents, by giving them, in the same popular form, a clear statement of the Catholic view of the various points he discusses, with the arguments in favour of it.

We have nothing but words of praise for a shilling volume of brightly written tales, called *The Sevenfold Treasure*, by Miss Louisa Dobrée. It is a collection of charming stories on the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and will be pleasant and instructive reading both for the young and old.

Two little books of practical and suggestive meditations, by Father Clarke, S.J., on *Charity*, and on *Faith and Hope*, a booklet by Father Morris, S.J., on *The Heroic Act of Charity*, and another by Father Lescari, S.J., called *The Eucharistic Month*,

are the latest additions to the Devotional Series of the Society. They are useful little volumes, full of practical piety.

Other neat and cheap volumes issued by the Catholic Truth Society, are *Mère Gilette*, *Under a Cloud*, and *A Mother's Sacrifice*. In *Mère Gilette* we are given a pleasing picture of the simple life in a Norman village, and afterwards, in strong contrast, we are shown life in the Paris slums. The whole story which is very well told, serves to show how delusive are the promises held out by the Socialists and Communists of the present day.

Under a Cloud is the history of a young man who nobly foregoes his prospects rather than compromise his religion; and we afterwards see how his constancy is recompensed.

In the volume entitled *A Mother's Sacrifice* we have a number of short stories, all well written and interesting. In fine, the attractive form of these stories, as well as their extreme cheapness, ought to secure them a well-deserved popularity and a wide circulation.

P. J. B.

The Gordon Riots. By Father Morris. This is an interesting and ably-written account of the last great persecution to which the Catholics were subjected in England.

The First Experiment in Civil and Religious Liberty. By J. Carmont. This is the story of a settlement of humble Catholics in Maryland, organized and successfully carried out under Lord Baltimore, in time of Charles I.

Saint Helen. By M. James. The author gives a pleasing and interesting sketch of the great saint, who was privileged to find the true cross.

Per Parcels Post By Louis Dobree. This is a well-told and instructive tale for the young.

P. K.

VARIOUS SMALLER PUBLICATIONS.

WE have received a number of publications to which we can give but brief notice. A readable pamphlet by the Rev. T. A. Bourke, styled *Diocesan Seminaries, and the Education of Ecclesiastical Students*, discusses the proposal, made last year in the *Tablet*, to establish a central ecclesiastical college for the southern dioceses of England, and opposes it as retrogressive, and contrary to the Church's ideal. Father Bourke suggests an alternative plan, and incidentally discusses a number of important

questions regarding the studies, discipline, &c., in ecclesiastical colleges.

In an article reprinted from *The Month*, Father Kelly, S.J., gives us the gratifying assurance that everyone has "a voice," and he lays down some instructive rules to guide us in managing and developing it. *Father John Morris, S.J.*, is the title, and the subject of a sympathetic character-sketch by Rev. Richard Clarke, S.J. The writer pays a warm tribute to the virtue and learning, and fine natural qualities of his departed brother. All the foregoing publications are issued by Messrs. Burns and Oates.

The Schism of the West, and the Freedom of Papal Elections (New York: Benziger Brothers), is a scholarly essay by the Rev. Henry Brann, D.D., LL.D., on the great schism that began with the election of Urban VI. in 1378, and continued to the scandal and bewilderment of the Catholic world, till the unanimous election of Martin V. in 1417. Father Brann is clearly master of the subject.

Readers with antiquarian tastes will find *A Visitation of St. Mary's Church* (Washbourne, London), by the Right Rev. Mgr. Brownlow, M.A., interesting reading. It contains much curious information about the condition of English rural churches during the fourteenth century.

P. J. B.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE GOSPELS OF THE SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS. From the Italian of Angelo Cagnola. By Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL.D. Together with an EXPLANATION OF CATHOLIC WORSHIP. From the German, by Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS highly useful and much-needed little volume will well repay perusal. Those who are engaged in the ministry of the Word, will find therein the Gospels of the Sundays and holydays throughout the year, explained with conciseness and accuracy. The explanations take the form of question and answer, and are both doctrinal and devotional. We have rarely seen those elements so successfully combined. We predict that this work will prove a boon to both clergy and laity, especially to the latter, who cannot easily have access to the standard scriptural commentaries. The explanations of the different Gospels, plain, practical and intelligible as they are, convey much solid and

edifying instruction in the simplest language. The *Explanation of Catholic Worship* is a hand-book of useful information, and contains much that may be read with profit by every sincere Catholic.

THE ROMAN MISSAL. Adapted to the use of the Laity, with English and other Appendices, and a Collection of Prayers. London: R. Washburne, 18, Paternoster-row.

THIS neat and handy manual, the third edition of which, in a considerably enlarged form, has just come from the press, is well suited to its pious purpose. It enables the laity, for whom it is intended, to unite themselves more closely with the priest in offering the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By its aid they will become acquainted with those variable portions of the Mass, selected with such care by the Church to honour her numerous body of saints. The present edition is very full, as it embraces almost all the Masses that we find in the general calendar of the Roman missal. In the appendices are added the calendars of the English and Irish churches, also the calendars peculiar to the Jesuit and Benedictine Orders in England. The collection of prayers contained in the book will serve admirably as a preparation for Mass.

J. R.

A MARTYR OF OUR OWN TIMES. From the French of Right Rev. Mgr. D'Hulst. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE can never sufficiently admire the conduct of the generous priest who, leaving friends and country, goes away to spread the faith in distant lands. Such a priest was just De Breténieres, whose biography has been admirably translated into English by Very Rev J. Slattery. The future martyr's seminary days were days of holiness and assiduous toil, yet "without noise, without show." Filled with zeal for apostolic work, to be a priest, with the young student, just meant to be a missionary; and when he heard the scene of labour marked out for him by his superior, he joyfully exclaimed, "Corea for ever, the land of martyrs." In 1866, the desire of his heart was gratified when he suffered a cruel death for the faith.

LITTLE BOOK OF INSTRUCTIONS FOR CHRISTIAN MOTHERS.
By Fr. Pustet. New York : Pustet & Co.

THAT on a child's early training depends to a great extent his happiness in this life and the life to come, it were idle to repeat. Now this early training devolves first of all on the mother; hence the importance of Christian mothers being well-instructed and thoroughly convinced of the responsibility laid upon them by God. Fr. Pustet's little book gives the mother valuable instructions, exhorts her to give good example by her own conduct, and shows her how she may most effectually combat vice, and foster virtue in her child from its earliest years.

A BOOK OF NOVENAS. In honour of God and His blessed Saints. By the Very Rev. John Baptist Pagani, Author of the "Anima Devota." Art and Book Company, London and Leamington.

GLANCING hurriedly through this little book, we find a good collection of Novenas for all the principal feasts of our Lord and the saints, most of which are richly indulgenced. This little book then, ought to prove very useful to the faithful, embracing in such a small space so many beautiful and richly indulgenced prayers, for use in the various Novenas of the Catholic year.

FLOWERS OF THE PASSION. Thoughts of St. Paul of the Cross. Gathered from the writings of the saint by the Rev. Louis Th. De Jesus Agonisant. Translated by M. A. Mulligan. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THIS collection of beautiful maxims and prayers culled from the writings of that saint who was *par excellence* the apostle of the Passion; ought to prove most acceptable to the faithful who cultivate that most beautiful of devotions, love of the Passion. Having carefully examined it, and feeling sure it will tend to promote love of this beautiful devotion, we hope that this little book may long continue to spread far and wide love of the Passion and Sufferings of Christ.

PURGATORIAN MANUALS.

A Purgatorian Manual, entitled *All Souls Forget-Me-Not*, by Louis Gemminger, Priest of the Archdiocese of Munich, translated and edited by Canon Moser, has reached us from Mr. R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row, London. That this little Manual has reached a second edition, shows that it is already well known and appreciated, and deservedly so, as it contains many very beautiful prayers and a considerable amount of spiritual reading. We are given short lives of the saints who were particularly devout to the holy souls; and there are no less than five methods of hearing Mass for these poor captives, including the Mass for the Dead, taken from the Roman Missal. That this little book, having so much to recommend it, should have prospered in the past, we do not wonder; and we heartily wish it an increase of that circulation in the future, more particularly as it is published with the charitable object of raising funds to build a church dedicated to the holy souls at Peterborough in England.

Another Purgatorian Manual, entitled *Suffering Souls*, has come to us from Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati. It is written for the use of the Purgatorian Society, established in the Archdiocese of New York, and contains many beautiful prayers and devotions applicable to the souls in purgatory. W. B.

ANINA. By a Member of the Congregation of Sisters of the Holy Cross. The *Ave Maria* Press.

THIS is a drama in three acts, intended for children, and well calculated to interest and instruct them. It shows how the pursuit of virtue, and not the pleasures of sense, can bring the soul true peace.

PAX VOBISCUM. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS is a manual of prayer specially adapted to the wants of the infirm. Besides carefully-selected prayers, and various devotions suitable to the faithful in general, it contains special devotions for the sick, and several beautiful hymns. The type is large and clear, well-suited for those whose eyes are growing dim from age or infirmity.

PASTIME PAPERS. Cardinal Manning.

THESE essays are somewhat of a departure from the ordinary course pursued by Cardinal Manning in his writings. He wrote

not for the sake of literature, but for religion. Here we have a dissertation on a theme not formally religious. A few of the ruling passions that hold sway over men are subjected to a critical analysis. Clearly and concisely does he lay before us what we are to pursue, and what to avoid, if we would act as man's part well in the rôle of social life. Cardinal Manning has brought to his work all the research and erudition of a finished scholar. Written in a style chaste and flowing, and abounding in happy expressions, the present work is well worthy to take its place beside the twenty-nine others that have proceeded from the Cardinal's pen.

D. O'C.

LETTERS AND WRITINGS OF MARIE LATASTE. Vol. II.
Translated from the French. By E. Thompson, M.A.
London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati.
Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE first volume of this work was published some twelve years ago, and was received with considerable favour. M. Lataste was a lay-sister of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart, and the communications made to her by God as disclosed in her writings will afford the faithful edifying and useful spiritual reading.

The translation is a masterly one; the language is clear, simple, and forcible.

P. K.

NEW MONTH OF THE HOLY ANGELS. ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, 32mo cloth. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a beautiful little book, translated by a Nun of the Visitation Order, and bearing the approbation of Cardinal Gibbons. It contains a short meditation on the angels, with some edifying examples—drawn chiefly from life of St. Francis—for every day in the month.

THE EVERLASTING LIFE AND LOVE OF JESUS, AND HEAVEN OUR ETERNAL HOME. By Rev. J. A. Maltus, O.P.
London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS tiny little volume consists of a number of devout aspirations of love towards our Lord, and earnest petitions that God would give His children the grace to love Him here, and be happy with Him hereafter. It contains many ejaculatory prayers to which rich indulgences are attached.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By Thomas à Kempis. Translated by Bishop Challoner, with Practical Reflections and Prayers.

IN this edition of the *Imitation*, a short reflection is inserted at the end of each chapter, which, practically, is an epitome of the teaching contained in that chapter. This again is followed by a prayer suggested by what has just been read. In the end of the work is given a table marking out special chapters as useful for various classes of persons and for various needs.

DEVOTION TO ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA. By Rev. C. Deymann, O.S.F. San Francisco : A. Waldteufel.

THIS little book gives a short outline of the life of St. Anthony, and contains a novena in honour of this great saint through whom many miracles have been wrought.

LIFE OF DR. O'HURLEY. By Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G. Dublin : Gill & Son. New York : Benziger Brothers.

THIS beautiful sketch of a noble-souled ecclesiastic, who, appointed Archbishop of Cashel in dark days of persecution, hesitated not to visit his flock and brave a martyr's death, deserves to be read by every Catholic Irishman at home or abroad. Too long has Dr. O'Hurley's name been forgotten, even by his own countrymen. "Abroad the learned few knew something of him : at home on the banks of the Shannon where he was born, on the Suir where he was arrested for the faith, and on the Liffey where he shed his blood for Jesus Christ, he is unknown." In language eloquent, yet intelligible to all, Dean Kinane has given us a most touching, most edifying account of a life dedicated to God and heroically sacrificed in His service.

WHY, WHEN, HOW, AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO READ.
Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P.

THIS little book is full of practical hints that will be found of great assistance in forming habits of study as well as a safeguard in our selections, if our desire to read with real advantage. Books, magazines and papers now come pouring in on us with such rapidity that, without some rule to discern the true from the false, the danger must be considerable. The plans suggested by the author are such as will commend themselves to every Catholic. His discourse on the reading of novels, and the

instructions he lays down for the young, are all that could be desired. It is a work that may be gone over again and again with interest, and is sure, if carefully adhered to, to produce satisfactory results.

D. O'C.

FIVE O'CLOCK STORIES. By S. H. C. J.

WE have here a collection of pious anecdotes, each set forth in brief space, and intended to attract the minds of the young. The style is very simple, just what children can appreciate, and yet not so childish that they may not recur to it with pleasure in after life. A work such as this should be put into the hands of all children, as being sure to develop a taste for the reading of pious books, and to enkindle in youthful hearts a true love of virtue.

D. O'C.

THE HERMIT OF THE ROCK: A TALE OF CASHEL. By Mrs. J. Sadlier. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

OUR imaginative prose literature has of late years been so much confined to the class of stories which get a "run through the newspapers" to be heard of no more, that any attempt to rise above such a low standard should be gratefully acknowledged. The present work is a step in the right direction. Irish life is portrayed with accuracy and, where occasion requires, with dramatic power; and the story is told in language which, if occasionally rhetorical, and even affected, is on the whole graceful and even eloquent. One fault we notice common to almost all writings in which the Irish peasant figures prominently, and that is their failure to represent accurately what is called the "brogue;" But the English language is not well suited to the task, and authors cannot make the English language other than what it is. The book is somewhat commonplace, both in matter and in plan, and has little of the humour which forms such an attractive feature of works such as those of Carleton and Lover. What a pity that we have not more novelists in a country so well suited for their efforts. It is to be hoped that a kindly reception of Mrs. Sadlier's work will induce other and more successful attempts in the same direction.

J. B.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

SEPTEMBER, 1894

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

PART II.

IN the previous part of our article we have seen how the constant tradition of Jew and Christian, how the name of the book in the Hebrew canon, how the references made in subsequent books, how the sayings of Christ and His Apostles have all combined to show that the Pentateuch is the handiwork of Moses. Let us now, in imitation of the "higher criticism," question the work itself, and we shall see how its internal structure bears most unmistakable evidence of coming from the pen of the Hebrew Legislator. And we must premise that we advisedly adhere to the term "Pentateuch" as the new name of "Hexateuch" has no "fundamentum in re," and is opposed alike by history and by the books themselves. But of this more anon.

I. Of late years we have been hearing a great deal of the "composer" of this verse and that verse, the "redactor" of this book and that book. Now, a really unprejudiced examination of the books of Moses makes the unity of their origin evident. From a rhetorical point of view, the plan of the work is one, and is evidently arranged on strictly oratorical lines. Thus, Genesis forms the "Proëmium," and is the introduction, without which the subsequent parts are unintelligible; Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers constitute the "Corpus" (antithesis or contentio), setting forth the whole substance of the Law, and having as their end in view the establishment of the theocratic constitution of

Israel; Deuteronomy is the "Peroratio," containing a recapitulation of the history, the pith of the Law, and also a necessary exhortation to fulfil the precept embodied in the whole work. As to the alleged rhetorical defects in the composition, there is to be found no prolixity as opposed to precision, no intricacy as opposed to simplicity, no tautology as opposed to conciseness. Rationalists talk to us of two authors—Jahvistic and Elohist—of the "Redactor" and the "Supplementer" who in later times produced the Pentateuch as we now possess it. This is but a fallacy founded on a misconception of the plan of the books of Moses, and what they call "Elohistic and Jahvistic sections" is but a variation resulting from the order of importance.

Let us now examine the Pentateuch itself, and we shall see that the "*usus loquendi*," the manner of description—in a word, the composition of the whole work—point to the unity of its authorship, and that, too, Mosaic.

Firstly, the "*usus loquendi*" by its employment of archaisms, words of Egyptian origin, and by its peculiar and characteristic description tends to satisfy the requirements of the case. Most of the Rationalists conclude on this point of language, that a tongue which has long been vernacular must of necessity undergo many changes, and that the writings of one period can readily be distinguished from those of an earlier or a later time by the sole difference in the words and mode of expression. Though this statement does carry with it a good deal of truth, yet it is not so absolutely true that we can at once pronounce that, given a certain number of years and centuries, a complete (or even general) change must have taken place. On the contrary, we know that certain languages, particularly those of Semitic origin, have preserved much more rigidly the early type, and have flowed on in much the same course for a lengthy period. This is exemplified very clearly in the case of Syriac. When Syriac was a current language of literature, we find but very little orthographical and grammatical change; so much so, that the language of the time of St. Ephrem does not differ remarkably from that of the time of Bar-Hebraeus.

Now on account of the great uniformity of language and similarity of expression prevalent throughout nearly the whole of the Old Testament, Rationalists dogmatically affirm that it must all have been written about the same period, and that period too, they say, a late one. Still linguistics shows that though a language may not change on the whole, yet various exceptions are to be found in parts. Such are called "archaisms," and, as the name indicates, point to an earlier period of writing than that which is taken as the norm. The books of Moses abound in such, in words which never (or seldom) occurs in later writers; and many even which do occur are either changed orthographically or assume new significations. A few examples will suffice.

(a) In the Pentateuch we find the pronouns **הוא** (hū') and **נער** (nă'-är) employed as feminines, whereas in later writings they are always masculine. In the Massoretic text of the books of Moses we find the form **היא** (hī') some eleven times, and this form is equally archaic; in later writers **נער** (nă' är) is always masculine.

(b) The demonstrative pronouns plural **אל** (ēl) and **האל** (hā'-ēl) are peculiar to the Pentateuch, and these forms in the lapse of years become in the subsequent books of the Old Testament, **אלה** ('ellēh), and **האלה** (hā'ellēh), the suffix ה being attached.

(c) **כשב** (chššb) is a Mosaic word, which later on appears as **כבש** (chěbēsh).

(d) Instead of the **זכור** (zāccūr) of Moses, we find subsequently **זכר** (zācār). Other examples, to which we can but allude, are, **אבִּיב** (äbīb), Deut. xvi. 1.; **שגר** (shēgēr), Exod. xiii. 12, &c.; **גוזל** (gōzāl), Gen. xv. 9; Deut. xxxii. 11; **גִּבּוֹר** (gībboŕ), Gen. vi. 4; Deut. x. 17, &c.

(e) Again, as regards grammatical forms, we find that the third person masculine plural of the future often ends in **ן** (ūn), while the third person feminine plural has not the final ה of the later writers; for example, in the

Pentateuch we find תִּמְסֵ'נָה (tĭmtsĕ'nā), instead of the later equivalent, תִּמְסֵ'נָה (tĭmtsĕ'nah).

Further notice must be paid to the origin of some of the words employed by the author of the history of the Israelites. In cases where the words found are not of Hebrew origin, it is in the original language of Egypt that we turn to find their derivation; such, for instance, as the name of Joseph, as פַּנְאָה (pānāh), צִפְנָת (tsāphnāth), and שְׂעִטָּה (shāātnēz). The inference to be drawn from these facts—and many more such examples could have been cited—is decidedly favourable to the antiquity of Pentateuchal literature.

II. The manner of description. Our thesis is further confirmed by the characteristic description, which argues an eye-witness, and one, too, thoroughly conversant with the customs of the people, and with the topography of the places mentioned; in fact, so accurate is the narration, that modern geographers can find nothing that requires rectification. The account of the fertility of the land of Goshen, the knowledge of the fruits of Egypt (*vide* Numbers xi. 4, 5), the remarkable note at the end of the seventh plague, would raise in us wonderment, were we not aware that the writer was one “instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians” (Acts vii. 22). Our adversaries admit that the description of the plagues is quite in harmony with the climate of Egypt. The changing of the water into blood would cause such dread, as we find that Moses narrates, not only because water was (and is) scarce in Egypt, but because the waters of the Nile were esteemed divine. Again, before the word עֲרֹב ('Arōb), the demonstrative ה is prefixed, to designate a particular kind of musca or fly, and that, too, one well known. Recent research bears out the description of the baker of Pharaoh, as the Mosaic account corresponds accurately with the sculptures of the country. Attention must also be called to the account of the embalming, burial, and medicine of the Egyptian; and this, with the significant fact that the name Moshi is of Egyptian origin, is strongly in favour of our contention.

The section treating of the exodus and wanderings of the Israelites, the description of the different stations, their names, situation, and distances, form striking proofs of the veracity of the account. More convincing evidence still is discernible in the fact that the author always speaks of the land of Chanaan in the future, and, as it were, in the manner of one who goes only by hearsay.

Let us here select various sections, and the assertion, so often repeated, of "later composition," will be evident to the reader as being but a weak objection :—

1. The law of Offering. This law is given in the seventeenth chapter of Leviticus. We must here premise that Kuenen and others consider the book of Leviticus to have been written after the Babylonian Captivity.

The words of the law are (Lev. xvii. 3, *sq.*) :—"Any man whosoever of the house of Israel, if he kill an ox, or a sheep, or a goat, in the camp, or without the camp, and offer it not at the door of the tabernacle, shall be guilty of blood, &c." This must refer to the time when Israel had a camp, and not to the period when the Jews had the temple at Jerusalem, and when they had neither camp nor tabernacle. Supposing the law to have been written after the exile, would it not, thus framed, lack all meaning, and be wholly inadequate to the requirements of the time? Verse 7 clearly shows that the law was specially promulgated to eradicate idolatry; in fact, the Israelites still were, as Bleek points out, favourably inclined to the worship of goats, שְׂעִירִים *sē-irīm*, demons); at short, a period after the Exodus was the law drawn up. A similar allusion to the worship of calves is made in 2 Paral. xi. 15.

Particular attention is to be paid to the precise wording of the law: (1) it concerns the killing of animals *within the camp* and *without the camp*; (2) the non-offering *at the door of the tabernacle*. In the first case there is no reference to any future state of the Israelites, and would be meaningless at a later time, when there was a temple at Jerusalem. In the second case, the omission to offer an animal killed would have argued some illegal motive, were it not presented at

the door of the tabernacle, when this was so easy a thing to do in the wilderness. For the future state, when the circumstances of the Chosen People should be changed, there was a special law in Deut. xii. 13, 14. We must remark that the law refers to sacrificial killing; many animals, &c., could be killed in any place; certain things, however, firstlings, tithes, holocausts, and vows were to be offered at one place—the door of the tabernacle. If attention be paid to these two considerations, the inapplicability of the law to a later period will be evident.

2. The laws promulgated in the first seven chapters of Leviticus lead us to infer that the Pentateuch was composed in *the Arabian Desert*. The repetition of the formula אל־מחוצ לַמַּחֲנֶה (ēl-michū lāmāchănēh), outside the camp, without the pre-supposition of the wilderness and the camp, would be purposeless. Moreover, the priests are mentioned by name, not in general terms, "Aaron and his sons," &c.; it is only in the book of Deuteronomy (and subsequently) that we find the expression הַלֵּוִיִּם, הַכֹּהֲנִים (hăllēvīm, hăkkohānim), "the priests, the Levites;" the reason of which is, we are inclined to believe, that in the former case Aaron was still alive; whereas in the latter, we conclude that he was dead.

In the mention of the sin-offerings of the anointed priests, the heads of families, &c., no reference whatever is made to the king. Could such an omission be conceived as possible in a post-Davidic age? Chapters xiii. and xiv. Leviticus, which contain the legal ordinances with regard to the uncleanness resulting from leprosy, would be wanting in force, unless modified, and formally explained, were we to imagine Israel living in houses and cities, as the critics wish us to believe. This fact is also noteworthy, that in all these chapters there is not one whit of "difference of style" to disintegrate the whole of these enactments.

3. We have seen that as the manner of writing proves an eye-witness of the events narrated, so the detailed and minute account of the religious ceremonies, the legal ordinances, all induce belief in the fact that these books were written at the time of the first institution of such

legislation. Schouppé observes that the Pentateuch is rather a memorandum or journal than a methodical and consecutive history.

The absurdity of the supposition of a later composition, is evident to a thinking person. What answer, we ask, can be found to the three following questions?—(1) What could have induced anyone wilfully to corrupt the record at a later time? (2) Suppose the book to have been written at the periods the critics wish, would such important enactments have been so wholly inapplicable? (3) How could such an imposture have been palmed off on the Jews, who guarded their laws with such scrupulous care and religious respect?

4. In Exodus xxv., xxxi., a free-will contribution towards the building of a sanctuary to Jehovah is set on foot, the plan and the nature of which sanctuary is explained in detail. Rationalists, and, in particular, De Wette, conclude from the tenor of these ordinances, that they must have been written in an age subsequent to that of Moses, as the Israelites, they allege, could hardly have possessed so great abundance of gold and silver. Hence they infer that the section is from the pen of a later writer, who, beholding the temple of Solomon, transferred the account to an antecedent epoch.¹

Based as this argument is on false premisses, its conclusion falls naturally; the idea that the Israelites could not have possessed so large a quantity of gold and silver being advanced as fact. Exodus xxi. 35 and 36, show the Jews to have borrowed from the Egyptians, "the Lord gave favour to the people in the sight of the Egyptians . . . and they stripped the Egyptians;" while Exodus xxxi. 3, *sq.*, demonstrate that there were among the Israelites men who could work the materials.

There is a further consideration, which we have already hinted at, viz., how could an author living in times nearer the Christian era so cunningly compose a narrative in an archaic style as to hide completely the characteristic method of writing peculiar to his day? *Aliquando Homerus,*

¹ See Bleek's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, by Venables.

dormitat, and in some unguarded moment something of a self-condemnatory nature must certainly have slipped out unconsciously.

From the various considerations we naturally pass on to ask who this author was. Certainly no person more thoroughly competent for the task can be conceived than Moses, "learned" as he was "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Exodus (xvii. 14), and innumerable other passages in the Pentateuch furnish the answer. "And the Lord said to Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book."¹ Other such passages affording similar testimony, are Exod. xxiv. 4, 7; xx. 2, 11; xxi.; xxiii.; Deut. xxxi. 9, 11; Deut. xxviii. 58, 61.

Thus, arguments based on intrinsic and extrinsic considerations, the impossibility of later composition, the personal fitness of the Jewish lawgiver for such a task, compel us to give a ready consent to the belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

PART III.

In this part of our essay it is our intention to review briefly a few of the objections raised against the authenticity of the Pentateuch; and we must at the outset acknowledge our indebtedness to the learned works of Ubaldi, Cornely, Keil, and others. These objections we will reduce to four heads.

I. *Want of Chronological Accuracy.*

1. In Gen. xii. 6, it is said, and repeated in xiii. 7, that when Abraham came to the land of Chanaan, "The Chanaanite was *then* in the land." Hence an inference made that when the author of Genesis wrote the above the Chanaanite was *not then* resident in Chanaan; or, in other words, the above was written after the conquest of Chanaan

¹ We here quote from the Douay Version, but wish to call the reader's attention to the inaccuracy in the text in the use of the indefinite for the definite article. The Hebrew has בַּסֵּפֶר (*bassêphêr*), "*the*" book, i. e. one destined for the purpose; the definite article is indicated by the dagesh in samech. The Septuagint also omits the article *εἰς βιβλίον*.

which took place after the death of Moses, and consequently Moses could not be the author of the statement. Such a deduction is, however, unwarrantable, and is refuted by the real use of the particle [†]אז (āz), which indicates rather the previous condition without reference to any subsequent time. In other words, it means *then*, and not *before*; this history confirms, inasmuch as the Chanaanites were not the original inhabitants (comp. Herod. l. i., c. 7; Strabo, l. xvi.). The Syriac particle ādāchil (adhere) gives ground for inferring the continuity of the dwelling at the times when Moses wrote.

2. The section Gen. xxxvi. 15, 43, is, we are told, post-Mosaic, because the "dukes of Edom" would extend from Esau to Moses; and in verse 31 a further list of kings is appended: "these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king in Israel." Hence the critics conclude that, as Israel had no king for several centuries after Moses, this section is unquestionably a later one, and from the mention of Hadad would probably be of the age of Solomon.

In reply we must remark that there are two special dignities here mentioned; the "dukes" (אֱלֻפִּים, *ällūphim*), who were aristocrats, and whose title was hereditary; and the "kings" (מְלָכִים, *m'lākīm*), whose rank was not hereditary, and who were chosen by the people. The dukes were descended from Esau by his many wives, and their title being transmissible to the children, many of them would be contemporaries; on the other hand, one king only at a time was living. Still from Esau to Moses was a period of some centuries; and surely eight kings is not too liberal an allowance for this lapse of time. It is a manifest error to confound the Hadad of Genesis with the one occurring in the history of Solomon, the former was a king, the latter was not. The further difficulty presented by verse 31 is easily removed by a consideration of the prophecy made to Jacob, "kings shall come out of thy loins" (Gen. xxxv. 11), Moses being aware that kings should rule in Israel. Besides, the word "melech" means not only "king," but also "chief,"

and the Aramaic races call their chiefs "melech" to this day. In this latter restricted sense Moses could well be called "melech."¹

3. We read in Exod. xvi. 35, "the children of Israel ate manna forty years, till they came to a habitable land." Now the manna ceased to fall only after the death of Moses (Josue v. 5); hence Bleek, Wellhausen, and Davidson argue that the above was written after the death of Moses. Moses died just before the close of the forty years; the travelling in the desert was completed; the Israelites were encamped on the borders of Chanaan; their immediate entrance into the land of Promise was expected, and consequently the manna would cease to fall. With a knowledge of such facts, we ask, was Moses not justified in saying, "The Israelites ate manna forty years till they came to a habitable land?"

4. The formula עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה "until this day" is supposed to have been interpolated at a later date. Bleek, following Vater, considers that there is a discrepancy between Deut. iii. 14, and Numbers xxxii. 41, as to the two statements concerning Havoth Jair; as if the villages in Gilead had obtained their name from Jair the Judge (Judges, x. 4), who lived three centuries after Moses. Now the Pentateuch says they were called by that name at the time of Moses.

Firstly, in regard to the formula "until this day," we must remark that it is not necessary for a great period to have elapsed between the event and the time of chronicling; most especially so in the case of some sudden change. To a Semitic mind the expression is so simple, so idiomatic, that the lapse of a month, or of even a week, could justify its use. St. Matthew, for instance, in speaking of the Haceldama, says, διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἵματος "ἕως τῆς σήμερον" (Matt. xxvii. 8); and yet a short period only had passed by. Moses, too, in speaking of the villages of Argob, in Bashan, conquered but a *few months* previously, employs the same expression.

¹ Philo often calls Moses "king."

Secondly, Judges x. 4 must not be understood as meaning that these towns received their name from Jair the Judge. They were called Havoth Jair before, but the Judge's name being identical with that Jair from whom they previously received their appellation, strengthened the use of the name.¹

II. Geographical Inaccuracies.

1. The book of Deuteronomy is introduced by the words, "These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel *beyond the Jordan*." Hence, Bleek infers that the expression עבר־הַיַּרְדֵּן (ěbērhāyardēn, "beyond the Jordan") indicates the land of Chanaan west of the Jordan, or beyond Jordan, from the standpoint of the speaker; concluding therefrom, that it "was evidently written by one on this side of the Jordan, and, therefore, after the death of Moses and the taking of Chanaan by Israel." The word עבר (ăbār) really means "to cross over," when מ (mem) is prefixed; thus מעבר (miēbēr), it signifies beyond;" if ב (beth) is prefixed, its usual rendering is "on this side." In this particular passage ב (beth) is placed before, and the Authorised Version renders it "on this side;" hence, the real explanation is on this side, viz., the east of the Jordan. Similar passages occur in Deut. iii. 8, iv. 41; still, in Deut. xi. 30, we must admit that the meaning is "beyond." Hence, Gese nius remarks, "manifestum est עבר ab uno eodemque scriptore de ulteriore et citeriore regione dici potuisse."²

Some scholars are of opinion that from the days of the patriarchs, the region east of the Jordan was known by the term "beyond Jordan," whatever might be the position of the speaker.

We may instance how a Frenchman, at the present day, may speak of the Italians as "ultramontane," even in Italy.

¹ Menochius on this text says: "Secundus hic Jair eosdem fortasse muris cinxit, frequentiores reddidit, in oppida erexit, ita ut firmitus haec illis adhacserit nomenclatura nec primi tantum respectu, sed hujus etiam secundi."

² Ges., *His. Ling. Heb.*, p. 986.

Similarly, the lands east of the Euphrates are called by the *usus populi*, Trans-Euphratem.

2. In the Pentateuch the western direction is indicated by the word יָם (yām), "a sea:" thus, רוּאֲחַיָּם (rūākh yām), the "west wind;" יָמָה (yāmmāh), "westward;" מִיָּם (miyām), "from the west" (Gen. xii. 8, &c). Colenso, Davidson and others object that when Moses was in the wilderness the sea was not on the west; consequently, this term could only be employed by one writing in Palestine. In reply, we must say that Moses was not the author of the expression יָם, as significant of the west. Such was the consecrated usage of the people; and to employ such a form it was not necessary to be eastward of the Mediterranean. In Exod. x. 19, רוּאֲחַיָּם (rūākh yām) certainly means the "west wind," yet the Mediterranean was to the north of the writer. Still, the second part of the objection solves itself; for Moses' phraseology was quite correct, inasmuch as he wrote in the plains of Moab, and the Mediterranean Sea lies to the west.

3. Joseph, when in prison, said he was taken out of "the land of the Hebrews." Bleek argues that, inasmuch as the Hebrews had no land of their own, but wandered about as strangers on the face of the earth, Joseph could not have so expressed himself, but the words are the addition and deduction of a later historian.² The earlier history of Abraham relates how he, with three hundred and eighteen persons, defeated five confederate kings—the conquerors of the land—and proved himself the *master* of the country. The Hittites held Abraham in great veneration; "*audi nos domine*," said they, "*princeps Dei es tu apud nos*." Now, at the time of Joseph, the Hebrews had multiplied so much, that the expression had a real foundation, and was a most significant one. By Hebrews, we think Joseph must have meant all the descendants of Abraham, who was the first to be called הָעִבְרִי (hā'ibri, Septuagint ὁ πατριάρχης, "the pas-

² Venables' Translation, p. 231.

senger"). In point of fact, the posterity of Abraham were hardly ever called Hebrews at a later date, but rather Israelites, &c. Thus, the expression was a most appropriate one in the mouth of Joseph.

4. There occurs a list of names of places which the critics attribute to a post-Mosaic author :—

(a) There is a city called by the name of Hebron as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. xiii. 18, *et alibi*), which name, we are informed by the critics, takes its origin only from Caleb (Jos. xiv. 14, 15; xv. 13), as it was formerly called Kirjath Arba, the town of Arba, the father of the Anakim (Douay, Enorcim). The assumption that Hebron took its name from Hebron, the son of Caleb, is practically groundless, the name of Hebron not occurring in the list of the sons of Caleb in 1 Paral. ii. 42; iv. 15. The only basis of the statement is the expression, "the son of Marasha, the father of Hebron." Moreover, it is not stated that Joshua gave *Kirjath Arba* to Caleb, but *Hebron*; hence we conclude that the town was already called by this name. The real name, a Hittite one, was Hebron. That of *Kirjath Arba* was given to it by the giants who possessed themselves of the city, and, after one of their ancestors, Arba, gave it its secondary and later title. Thus we find that Moses employs the original appellation of the town.¹

(b) Bethel, it is alleged, received this name after the death of Moses, as the former title was Luz (compare Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, with Jos. xviii. 3, and Judges i. 22, 26). The solving of this difficulty is a simple matter. Gen. xxviii. 19, relates how Jacob on his way to Padan-Aram re-named the place Bethel, on account of his vision. The Israelites would naturally call the spot Bethel, while the pagans, having no grounds for changing the name, would use the only title known to them, viz. Luz; consequently Joshua, on invading the land of Chanaan, found the pagan inhabitants employing the only name they knew.

¹ "Hebronis vero nomen quo civitas ante Enacitarum occupationem non appellabatur. nova ista appellatione non interiiit; invenitur enim in templo Medinat Habu inscriptum a Ramses III. : sub ejus regno Israelitae in deserto peregrinabantur."—(F. Cornely, S.J., vol. i., p. 90.)

(c) The critics, in speaking of Leish or Leshim (Jos. xix. 47, Judges xviii. 29), say that the name "Dan" is given for the first time by the Danites, who occupied it; and hence the account in Gen. xvi. 14 must be of later date than the passages above cited, as the place is there called by the name "Dan."

The assertion that "Dan" of Genesis is identical with Leish, is nowhere positively affirmed, and from the fact that Moses elsewhere, as we have observed in regard to Hebron and Bethel, mentions the old and new titles, but here omits to do so, we have no definite grounds for connecting the two names. We think that either the sources of the Jordan or some other place was called by this name. St. Jerome is of opinion that the word "Jordan" is derived from the "River Dan," and consequently is much antecedent to Moses. Other commentators incline to the view that Leish was also named Dan from the pagan worship of a god, or from some similar name (cf. Ubaldi). There is a city mentioned as Dana, between Socoth and Kirjath-Sana in the tribe of Juda, but as Abraham pursued his enemy as far as Khoba on the left hand of Damascus, there is no reason for connecting the names of the two towns. The most reasonable conjecture is that there was a spot near the sources of the Jordan called Dan. Still, whatever and wherever be the place, the fact that Moses omitting to state that Leish and Dan were identical, is the strongest proof, though the proof be of a negative character.

III. *Archæological Difficulties.*

1. The account of Og and his stupendous bed (Deut. iii. 2), we learn, must be of a period subsequent to that of Moses, as the chronicling so well known a fact would be useless. If we recall to mind that Moses was writing not merely for the people of his own time, but for posterity also, the force of this difficulty disappears. Besides, the description was not of use only to those who were to come after, but also to some of Israel, as, for instance, the old men, the women, and the children who had not seen the bed. We read that this wonder was in "Rabbath of the children of Ammon;"

consequently, the whole of Israel would scarcely have seen it.

2. The "sacred shekel" mentioned in Exod. xxx. 13, xxxvii. sqq., 24, is another stumbling-block for the critics, as it argues (to them) the temple of Jerusalem to have been already existent. This assumption, as we shall see, is most unwarrantable. The word הקדש (hăkkōdēsh) means—1 holiness; 2, that which is holy. If it is to be taken as referable to a sanctuary, what grounds are there for referring it to the *Temple*? Rather should it be taken as applying to the *Tabernacle*, a detailed description of which is given in Exodus xxxv. 8, and which sanctuary was shortly afterwards erected. That Moses should ordain a special tribe for the maintenance of the tabernacle, was most reasonable; so much so, in fact, that subsequently the observance almost passed for law.

3. Moses, it is objected, had no reason for giving the foreign names of Mount Hermon "which the Sidonians call Sarion (Sirron), and the Amorrites Sanir (Shenir)" (Deut. iii. 9). These names were certainly well known at the time when Moses wrote. On the reasons which induced him to give these, two passages from recent writers will throw light:—"As I looked on that western barrier of Bashan, the first sunbeams touched the crest of Hermon; and as they touched it, its icy crown glistened like polished steel, reminding me how strikingly descriptive was the name given to that mountain by the Amorites, Shenir the 'breast-plate' or 'shield.'"¹ "From the spot where Moses was speaking Hermon was clearly visible to the north-west; and perhaps the very phenomenon which gave rise to the Sidonian and Amorite names, may on that morning of early March have been conspicuous to all Israel, and called forth an appropriate notice."²

IV. *Philological Difficulties.*

In the preceding part of this article we have already had occasion to mention the objection relative to the "style" of

¹ Porter, *The Giant Cities of Basan*, p. 30.

Smith, c. i., p. 578.

the Pentateuch; to what we have already said we intend to add a few further remarks.

We have seen that, as Dr. Ubaldi points out, Hebrew varied little in the eight centuries intervening between Moses and the later canonical writers, as Malachias and Zacharias, with, however, one distinguishing characteristic in the most ancient books, viz., archaism. We saw also that this absence of notable change is a peculiar feature of Semitic languages.¹ It remains for us to indicate a further reason for this marked fixity of speech. This reason is the exclusive nature of the Jews, which led them to hold aloof from the neighbouring peoples. They never mixed with the "Goim" (nations), looking on them as unclean. Certainly they would never insert a foreign language in their sacred books.

Moreover, the Pentateuch, possessing all the technicalities necessary for the expression of religious, poetical, and politic ideas, became the norm for all subsequent writers.

Another potent factor in the change of language is change in the condition of the language-users, invasions, change of dynasties and such like.² But these are absent in the case of the Israelites. Further, Bleek and others have proved that the circumjacent peoples, notably the Phoenicians, spoke the same language, or a very similar dialect. Comparison with the now-spoken European tongues would be particularly useless and misleading in the present case.

Another consideration, relative to the Pentateuch as a standard for subsequent writers, is this: the models of earlier times can be copied by writers in after ages, still hardly to such extent as to fitly vie with the original. In exemplification of which we may compare the lovely style of St. John Chrysostom with that of Demosthenes, though seven centuries divided the lives of these orators.

Before concluding this, our first thesis, there remain for treatment some few objections against the assertion that Moses (and no other) wrote the Pentateuch.

¹ Compare Renan, *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, page 120.

² Compare Whitney, *Life and Growth of Language*.

(a) The author always speaks of Moses in the third person ; hence the two persons are not identical. Surely we can grant to Moses what we so readily grant to other historians. As an ordinary rule the first person is used in writing for contemporaries, whereas in history the third generally takes preference, especially should the author refer to his own achievements, modesty prompting such a course. Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, Josephus in his *History*, thus write ; but let Moses use the third person, and the case is quite altered in the eyes of the prejudiced. Away, then, with such insensate quibbling !

(b) The writer in many passages praises Moses ; *e.g.*, Exod. xi. 3 : " And Moses was a very great man ; " Numbers xii. 3 : " Moses was a man exceeding meek," &c. Such self-praise would be very unbecoming in the author.

To such a people as the Hebrews their leader and law-giver was justified in sounding his own praises, for the purpose of giving greater weight and authority to his statements and enactments. Though the proverb affirms that " self-praise is no recommendation," there are times when a writer, not only *can*, but *should*, mention his qualities and capabilities ; as, for instance, in the assertion of one's rights, or for the benefit of one's office. From the remark that Moses was a great man, we readily understand why it was that the Egyptians should give their vessels of gold and silver to the Hebrews. On the other hand, Moses mentions his mildness, that the murmurings of the Israelites should not be attributed to him, and that the punishments inflicted on Aaron and Miriam should be recognised as the chastisements of Divine Justice, and not the results of the malice or vengeance of Moses. Furthermore, the strict integrity of the writer is proved by his mentioning his faults and transgressions (Exod. iv. 10 ; Num. xx. 2-12 ; Deut. i. 37).

(c) The last chapter of Deuteronomy records the death and burial of Moses, and plainly could not have come from his pen. This is doubted by no one. The author of the account was probably Josue ; and that this chapter was originally part of the book of Josue, is manifested by the

fact that the book of Josue (in the Hebrew) commences with the conjunction ׀ (vav) "and."

(d) In the first part of this article we summarized Dr. Kuenen's teaching on "Yahwism," the national religion of the Jews. Though the subject is too great for treatment here, yet we cannot conclude without making a few remarks on his opinions. The assertion that "Yahwism" was a *national* religion, is most arbitrary. Old Testament history everywhere gives it a denial. The Old Law proclaims Jehovah as the *one and only God*, and affirms that His religion was ready to receive all who would accept it, and who would embrace the Mosaic Law. Though, in practice, we do not find such to have freely taken place, yet such is the principle of the doctrine from the outset. *All* nations are blessed in the seed of Abraham. In Shiloh was the expectation of *all* nations. Balaam was a Gentile, yet a prophet of Jehovah. Hobab is invited to share the privileges of the chosen people, and to live among them. The Psalms of David constantly harp upon the universality of this religion, calling upon *all* nations to praise and worship Jehovah. The prophets were subjected to persecution, not because they preached this doctrine, but because they predicted the numerous evils which the Israelites had deserved by reason of their infidelity to the law of God. They predicted the coming of the King of Peace, to whom all the Gentiles should submit. Moreover, we know that the Jews never rejected a Gentile who wished to embrace their religion, and in later times we even find them proselytizing.

The Jewish religion, in reality and practise, was not Catholic and all-embracing; but what the prophets proclaimed of this religion was its universality, and for this they suffered. The supposition of Kuenen, as to a national Judaic religion, is refuted by the prophecies of Malachias and Zacharias (both post-exilian). Malachias says:—"For from the rising of the sun to its setting, My name is great among the Goim (heathen world), and in all places (is) incense offered to My name as a pure sacrifice, for My name is great among the Goim" (Hebrew version). To enumerate all the passages of Scripture which give a most pointed con-

tradition to this unreal and biased concept of Dr. Kuenen, would carry us far beyond the limits we have prescribed to ourselves.

We have come to the end of these objections to the authenticity of the Pentateuch. We have seen what the nature of these objections is. As to the intentions of those who adduce such charges, we are silent. A scholar has remarked: "To such objections it may not be unjustly replied, that there is no history, however authentic, that will stand the application of such tests." But we need not fear for the Bible. We have seen that the Pentateuch bears the stamp of the hand of Moses. Professor Leathe has remarked: "Treat the Bible how you will, it is not like other books. The demand so often made so to treat the Bible, is itself a witness to the fact that it is *felt* to be unlike any other book." Objections will never prove of real harm to the divine writings; rather, indeed, they are of service, as the natural result is a clearer explanation, and a better understanding of the Sacred Text.

"Thy Word is tried to the uttermost,
And thy servant loveth it."

DAVID BENJAMIN.

RELIGION IN THE STATE

AMONG the various elements which, owing to their recondity, render the history of the human race extremely difficult to understand, in anything like a profound and comprehensive manner, is the history of religious belief. There are certain principles which, though apparently of a very abstract nature, yet are capable of influencing materially the destinies of the human race, and of moulding, in one form rather than another, the practical character both of the nation and of the individual. These, however, so long as they pertain to the regions of purely immaterial and philosophical speculation, take some considerable length of

time—years, or even centuries—before they lead to a definite line of action. Thus the doctrines of the imperfection of society and universal brotherhood remained in the minds of men years before they resulted in the horrors and bloodshed of the French Revolution. They must grow in congenial soil, surrounded by favourable conditions, before they can reach to a successful maturity. It is not so with such principles as are supernatural in their object or in their origin. The belief in the existence of a deity, infinitely wise and powerful, ubiquitous in every part of the great creation and taking an active part in the affairs of creation, at once begins to manifest itself in a change of conduct in the individual.

Every other religious principle or belief is of a similar nature. As soon as ever it is received into the human mind, fully acquiesced in and accepted, it exerts a positive influence, for good or ill, upon the institutions, judgments and entire moral character. With the progress, therefore, of religious dogma, there takes place a corresponding change in man's personal and collective character. At first the fundamental basis, or principles of belief, were very few. They were of the simplest nature, and both universal and impartial in their application; but a change soon took place. The light of revelation grew stronger and stronger, illuminating with its refulgence the conditions and personal surroundings of man. New laws were being continually prescribed to the people; new formulas of dogmas were continually being solved, and soon accumulated to such an extent as to form a distinct and separate science, now called the science of theology. A further progress was introduced by the application of the law to the individual circumstances and events of life, thereby giving rise to numerous and multitudinous distinctions. Other causes, too, were at work, more human and natural in their origin. The moral law sometimes pressed hard on the individual, opposing the strongest interests and desires of his nature. Hence there arose an effort to make this burden as light as possible; and, mainly by the use of analysis, began to seek out what were the limits of the law, and how far it could be strained, so as

to accommodate itself to the exigencies and frailties of fallen humanity.

From all these causes there has been a continual progress in religious belief, and hence an ever-increasing influence for good or ill in the destinies of the human race. It is for this reason that the State has, in all times, acknowledged by its legislation the influence which one belief more than another has upon the well-being of society. There seem to have been the grounded conviction that there was a necessity for religious interference on the part of the State; that the government of the country should consider, and even, if necessary, modify, the religious tenets of the people. It is well known how, in the old pagan systems, the deities occupied a very prominent position in legal enactments. We read, again, in the Acts of the Apostles, that the introduction of the worship of a new deity was made punishable even with death. Nowhere, perhaps, is this so forcibly illustrated as in the lives of the Roman emperors, when the upholders of the new Christian doctrines were looked upon as the most deadly enemies of the State.

The most important political revolutions were attended by changes in the religious doctrine or practises of the people. Such changes may seem to be rather accompanying circumstances than active causes. But, in either case, they were clearly blended with the efficient motives that lead to those changes. It is curious to mark how the rise and fall of Puritanism were so incident with the ascendancy of the commonwealth. There is little doubt but that the religious element formed no mean factor among the many circumstances that in their combination, issued in the formation of the memorable protectorate of Oliver. There was at work a hatred of the principle of the divine right of kings. Men tended to submerge all social differences and inferiorities under the one great axiom that the whole of mankind was but one great family, and God was their Father; on the field of battle, before the contest, services were held, in which the protection of the Lord of Hosts was solemnly invoked; the courage and enthusiasm of Cromwell's iron soldiers were wrought to the highest pitch by war cries selected from

appropriate parts of Holy Scripture. Indeed, to such an extent did religion blend itself with the spirit of democracy, that the history of the Puritan predomination is more the history of a sect than of the vicissitudes of a mere party faction.

What we see on a small scale we find carried on in almost every country, and on almost every page of the world's history. If we take away the element of belief, we reduce all to chaos and confusion, and one-half of the world's history would be swept away and completely obliterated. What the mortar is to the bricks or stone of some stately edifice, that religion is to the political destinies of nations: the whole world ceases to exist if the part were removed. There have been made, however, no few attempts in these past years to eliminate the religious element from the progress and social well-being of society. That full and ample liberty which the State affords without distinction to all religious bodies, is a symptom and outcome of this tendency. In the framing of new laws, in the organization of parochial institutions, as well as in the declared utterances of parliamentary leaders, we find evidence enough of what may be called the gradual elimination of State craft from religion.

Such a process may present at first sight no inconsiderable advantages. Where the State has practically acknowledged the presence of religion, the greatest abuses have frequently arisen. The liberty of man's conscience has been invaded, the intrinsic discipline of the Church was altered to suit the convenience or caprice of civil rulers; while the clergy, too often enervated or corrupted by State patronage, became unfit for the proper exercise of their religious duties. In those conditions, moreover, of man's life, where the religious elements largely intervene, many intricate disputes have embittered the good understanding of Church and State. Of these, we have numerous examples in the formation or dissolution of the marriage tie; in matters of education; and lastly, but not least, in the administration of clerical discipline.

The history of our own island, is, in itself, a sufficient proof

of how great evils may proceed from the active union and mutual recognition of State and Church. The difficulty of deciding to what extent the clerical offenders should fall under the civil power and law, and how far they should be answerable to civil jurisdiction and authority, the disputes regarding the privileges and support of the clergy, and the mutual jealousies so often arising between Pope and king, bishop and baron, were all so many abuses arising from the mutual endeavour of Church and State to recognise, in a practical manner, each other's existence. In course of time these abuses, however temporary in their nature, increased to an almost alarming extent. Men began to think that the two societies, the ecclesiastical and the civil, were so isolated in their nature and qualities, so alien in their aims and methods of working, that between them there could be no alliance or sympathy whatever.

This opinion, however false and extravagant, is what we should naturally expect. A diligent observer of human nature and a close student of history could hardly expect otherwise. The mind of the people varies by leaps and bounds, and rushes from one extreme to the other with the regular motion of a pendulum. In the great mass of the people there is generally a woeful want of discrimination and discernment. Men do not distinguish between the principle which dictates a cause of action, and the abuses that, owing to human limitations and frailty, may rise in the course of its use. Thus when they see this or that abuse taking place, no matter how important or necessary may be the fundamental principle that underlies it, they come to the conclusion that the thing must be done away with altogether. It was this same principle that gave rise to the so-called Reformation, and to all the sanguinary horrors of the French Revolution. So also was the state of things under discussion. Men, seeing that the union and mutual recognition of the Church and State gave rise to certain abuses, rushed to the opposite extreme, and came to the conclusion that between them there must, and can, be no sympathy whatever, and that the spirit which animates them must needs be rather the spirit of antagonism than that of mutual good-will and support.

But by their fruits you shall know them, and time in its progress has not yet made tangible the evil effects that must necessarily flow from such a system of irreligion. The influence which the government of nations has over the unruly elements that form such an integral part of that nation is of a physical rather than a moral character. It is true that St. Paul admonishes us to make it a matter of conscience to obey the powers that be. But how few there are who think of reducing these words to practice ; how few there are among the good and pious ones that are accustomed to associate the powers that be with Divine authority from on high. Experience shows that when the physical power of a government becomes weak, that all the elements of disorder are at once set loose. In the case of an earthquake or some general conflagration, not the least of the awful horrors that attend these scourges are the armed bands of robbers and assassins who, even under the shadow of death itself, make no scruple to pillage and slaughter their fellow-creatures

If at the present day, owing to the suddenly increased power of the democratic elements, or to a general European war, the strong arm of the civil power should suddenly be relaxed, there is no doubt but that the evil passions of the multitude, released from the thralldom of the civil power, and deterred by the prospect of no physical chastisement, would lead to the most awful and abominable excesses. This is the natural consequence of divorcing state control from religious influences.

Moreover, "*Quis ipse custodes custodit?*" Who shall guide and counsel the minds and hearts of our legislators? What influence shall there be that can lead them to consult the well-being of the nation at large in preference to their own private interest? Can men who in their legislation throw off even the mask of religion, and in the spirit of exulting triumph seek to stamp out even the shadow of religious influence, be fit to pass such laws as shall benefit the moral well-being of the people? If man were made of body alone, and his physical well-being alone worthy of consideration, then, indeed, a government purely earthly

might suffice. But such we well know is not the case. There is not a law that is passed but effects, directly or indirectly, the moral well-being of thousands—multitudes—of immortal souls. Is it right, then, that a government that professes to act independently of any religious influence should have the power of passing such laws?

The advocates of secularism pure and simple, say that the temporal rulers are concerned with the temporal well-being of the nation, and that legislative enactments resulting in the good of the nation can be passed by Jews and atheists as well as by good, decent, and God-fearing Christians. The holders of such arguments are taking for granted the whole principle upon which the whole fabric of their reasoning is based. They assume that the religious belief or unbelief of a man has no influence upon his other opinions, and that the temporal prosperity of a nation is quite independent of the morality either of rulers or of subjects. But an impartial and careful examination of the workings of the human mind will soon show that, in reality, there is not a single principle, however abstract it may seem to be, that is not capable of affecting, even substantially, the tenor of a man's conduct, and the hue and colour of all his other opinions. Much more is this the case regarding those opinions which, while called abstract, are in reality most real, related as they are to the existence of a supernatural world, and in connection with it. An ordinary man will find that were it not for the truths of religion his position in the world would be quite other than what it is now, and that the great part of his life is most intimately bound up with what he believes and holds in matters of religion. Nor can we draw the line in the present case between an individual and a collection of individuals. The public character upon which depends the public prosperity is materially determined by the nature of the religious element that accompanies it.

Then, again, the history of mankind shows us that the second proposition, assumed by the advocates of state secularization, is likewise false. The temporal prosperity of a nation is far from being independent of the moral and

ethical element, and is most intimately connected with it. The general law which presides over the destinies of mankind, and which in its general workings is infallible, is this, that every injustice, every evil deed, is followed sooner or later by misfortune and misery. As in the private life, thefts, usury, evil speaking, gluttony and intemperance are followed by sickness, evil repute, and such like temporal misfortunes, so great social wrongs and laws that are framed without the slightest regard for the supernatural element, are sure to lead to the most disastrous consequences.

The secularization of the State, therefore, is a far greater evil than the one they wish to avoid. Yet such is the tendency of the age. The general opinion of the age is, that one religion is as good as another; that the most opposite, the most conflicting views upon religious subjects, have all an equal chance of turning right in the end. There are some who call this the language of an age of intellectual enlightenment and liberty of conscience. But it is, on the contrary, the language of infidelity and sceptical contempt, and its logical consequence is what we see in the present day, namely, a general tendency to divorce religion from any practical bearing on the daily life of a man, and from any practical interference with the destinies of the nation.

J. A. DEWE.

JEAN BÉTHUNE

IF a man's happiness in this world is in any sense to be gauged by the measure of success by which his efforts are crowned, the late Baron Béthune, in his artistic career, was a singularly fortunate person. At the age of twenty-four, fired by the ardour and eloquence of Montalembert, he bound himself to the resuscitation of mediæval art; and in this, henceforth the darling object of his life, he succeeded far beyond his wildest hopes.

What Ruskin, Pugin, and Gilbert Scott—the whole band of pre-Raphaelites—vainly tried to accomplish for

England, that did Béthune essay to do for his native Flanders. Their labour was not lost. They purified art, they inculcated a very general appreciation of the principles of design; they spread throughout the land the culture of the beautiful and the true; they vindicated the dignity of decoration; thanks to their example, English artists, even the greatest of them, think it no degradation to be her humble servants; thanks to their efforts, as M. Destrée pointed out last January,¹ English decorative art holds the first place in Europe. All this they did, and much more; but one thing they could not do: they could never infuse any real life into the dry bones of English mediæval art; they could never again make it the art of the people. It could hardly have been otherwise: the circumstances of time and place, the whole environment of things, was against them. They could find no fulcrum on which to rest their lever; the very prosperity of England, the peculiar constitution of her religious life, rendered any such attempt—for the time being, at least—doomed to failure. But when these sons of Britain failed, the Fleming's efforts met their chief success; and simply, because in Flanders, the conditions under which he laboured were altogether different.

A little country, with a glorious past; a humbled nation which had only just regained its freedom; a faithful people, whose Catholicity was no less fervent than their patriotism. Béthune appealed to God and fatherland. This was the cry which bore him to success, which breathed new life and vigour into the corpse of ancient Flemish art; which made of it, in hand of priest and politician, a living, moving, energizing power.

Jean Béthune was the son of a wealthy cloth merchant of Courtrai, on whom Leopold I. had bestowed the rank and dignity of a baron. Burgomaster of his native town—an office, be it borne in mind, which in Belgium is held in much higher esteem than its equivalent, the mayoralty, is with us—and a senator to boot, old Baron Béthune was, in his day, a personage of no small importance. He had designed

¹ *La Revue Générale*, "Préraphaélites Anglais," 1394.

Jean for a political career, on account of his own rank and influence, and the ability which he knew his son possessed ; in his mind's eye picturing for him, doubtless, a brilliant future ; and, in furtherance of this end, when he had reached the age at which young men usually go out into the world, had obtained for him a subordinate position in the Provincial Council at Bruges : to Bruges, accordingly, the embryonic politician went : to Bruges, where there still lingered the half forgotten recollection of the beauty of ancient art : to Bruges with its convents and its hostelries, rich in the glories of Munling and Van Eyck, and its churches, unadorned save by the grandeur of their huge proportions, and yet so lovely in their stern simplicity : to Bruges where, in picturesque nooks and unlooked-for corners, great gabled palaces with mullioned windows, like blinking eyes, peer through thick foliage into sluggish streams, where strange gargoyles jut from crumbling walls, and grotesque heads and queer faces leer from doorpost and lintel, or peep out from beneath the beetling eaves of old houses into the muddy flow of some canal ; to Bruges with its world-famed carillon, its old guild houses, its trafficless waterways choked up with lilies, its quays devoid of merchandise, its swans, its hundred bridges, its time-honoured town-gates ; and, scattered about here and there in narrow winding back streets, by tourists and strangers rarely visited, its old inns. Those glorious old inns with their long panelled parlours and timbered roofs, with their huge fire-places furnished on either side with great high-backed settles, and ranged along the wainscot and round oak tables, black with the wear and tear of three centuries, their massive leather chairs, all studded with brazen nails, made bright by the oscillation of ten generations of stalwart Flemish backs. Such is the quaint old city to which Béthune betook himself to learn the ins and outs of communal administration, that he might be initiated in the mysteries of political economy, that he might become acquainted with the science of governing men. A strange place to choose, certainly, for the education of a politician ; nor can there be any doubt that the choice left its mark on Béthune's career ; though it was to another

circumstance, in itself accidental, that he became directly aware of his true vocation. The event to which we refer occurred some fifty years ago, when our hero was about completing his twenty-fourth year. It happened thus.

Montalembert, who had married a daughter of Count Felix de Merode, one of Belgium's young nationality, chanced at that time to be paying a visit to his father-in-law, and from thence made a pilgrimage to Courtrai. It naturally fell to the lot of the burgomaster to entertain the young relative of his distinguished colleague; to his son Jean, who happened just then to be visiting the paternal mansion, to show him the sights of the town. The Church of St. Mary, a magnificent specimen of early thirteenth century work—but, like the greater part of the old Flemish churches of that day, disfigured by successive restorations—was one of the places visited, probably because it contained a celebrated Van Dyck—"The Elevation of the Cross." On entering the sacred building Montalembert stood transfixed, but not with admiration at the work of the great master, the pride and glory of all Courtrai, though he acknowledged its beauty; but with horror at the *maladroit* restorations which had deformed the loveliness of the old church. Béthune was simply astounded.

At length Montalembert spoke, as only he could speak, and with words of burning eloquence pointed out to his young cicerone the splendour, the beauty, the truth of mediæval art. To Béthune his words were a revelation, he had never thought of the tumbled-down old buildings of his native town in that light before; but from that moment he resolved within himself to revivify the time-honoured architecture of Flanders, to restore once more the glories of Gothic art.

Resigning his appointment at Bruges, he now set to work in earnest to prepare for the great work which he felt himself called on to accomplish. With knapsack on back—that legendary knapsack which all his friends knew so well—and pencil in hand, he traversed all Europe—England, France, Germany, Italy, Holland, and, of course, his own

dear Flanders. Everywhere he took sketches of ancient monuments, everywhere made copies of such documents as he thought might be useful to him; but this was not enough, he determined to make himself master of every branch of mediæval art, and, in turn, became architect, painter on glass, on plaster and in oil, sculptor in wood and stone, worker in brass and iron, in gold and silver, and in precious gems. At length, when he had completed his own artistic education, he settled down at Ghent, and, gathering about him a troop of kindred spirits, set about the accomplishment of his heart's desire.

Of his various foundations we shall only mention the atelier of stained glass at Ghent, which he himself superintended till the day of his death, the Guild of St. Thomas, and the Schools of St. Luke. A few young fellows of the artisan class were his first pupils, and a rickety table, a black-board, and some pieces of chalk, the first furniture of their studio. What these schools have now become, and what they have done for the restoration of Christian art, need not be noticed here. Their work is well known; besides, we ourselves have given some account of it in a former number of the *I. E. RECORD*. Suffice it to say, that in Flanders, as we have already seen, Béthune succeeded far beyond his wildest hopes, but his influence was not bounded by the narrow borders of his native land; it passed to England, Holland, France, and Germany; nay, to Rome itself: for had he no part in shaping the hand now raising there the great abbey of St. Anselm? Thus much, then, for Béthune's achievement, the grand achievement of his life; but what of his merit as an architect, of the intrinsic value of his work?

Too true an artist not to conceive his buildings in the integrity of their composition—with all that completeness, that perfection, which the decorative arts alone can give to the work of the constructor, he seems to have attached more importance to unity of style, to archæological correctness, than to the impression of æsthetic effect. With him it was, so to speak, a point of honour to follow implicitly the footsteps of his mediæval masters. "*C'est une acte,*" says

his disciple and fellow-labourer, Jules Helbig, in one of those charming essays with which he occasionally enlivens the pages of the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*—"C'est une acte d'humilité et d'expiation que nous devons bien à un art contre lequel nos ancêtres ont si cruellement péché."

It is no disparagement, then, to say that, like his great predecessors of the Middle Age, Béthune excelled rather in his architectural than his decorative efforts. That these latter, however, were of no mean order of merit, the ravishing little fifteenth-century oasis called Vive Capelle, about four miles from Bruges, bears witness. This picturesque cluster of buildings, consisting of church, convent, presbytery, and schoolhouse, is, perhaps, his masterpiece. Here he had a free hand; and, what is more, the buildings are complete.

It may be objected that Béthune's scheme of colouring is invariably pronounced, sometimes even harsh; but to judge fairly of a work of art, it must be viewed under the conditions and with the surroundings with which it presented itself to the mind of the artist who conceived it. At Vive Capelle these conditions are realized; the conception is complete; and we are bound to say that, notwithstanding the archaic laidure of some of the sculpture and figure-drawing, the general effect is simply ravishing. The memory of the beauties of its sanctuary is pictured in the mind's eye like the memory of a glorious dream. Here we have perfect proportion, and perfect harmony of colour, all bathed in the mellow light which filters through stained glass. Saints gleam through the richly-tinted windows; frescoes bloom from the walls; the stonework itself luxuriates in brilliant pigments; the very pavement seems to blush with the warm glow of encaustic tiles; while the deep, rich brown of oaken screen and choir-stalls give a certain quiet dignity to the scene.

The great abbey at Maredsous, with its noble church is, doubtless, a grander conception; but it is still unfinished; the central tower is wanting; the decorative work, too, is incomplete. Many of the windows are unfilled with stained glass; and where this is not lacking, the designs, unless we are much mistaken, are not Béthune's. If they be, they are

certainly most unfavourable specimens of his work—not to be compared with the windows at Vive Capelle, nor the magnificent series in the clear-story of Ghent Cathedral. The frescoes, too, though from the baron's cartoons, are being carried out by a Beuron artist, who is altering them, with the consent, it is true, of Mr. Béthune—but still, it would seem, with his reluctant consent—to meet the canons of that semi-Egyptian, semi-mediæval, all-beautiful school of painting, of which he is so able an exponent.

One word as to the yet-unfinished wood screen, and we have done. Three Gothic arches of mellow oak, their spandrels filled with open tracery, destined to frame the iron gates and grill, which one day will shut in the choir support, athwart the chancel arch, a mighty beam. Above the central span there stands the rood, in form non-Jansenist—Christ stretches out His arms to all the earth. His head is slightly bent; the expression noble, awe-inspiring, sympathetic; the whole conception dignified and reverent; on either side the rood two figures—on the right hand, our Lady and the Church; on the left, the beloved disciple and the synagogue.

Such is the last labour—withal a labour of love—of the great artist who has just passed from among us. Along the beam which spans the rood screen, on the chancel side, graved in Gothic characters of gold, there runs a Latin legend—a legend which at the present moment cannot fail to touch the hearts of those who read it, of those especially to whom it daily makes its mute appeal, who know full well the bitter grief which, two years since, befell its gentle author. It bids them, in their psalmody, remember the Béthunes.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

“HORÆ LITURGICÆ:” OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

“PROPRIUM SANCTORUM”

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary. We have in former papers drawn out the likeness which exists between our ever-dear and beloved Lady and the priest, and in to-day's Mass, as in all her Feasts, Holy Church sets her before us a special object of our devotion. But to-day the special object of our consideration is her most holy name, which as the “mellifluis” St. Bernard tells us in the lessons of our Second Nocturn, means “Star of the Sea.” In his own incomparable way he brings out the signification of this name. For as a star emits its ray without suffering any detriment thereby, so our Lady brought forth her Son without hurt to her virginity. She is that star which was to rise out of Jacob (Numbers xxiv. 17), and to shine upon all the world with her splendour, illuminating the heavens, penetrating into the places beneath the earth (*inferos*), and beaming over the earth to quicken with her rays the souls of men, and cause the life of virtue to grow in their hearts, and to destroy vice. She is the star that shines with merits and illuminates us with her examples. Who does not see in this the picture of the priest after God's own heart? We, like our Divine Master, are called to be the light which enlighteneth the Gentiles (St. Luke, ii. 32); we are made to rise upon the just and unjust, the very Sun of Justice who comes each morning upon the altar, through our ministry, and, blessed be His mercy! we are not consumed by His awful majesty and splendour. God has set us up in the Church as a star whose “kindly light” should shine out “amid the encircling gloom,” and whose rays should reach to heaven and give glory and highest worship “to Him that sitteth upon the throne” (Apoc. v. 13), and this fall gently like refreshing dew upon the parched lands of Purgatory bring rest and coolness to the suffering souls. Our light should shine also before the wayfarers here below, that they may be helped by

our example to live to God and forsake sin. Hence we see how her gracious name, "like ointment poured out" (Cant. i. 2), is, like His office, our heritage; and therefore next to that of Jesus, none will be sweeter, none more invoked.

The Introit points this out especially, calling us the *divites plesis*; for of all God's fold we have received the most from His bounty, and have more means of grace. Therefore should our heart break forth into that "good word," the most holy name of Mary, lovingly calling upon her in all our necessity, especially when we tell to the King our great work of the Mass, which we do "communicating and venerating the memory of the glorious ever Virgin Mary, mother of God and of our Lord Jesus the Christ" (*Canon Missæ*). All this is also clearly brought out in the Collect. The fruits of devotion to her holy name are shown to us in the Lesson; "the fruits of honour and honesty," or, as the Vulgate has it, "of honour and riches." That is to say, of honour *from* Almighty God with that regal gift of growth in holiness, and of honesty in our dealings *with* Him, arising from a true sense of the worth of our vocation which tells us that He has chosen us that we may bear fruit to Him, and that our fruit might remain (cf. John. xv.). Again, from her we get the fire of "fair love," which casteth out fear (1 John, iv. 18); and, withal, that sea which exists with love being the gift of the Holy Ghost. We get through her prayers the loving regard of God, and, at the same time, our flesh and marrow are stricken with the awe of His sacred presence. She is the way and the truth by which we reach Jesus, the only way to the Father, and the only truth which can save us; for she is the neck, as the fathers delight to call her, which unites the Head to the mystical body. In her alone then is all our hope of life and virtue, for she is the channel by which Jesus sends His graces to mankind. We cannot be good priests walking worthy of our vocation unless we have an unbounded devotion to her whose spirit is sweeter than honey, and whose heritage is above honey and the honeycomb. Devotion to her is the sure means of progress in the way of God, for "he who eateth

me shall still hunger, and he who drinketh me shall still thirst;" that is to say, love of Mary will fill us with an intense hunger and thirst after Jesus, who alone can satisfy our heart's craving. In the Gospel are the words: "the name of the virgin was Mary;" we may recall St. Bernard's words (*loc. cit.*): "In perils, in difficulties, in doubts, think of Mary, call on Mary; let not her name depart from our mouth, nor cease from our heart . . . following her we go not astray, beseeching her we do not despair, thinking of her we err not; whilst she holds us up we cannot fall, if she protects us we need not fear; if she be our leader we shall not grow weary; if she be benign we shall succeed; look upon the star, and call on Mary."

September 14. *Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, recalls to our minds the lessons we drew from the other feasts in May (see I. E. RECORD, page 444). One new point is suggested in the Gospel by the words: "And I, if once lifted up from the earth will draw all things to Myself." We, "the children of the light," know that it was on the cross our Divine Master was lifted up above the world; so if we would conquer "the world and the lusts thereof" (1 John, ii. 17), it will only be by the royal road He trod. This road leads us away from the earth on towards heaven as He hung between heaven and earth, for it lifts us up above our earth-bound desires and loves. See also the effects the life of the cross gives a priest when he is lifted up by a mortified life as becomes a victim; He draws all things to Himself, for a penitential life must act as a magnet of souls, and lead others to run after him as after the good adorer of the Christ (2 Cor. ii. 15). Our pastoral power is increased a thousandfold; our pleadings with sinners obtain a force they otherwise would never have, for there is the strong force of example, which is as strong to excite men to good as it is to draw them on to evil. In a word, the success of our ministry, as far as it depends upon man's part, depends upon us leading a life nailed with Christ to the cross (cf. Gal. ii. 19).

September 20. *St. Eustace and Companions*, MM. See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 820.

September 28. *St. Wencelaus, M.* See I. E. RECORD, vol. xiv., page 824.

September 29. *Dedication of St. Michael's.* Recalls to us the teaching of the Mass for the 8th of May (page 459). "Blessed is he who reads and understands the words of this prophecy and keeps these things which are written therein, for the time is short" (Lesson). Why is the Gospel about childlike humility chosen for this feast of the archangel? It seems that as Lucifer lost all through his hateful pride, wherein he said, "I will not serve," so St. Michael and his followers kept their places by humbly prostrating themselves before God's eternal wisdom, and saying, "Who is like to God?" St. Michael's thorough knowledge of what a creature is in the sight of his Maker made him obey his Lord's behest; and it is this spirit of humility which must lie at the bottom of our service, if we would be pleasing to God. He has called us to serve Him in one particular way. Who is like to Him? Must we not, from the simple fact that we are His creatures, obey Him fully and willingly in all our vocation implies? Have we any rights, as the work of His hands, which we can set up against His sovereign claims upon all we are and have? See now, He has called us to be co-victims with the Divine Victim; He has called us to a life of priestly perfection, to be a light set in a dark place, to be the angels of His mercy to our fallen race. Is it not then the first and last object of our very being to obey His voice, and to fall in with loving submission to His gracious views concerning us, and thus to recognise that there is none like to our God who dwells in the highest? (cf. Ps. cxii. 5). If we, His angels upon earth, take a low view of our vocation, we are stumbling-blocks in the way of His little ones; and then, woe to us. The light will not shine, the salt will not give savour. Woe to us! for then we despise His little ones, and St. Michael with his angels, who ever see the face of God, and who, being so far above us in light and love, give us such an example of the humility which becomes a creature, will be our condemnation in the latter day.

THE TEACHING OF THE SUNDAYS AFTER PENTECOST

In order to complete our sketch of the teachings of the Missal, we will give a few notes upon the names for the Sundays after Pentecost. As we have the life of our Divine Master portrayed for us in the first half of the *Proprium de Tempore*, so in the second half we have His teaching set forth in detail, and He tells us how we must perform our duties. Durandus in his *Rationale*, tells us that as our life is a combat against the devil, the world, and the flesh, so Holy Church preaches for us at this time, extracts from the Book of Kings, wherein we read of the victories and trials of God's people, and lessons from the Scriptural books, which show us how we too are to triumph over our foes. It would be an interesting work to draw out the connection between the Matins and Mass of each Sunday, and one which would not be without advantage. But at present this does not enter into the plan of these little studies; we will content ourselves with noting the most salient points in each Mass. We find in each one of them some particular thought to which all the chief parts of the Mass refer. Some writers on the Liturgy have thought that they could find in these Masses a complete and orderly scheme of doctrine; but it seems to us rather to be the case that each Mass stands separately by itself, and has no direct relation with either the one that precedes or follows. When will the day come when the Sunday, the Lord's day, will resume its old place, and not be put out so constantly as it is now? When that consummation devoutly to be wished for arrives there will be more chance of a return to the liturgical spirit and devotion among our people.

First Sunday. We have here a practical lesson of charity towards others which is based on the mercy God shows to us. We put our trust in Him who giveth us good things (Introit), who is the strength of them that hope in Him, and without whom mortal weakness availeth naught (Collect). He is love itself, and has shown His love toward mankind by sending His only-begotten Son into the world that we may live by Him. Therefore if He hath so loved us, we ought to

love one another for His sake (Epistle). If we do this and "understand" with that knowledge which love gives, the needy and the poor, blessed are we, and in the evil hour God will deliver us (Gradual). Then, our Lord tells us to be merciful, and not to judge others, neither to condemn; to forgive and to be generous; for with the measure we mete to others so shall it be meted unto us (Gospel). So we pray for help to follow this teaching, and base our petition on the fact that we pray to Him in the way He has prescribed in the Gospel (Offertory). After the Sacrifice is completed we have a reminder of the wonderful acts of mercy we have received, and this should excite us to show charity to others (Communion); and the same thought runs on in the final prayer, wherein we pray that we who have been filled with gifts so great, may never cease to praise God by living a life full of charity towards our brethren.

Second Sunday continues this lesson of charity, and gives as a reason the great goodness of God who is become our protector, and has brought us into the "wide place" of His Church, and who wills to save us (Introit), according to those words of the Apostle (1 Tim. ii. 4), "God our Saviour who will have all men to be saved," for He never fails those whom He bringeth up in the steadfastness of His love (Collect). His loving-kindness has made us pass from life to death, because we show love to our brethren. We have a proof of His goodness towards us in that He laid down His life, according to His own blessed words: "Greater love than this no man hath, that he layeth down his life for his friend" (John xv. 13). Therefore as He has so loved us we should love our brethren whom He has loved so well, and should lay down our life for them, and love them not in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth (Epistle). Then we have brought before us the thought of the Blessed Sacrament, that miracle of love, and He tells us of that sacred banquet to which He so sweetly invites us (Gospel). And when we are going to renew this great act of His mercy, "which is of old," we ask humbly His help, on account of this love He shows us (Offertory); and that from day to day the work of heavenly life may

progress in us (Secret). After having partaken of this banquet of angels, we sing a song of thanksgiving for His infinite goodness towards us (Communion); and we pray that by frequenting these mysteries the salutary effects thereof may be increased in our soul (Post Communion), and we may love the brethren in deed and truth.

Third Sunday. This Mass carries on the same lesson again, and sets before us another reason in the fatherly care of the Good Shepherd for the sheep gone astray. He has shown pity for the one who had wandered out alone, and was stricken with poverty. He regarded the piteous state, and the labour, and He has forgiven the sin. So as in Him we hope and are not put to shame (Introit), so ought we to extend the same pity, the same long suffering to sinners. We know, alas! by experience that without Him we are not strong, neither are we holy; and as we need the increase of His mercy, and should have Him as guide and ruler if we would pass through things temporal so as not to lose things eternal (Collect), so this very knowledge urges us to bear with sinners, and to patiently help them to put their trust in the strength of His grace. He has care of the works of His hand, and gives grace to resist the Evil One. If we trust in Him, He will establish us, and will settle us (Epistle). So, as we have learnt for ourselves, we teach others to use the grace He so lavishly gives, and trusting in Him to resist the Evil One. The Divine Shepherd goes forth into the desert to seek the wandering sheep; and, finding it, rejoices, and brings it back home: so we, who have a charge of the Shepherd's office, and who should partake in His love for sinners, must go forth to seek him, no matter at what cost or toil, and, showing him all the love of a Father's care, lead him back rejoicing to the Sacred Heart (Gospel). The great act of sacrifice for which we are about to prepare is a solid proof that the Lord will never forsake those that seek Him again with true repentance, and He is not heedless of the prayers of those in need of His gracious assistance (Offertory). So as He has so many times brought us back, and has welcomed us again, oh! so lovingly, we will do His work for others, and cause the

angels of heaven to rejoice when sinners return to their God by penance, and once more living to Him (Communion).

Fourth Sunday, teaches us that we are made for life eternal, and we can never attain it without the help of God's grace. He is the only light and salvation of mankind. Sheltered by His grace, whom shall we fear? If armies in camp stand together against us, our heart shall not be afraid (Introit); for by His grace the course of life will run peacefully for us, and we shall enjoy perfect quietness of heart (Collect). Though sorrow and pain be our lot here, yet what can they compare with the glory in store for us when we receive the adoption of the sons of God (Epistle)? This adoption has already begun for us in Holy Baptism, and is still further increased by our ordination. Therefore, even now we lift up our head confidently and boldly, for lo! our redemption is at hand (Luke xxi. 23); and when trials do come upon us we call upon God with all confidence to be propitious to us, His adopted sons, and for the honour of His name to save us. God's honour is involved in our salvation, because He has called us to life eternal, and knows we cannot possibly reach it unless He help us with His grace. Therefore is it a matter of honour with Him, who sitteth upon the throne and judgeth rightly, to be the refuge of the poor in the hour of tribulation (Gradual). What a ground for confidence! Our Lord, we must remember, teaches us, from the ship of St. Peter, how to gain life eternal, and to put out into the deep of His compassion, and to let down our nets into His Sacred Heart, and thence gather in an abundant stock of the graces we need. We must remember this, that it is in the Church, and under St. Peter that we have to reach life eternal; in that loving conformity with the mind of the Church which St. Ignatius gives as a mark of a true Catholic. The letting down of our nets teaches us our need of help, and the sense also of His power to help us (Gospel); therefore when we are going, at His word, to let down the net by the sacrifice of the Mass, we pray Him to give us His light to see how to manage the grace we shall receive lest we sleep in death (Offertory); for our will is rebellious, and often will not follow the light He

gives, so we ask Him to so sweetly compel our will that we may "run after Him in the odour of His ointments" (Cant. i. 3, Secret). Then when we are one with Him in Holy Communion we feel that He is our firmament, and refuge, and deliverer, *our* God, and *our* helper, who will lead us to life eternal, and will not fail us.

Fifth Sunday. This Mass teaches us the duty of prayer, and tells us how to pray so as to be heard. We pray with humility, when we say: "Be *Thou* my helper; forsake me not, O God of my salvation" (Introit). We pray with love, when by His grace we love Him in all and above all (Collect). We pray with certainty, when we are "of one mind," with our Divine Head; that is, when we pray with the Church, using her prayers, and speaking in her name, sanctifying the Lord, the Christ in our heart (Epistle). We pray with joy and exultation, because He hath made us kings, a royal priesthood, and enables us to trust in His power, and greatly rejoice in the salvation He shows us (Gradual). We pray with charity towards our neighbours, when we see in them our brethren in Jesus (Gospel); with gratitude for all His gifts, especially for the gift of understanding hidden things of His love which is ever set before our eyes (Offertory). We pray in the union of all the saints, and refer our prayers for the benefit of others (Secret). We pray with perseverance and singleness of aim to do only His will (Communion) and with a real hatred of sin, and a love of inward purity (Post-Communion).

Sixth Sunday teaches us that by Baptism we died to the world and sin, that we have undertaken to lead a new life, and that we therefore ought to nourish our soul upon that bread of angels which is the true food of our soul. We are His people, His own heritage, and He our Eternal King, and the One whose will is to receive our prayers (Introit). Therefore pray we to grow in this new life of His heritage by the virtue of religion, and that whatever good He finds in us He would deign to cherish and guard by the gift of piety (Collect). Baptism was our dying to sin, and our rising with Christ to a new life, so we are bound to walk in the newness of life, crucifying our old nature and destroying

the body of sin, and no longer living as slaves thereof. Our life henceforth must be God's, and it is His by means of Christ Jesus our Lord, who is one with us in the Mystical Body (Epistle). He is our refuge, and in His justice will free us, and will make speed to deliver us from evil (Gradual). This He does by the Blessed Sacrament, wherein He shows His great pity for mankind who faints in the desert of this world if he be not fed with the Bread of Life and the "few little fishes" of the uncovenanted mercies (Gospel). Therefore in the paths of Him who has such food for our sins, we pray that our feet may ever be set, and that His mercies may ever be magnified upon them that trust in Him (Offertory). He will listen to our prayer for help to lead this new life (Secret), and will allow us to offer in His dwelling-place the victim of praise, rejoicing, singing, and speaking praise to Him (Communion) for having blessed and strengthened us in the way (Post-Communion) to heaven.

Seventh Sunday We are taught to-day to be on our guard against false doctrine, and are told how to recognise it. All nations are called to serve God in the joy which arises from the truth which the mighty Lord, the terrible One, the great King over all the earth (Introit) has designed to teach us. As this is His desire, His Providence will not fail to keep us aright, but will help us to keep out of harm's way (Collect) by the instinct of faith, especially as regards those things whose end is death and the darkening of the understanding. The wages of the human thing, the infirmity of the flesh, is death; but the grace of God, which comes by truth, is life eternal, because it unites us to our divine Head, Jesus Christ (Epistle). Therefore, let us go to Him, and learn of Him holy fear, and be enlightened with His truth, so that we shall not be confounded (Gradual). The false teachers who will try and rob us of the real Pearl of Price, our faith, can be known by their fruits. The grapes which give the wine which gladdeneth God and man (Judges ix. 13), can never be gathered from thorns only fit for the burning; nor can the pleasant fig, so sweet to the taste, from the thistle. False teachers say: "Lord, Lord," but do not do God's will (which is that everyone should be brought

to a knowledge of the truth) ; therefore, they close heaven's gate against themselves (Gospel). Alas ! are we also to judge ourselves as false teachers according to this heavenly rule ? If we try to do His will, and His truth abides in us, then, indeed, will our sacrifice be acceptable to Him (Offertory), as being offered by His devout servants ; on being blessed by Him it will profit all God's fold (Secret). But unless He hear us, and make speed to help us, we shall fall a prey to our enemies, who seek to rob us of the truth (Communion) : therefore we pray that the healing power of the Blessed Sacrament may preserve us from our own perversities, and lead us into all things which are right and in accordance with the truth (Post-Communion).

Eighth Sunday. We are spiritual men, and have only one aim and object in life, namely, to attain to salvation ; hence must we cast away all carnal devices which are unworthy of the sons of God. This is to-day's lesson as contained in the teaching of the Mass. By a vocation we are called in the midst of the Church to receive the fulness of His mercy, both for ourselves and for our people, therefore should His praise abound in our hearts, the city of God, and His justice be shown forth in our lives, which He holds in the hollow of His hand (Introit). So we pray Him to give us the spirit of thinking upon what is right, and of doing by His grace what will help us to live according to His will ; for, no longer are we debtors to the flesh so as to be its bond slaves ; but we ought to be its masters and mortify it, not in the spirit of servile fear, but in the spirit of the adoption of sons. Our vocation is the witness of the Holy Ghost, that we are in a special sense God's sons, the co-heirs with our Divine Head in the kingdom (Epistle). So, as men who live according to the spirit, we put our trust in Him, and hold our heart firm as His city and holy mount ; and we take heed lest we betray it into the hands of His enemy, and thus become once more debtors to the flesh. We are only stewards over this city, and we must heed lest we waste the Master's goods, for the time cometh when we can no longer hold our stewardship, but will have to account for our charge. How shall we act prudently as children of the light ? By

making a step-stone to heaven of our flesh which of itself seeks to lead us to hell; by mortifying and crucifying it, so that it may be a means of reaching the everlasting dwelling. This is a real making friends of the mammon of iniquity (Gospel). A spiritual man is an humble man : pride robs us of spirituality, and, by darkening the light of God, brings us once more into deeds of darkness under the yoke of the flesh (Offertory) ; therefore, we supplicate for grace by means of the Blessed Sacrament that our mortal pilgrimage may be holy so as to reach the never-ending joys of the eternal dwellings. What joy can the things of the flesh bring to one who tastes and sees how sweet is the Lord (Communion). As morning after morning we feed ourselves on this bread containing in itself all sweetness, all worldly joys grow distasteful, the spiritual alone secures an object of delight, and by degrees the defects of our mind and body are repaired by its might until it raises us up at the last day (Post-Communion).

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

THE VENERABLE JOAN OF ARC

WHAT are we to think of the shepherd girl of Lorraine, who, whilst yet a child, leaving her father's house, beneath the shadow of the village church at Domremy, became the liberator of Orleans, the victor of Patay, and the conqueror of the great Talbot ; who crowned her king at Rheims amidst the enthusiastic rejoicing of an exultant people, and rescued her country from the deepest depths of depression and degradation ?

The English, baffled by her skill and prowess, looked upon her as a witch, and as inspired by the Evil Spirit ; and heartless, God-forgetting writers consider her to have been the victim of a disordered mind.

“ At thee the mocker sneers in cold derision ;
Through thee he seeks to desecrate and dim
Glory for which he hath no soul or vision,
For God and angel are but sounds to him.”¹

¹ Mangan.

But fair-minded English, French, and German writers dwell with delight on the splendid story of her life, and enthusiastically portray the moral greatness and patriotism of this miracle of Christian womanhood and of Christian chivalry. Catholics have always revered this holy maiden, who, uniting the warlike skill of Scanderberg and Sobieski, the single-mindedness and purity of St. Catherine of Sienna, fought for God and for her country, and, by the help of God, gave back freedom to her native land ; and although the Church has not yet given her the honour of beatification, the Sovereign Pontiff, now gloriously reigning, has allowed her process to be introduced, and we already have the happiness of saluting her as the Venerable Joan of Arc.

Jeannette Romee D'Arc was born on the Festival of the Epiphany, in the year 1412, in the lovely village of Domremy, in the Duchy of Bar, in Lorraine, separated from France by the River Meuse, and situated on an ancient Roman road, then the great highway between Burgundy and Flanders. Her father was a native of Champagne, and the King of France was Suzerain of the country. She spent the happy days of girlhood in the low-roofed, rough-cast cottage home, with its fortress-like windows, nestling amid a pleasant garden, watered by a nestling flowing brook, beneath the shadow of the village church.

The life of this "strong, beautiful, and sweet-voiced" maiden was that of a modest, pious, peasant girl, who loved to pray in the village church, and to listen to the music of its bells ; who tenderly nursed the sick and dying, and won the simple hearts of little children by her winsome ways and as she sat at home by her mother's side, and learned to sew and spin, sang the holy songs of her native land. God was always present to her mind, whether she worked in her room, or trudged along the highway, or wandered through the silent woods ; and He alone was her guide in weal and woe. She loved to linger in the village church, and whilst her young companions played in the fields or streets, she was wont to kneel in prayer before the Crucifix and the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the dimly-lit Church of St. Margaret and St. Catherine. She went every Saturday

on pilgrimage to the Chapel of Our Lady of Bermont, and, having prayed devoutly and lighted candles, emblems of her faith and love, she decked the statue of the Queen of Heaven with skilfully-woven wreaths of wild flowers, gathered by her loving hands in the woods and on the wayside. The little girls of Domremy, who trusted her and loved her, and fearlessly followed her whithersoever she bent her footsteps, imitated her example, and often chided her for being too holy. She thus spent the happy days of childhood in obedience, work, and prayer; and, moved by sympathy for suffering, she was wont to yield her cosy bed to wayfarers and pilgrims, and to lie down to sleep upon the rough earthen floor of the kitchen. "A good girl, virtuous, chaste, and pious, speaking with all simplicity according to the precept of the Gospel:" such was the witness borne to her in after times by the companions of her youth.

When Joanna was born the air was dark overhead with thunderclouds, for the victory of the English at Agincourt had prostrated France in the dust, and everywhere were heard the trumpet wails of battle, and the grass was growing over countless Frenchmen who had fallen fighting nobly, but in vain, in defence of their king and country, their altars and their hearths. The country of Charlemagne and St. Louis had become almost a province of England, and when the King of France, Charles VI., died, in the year 1421, heralds cried aloud in the streets of Paris, "Long live Henry of Lancaster, King of England and France." The King of France, called in derision by the English, "the Little King of Bourges," was about to give up the struggle and fly to Scotland, or to Spain, and the kingdom was not unlike a ship beaten by the billows and rushing wildly upon the rocks. Everywhere there was gloom and sorrow, and naught else was heard over the fair fields and sunlit valleys of France save the cries of heartbroken widows and orphans, maltreated by lawless invaders, and become outcasts from their pleasant homesteads; whilst resistless armies overran the whole land, devastating and destroying. Such was the terror inspired by the English name, and so great was the horror of these dreadful warriors, who swarmed into France

from the mysterious, mist-shrouded, sea-girt island of the West, that it was a common saying among the simple peasantry of Lorraine, that Judas, the prince of apostates, was their fellow-countryman.

Joanna, like another Judith, wept over the woes of her native land, and her prayers often went up to Heaven craving pity for her people. She knew that nothing on earth is done without a cause, and that sorrow does not spring out of the earth, but that God chastises men for their iniquities, and saves them for His mercy. And God saw the affliction of the people, and heard their cry; and knowing their sorrow came to deliver them; and He who chooses the weak and contemptible things of this world to confound the strong called this lowly maiden, and made her go forth, like Macchabeus, and do battle against, and drive out the invaders of her country.

As Joanna was in her father's garden one day in Summer she suddenly beheld the Archangel St. Michael blazing with splendour beside the village church, and she heard his angelic voice, as of yore the simple-minded shepherds on the hill-side of Bethlehem listened with ravished hearts to the angelic choir bidding them hasten to worship the Holy Babe; and he told her the sorrows of France, and bade her on the part of God bring succour to the King. St. Margaret and St. Catherine then appeared, and ordered her to go to the captain of the King at Vaucouleurs, and that he would send her to the King; that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the King at Rheims. The shepherd girl, awe-struck, answered that she could neither ride on horseback nor lead an army to battle; but they rebuked her, saying that she should boldly bear aloft her banner, that God would help her, and that she should aid her King to regain his kingdom despite his many foes. Joanna was filled with joy, and kissed the ground trodden by their feet, and thenceforth she lovingly adorned their statues with flowers, and offered tapers to the priest to be lighted on the altar in their honour. These visions were frequently repeated, and the holy maid afterwards declared that her only wish was to fly to the help of the King, knowing it to be the will of God, and that "if she had

a hundred fathers, and a hundred mothers, and even were she the daughter of a king, she must have gone."

Joanna went with her uncle, who alone believed in her heavenly mission, on Ascension day, in the year 1428, to the small frontier fortress town of Vaucouleurs (*Vallis colorum*) which was still faithful to the King, in order to get an escort from the Governor, the sire de Baudricourt; but he answered that her uncle ought to box her ears, and send her back to her parents. She came again, the following year, in her poor peasant's dress, and told him that it was the will of God that she should raise the siege of Orleans, and crown the King at Rheims; and he came one day with the Curé to the house of the wheelwright, where Jeanne was staying, and where she remained three weeks, helping his wife spinning with her, dividing her time between household occupations and prayer in the church, or in the crypt, where she often prayed in the chapel of the Virgin. The Curé, wearing his stole, prepared himself to exorcise the maiden, commanding her if she were under the influence of an evil spell to retire; if not she was to approach. Jeanne approached the priest, and knelt before him, and afterwards told the Commandant of the popular prophecy, that "France should be lost by a woman, and saved by a young girl."¹ The people of Vaucouleurs were eager that she should strive to save France, and they bought her a horse, and a military dress, and two gentlemen of the town offered themselves as an escort to her on her journey. And one of them said to her, "Why do we delay, are we all to become English." "I have come here," she answered, "to the King's house to speak to Robert de Baudricourt to take me, or to send me, to the King; but he cares not for me nor for my words, and yet before mid-Lent I must be before the King, even should I wear my feet to the knees, for no one in the world, neither kings, dukes, nor the daughter of the King of Scotland, none other can regain the kingdom of France. He has no help save in me, and truly I had much rather spin at my poor mother's side, for this is not my estate of life; but I must be

¹ *Footsteps of Jeanne D'Arc*, by Mrs. Caddy.

up and doing, for such is the will of my Lord." He asked her, "Who is your Lord?" She answered him, "He is God." The chivalrous soldier thereupon took her hands between his own, and swore that with the help of God he would lead her to the King. Joanna, foiled in her hope of help from the Governor of Vaucouleurs, and urged on by the voice of the Archangel ever ringing in her ears, "Daughter of God, go, go, go! I will help thee," set out in the middle of February, on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the patron saint of Lorraine, at St. Nicholas-du-Port; and St. Nicholas heard her fervent prayers, for when she returned to the small frontier town the sire de Baudricourt received her kindly, and furnished her with an escort.

Joanna, with military dress, and armed *cap-à-pie*, rode forth with her little troop from the gate of Vaucouleurs, on the 23rd of February, in the year 1429, towards the headquarters of the King at Chinon. She hastened forward to the succour of the kingdom, upheld by the manliness of an humble soul and the strength of steadfast love, with undanted courage and fearless heart, across the war-stricken plains of France, through wintry uplands and leafless woodlands, over many dark broad rivers for one hundred and fifty leagues, avoiding the high roads, and towns which were held by the English and Burgundian invaders, and resting at night at some lonely hamlet, or sleeping in her armour beneath the shelter of some forest tree. She sped onward towards the west, through Champagne and Burgundy, and through the wild moorlands of Berri, and the low-lying meadows and undulating vine slopes of Lorraine, until at length, on the 6th of March, she safely reached the gates of Chinon, on the River Loire, where Charles VII. held his court with his few faithful followers. When the young maiden, after many delays, was admitted into the presence of the King, she walked, clad with shining armour, and with modest mien, through the throng of gaily-dressed nobles and officers, and throwing herself at the feet of her sovereign, she, with a sweet and gentle voice, thus gave him greeting: "God give you a happy life, noble Dauphin. I have been sent by God, fair Sir, to bring help to you, and to

your kingdom; and through my voice He bids you have yourself anointed at Rheims, and become the vicar of the King of Heaven, as every true king of France should be."

She then made known to him a hidden secret of his heart, and he half believing in her sent her to be examined by an assembly of learned men at Poitiers. She foretold to them that the might of England would be broken at Orleans; that the King would be crowned at Rheims; that he would reign at Paris, and that the Duke of Orleans would be freed from his prison bonds; and these learned ecclesiastics after a long and careful scrutiny declared her life was blameless, her words were wise, and her answers inspired by God, and that as the faithful subjects of the King had no longer any human hope, she should be entrusted with an army, and sent forthwith to the succour of the beleagured City of Orleans. The holy maid, meanwhile, spent almost all her time both day and night in prayer in her lodging or in the churches of our Lady, of St. Peter, and of St. Hilary, and those who came to see her proclaimed her very holy and the beloved child of God.

Joanna went at the end of April to Blois, where the main body of the army was gathered, and as she rode at the head of her knights and men-at-arms, clad with glittering armour given to her by the King, and with the sword of Charles Martel by her side, and her sacred banner emblazoned on either side, with the figure of our Lord, and with the shield of France borne by angels, in her hand, the enthusiasm of the people was very great, and the soldiers who had lost heart became again hopeful of victory. And as the meadows were once more bright with flowers under the benign influence of the balmy breezes and the warm sun of spring, so the French were filled with gladness at the sight of the heaven-sent maid.

Orleans, the last stronghold of the French King, was then besieged by the whole English army, and was about to surrender through dearth of food, but Joanna summoned the English leaders to retire, and besought them to join with France in a crusade against the Turks; and when they mocked at her letters she moved forward at the

head of the French army, and, instructed by the heavenly voices, she with consummate skill succeeded in carrying abundant provisions into the beleagured city. The young maiden, mounted on a white horse, with her white banner borne before her, and with the brave Dunois riding by her side, went through the streets of Orleans which were ablaze with torchlight, amidst the acclamations of the citizens and soldiers, who regarded her as an angel, to the cathedral to thank God for His protection. She called one day to the English from a bastion to withdraw; and when they answered, "Shall knights fly before a woman," she said, "*Retournez de par Dieu en Angleterre ou Je vous ferai courroucés*;" and every day the courage of the besieged increased, and the besiegers began to lose heart, so that whereas formerly two hundred Englishmen were able to put five hundred Frenchmen to flight, four hundred Englishmen now fled before two hundred Frenchmen. No military commander ever showed more watchfulness, more military foresight, and more skill than the Maid of Orleans; and whether defending the barbicans and bastions of the town, or leading an attack on the enemy, she exhibited a warlike wisdom and bravery that has never been surpassed. She at the head of her troops seized one by one the sixty strong entrenchments and redoubts of the besiegers, and having slain about eight thousand English soldiers, she beheld the English army, crest-fallen and beaten, fly from Orleans on the 8th of May, the Feast of the Apparition of the Archangel St. Michael. Joanna fasted and went to confession before every fight. She wept over the fallen foemen, and tenderly cared for the wounded, whether friends or foes; and when the great victory was won she had a solemn procession made through the streets of Orleans, to thank God for His blessings, and she had a funeral service celebrated for the souls of the slain.

The victorious maiden was enthusiastically welcomed by the King at his royal castle of Loches; and, though she was thwarted by his weakness of will, and by the jealousy of his courtiers, she succeeded in persuading him to set out for Rheims, in order that he there might receive the heavenly ratification of his rights, by being solemnly anointed and

crowned with the crown of Chlovis in the primatial Cathedral of France. Meanwhile she rode back to Orleans, and putting herself at the head of a splendid army to which soldiers flocked from all sides, she struck swift and strong blows upon the enemy. She marched with the Duke of Alençon on Saturday, June 11th, with streaming banners and glancing armour towards the East, along the marshy meadows by the side of wayward Loire, and on the following Sunday morning she laid siege to the strong fortress of Jargeau, which was held by the Duke of Suffolk with a large English garrison; and crying out, "Forward, fair Duke," and holding her sacred banner in her hand, she rushed towards the entrenchments, and took the town by assaults, leaving eleven hundred English soldiers dead within the walls; she then returned in triumph to Orleans with her prisoners and her trophies.

Joanna, on Wednesday, suddenly fell on the fortified bridge of Meung, drove the English out of Beaugency, and advanced swiftly with her victorious army after the flying foe to the plain of Patay, where the French army, commanded by the Maid of Orleans, and the English army, commanded by the great Earl Talbot, met face to face. When Joanna beheld the English army drawn up in battle array, she encouraged her troops with these soul-stirring words: "Fall boldly upon them; they will soon fly. Advance boldly on the English; they will be beaten. The noble Dauphin will to-day gain his greatest victory; my voices tell me that they are ours." The fight was short and bloody; and before the sun had set a glorious and decisive victory was gained. The English army was utterly routed; the heroic Talbot was a prisoner; and the battle-field was strewn with the corpses of the enemy. The holy maiden wept when she saw so many brave foes lying stretched upon the field of battle; and her tender heart was moved with pity for the sufferings of the hapless prisoners of war. Having seen an angry soldier strike his prisoner on the head, she hastily dismounted from her horse, and took the wounded man in her arms; and as he was dying she, with tears in her eyes, encouraged and consoled him, and held up

his head whilst he was receiving the last rites from the priest.

Joanna presented the renowned and formidable warrior, Earl Talbot, to the King; and Charles VII. began, on June 29th, his triumphal march to Rheims, escorted by the holy maid; for, although the towns and the country through which he had to pass were still mostly in the hands of his foes, the power of England was broken, and its prestige gone. Joanna rode at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, mounted on a richly-caparisoned palfrey, wearing a dark-green surcoat and a bright crimson mantle over her armour, with lance in hand, her trusty sword by her side, and her battle-axe slung from her girdle. She prayed as she moved hopefully onwards under the brilliant summer sun, through dusty highways, flowery lanes, and shady forests; and she never failed to worship in all the wayside chapels, and to entreat little children to pray to God for the success of her glorious enterprise. The English and Burgundian garrison fled at their approach, and the keys of the city were given to the King.

The King, with his whole army, entered Rheims, Saturday, July 16th, as the setting sun was shedding its after-glow upon the Norman towers and pinnacles of the Cathedral of Chlovis and St. Clotilde. Joanna had kept her promise, and fulfilled her mission, by bringing her king to the city where the kings of France were always crowned. She had left her humble cottage at Domremy five months before, and now all Christendom rang with her glory; and there, close by the closing scene of her triumphs, her father folded her to his bosom. She was then nineteen years of age. At sunrise next morning—Sunday, July 17th, A.D. 1429—the citizens and soldiers were astir; and the King, surrounded by his princes and nobles, amidst the chiming of bells, the blare of trumpets, and the loud acclamations of the people, was crowned, and anointed with holy oil from the Sainte Ampoule, as the rightful King of France. All those who saw the holy Maid of Orleans standing near the King, holding her banner in her hand, and heard her say: “Fair King, the pleasure of God is now fulfilled, who

wished you to come to Rheims to be anointed the true king of France, to whom the kingdom of right belongs," looked upon her as the guardian angel of their country.

"No longer on St. Denis shall we cry,
But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint;
Come in, and let us banquet royally,
After this golden day of victory."

Joanna wrote a touching letter to the Duke of Burgundy, who was in league with England, and whose subjects fought side by side with the English soldiery, on battle-field and city wall, entreating and ordering him on the part of God, to make peace with the King of France, and to take up arms against the Saracens, and bidding him beware of waging war upon the holy kingdom of France. The Duke of Burgundy, however, did not hearken to her appeal, but remained a steadfast ally of England, and a relentless foe of France, and of the holy maid. When a lowly friend from her native village asked the gentle girl whether she felt afraid amidst the din and strife of battle, Joanna answered: "I fear treachery alone;" and before the summer had come again she had fallen into the hands of her Burgundian enemies through the base treachery of her own false friends.

Meanwhile the pleasure-loving monarch went slowly onward from town to town of his newly-conquered kingdom, and at his coming the English and Burgundian soldiers fled, and the city gates were thrown open to the rightful king, whilst the holy maid reduced all the neighbouring strongholds of the English to subjection, and made their French nobles and peasants flock to her victorious standard. On August 15th, at the head of seven thousand men, she fought against the English army, commanded by the Duke of Bedford, who had marched from Paris with ten thousand men to stay her progress; and, although she failed to storm their strong entrenchment, they retreated, and she slept upon the field of battle. She entered in triumph into Poissons, Senlis, and Compiègne, and sang a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral of Beauvais, for the mercies of God to her afflicted country.

Cauchon, the count bishop of Beauvais, thenceforth hated her with a deadly hatred. Picardy was now ready to swear fealty to Charles VII., and Normandy was wavering in its allegiance to the English king, but Joanna besought in vain the weak-minded and voluptuous French monarch to march on Paris, and seize that last great bulwark of the power of England in France. The dauntless maid set forward thither on Tuesday, 22nd August, saying gaily to the Duke of Alençon: "Fair Duke, get ready your followers, and those of the other captains; I will see Paris nearer than I have seen it yet;" and riding swiftly through tree-shaded valleys and flowery fields, in front of her splendid cavalcade, with banners floating in the summer breeze, and armour glancing in the sunlight, she reached the town of St. Denis, hidden amid the woodland by the side of the winding Seine, and within a few days the whole French army was encamped on the plain of La Chapelle, on the outskirts of Paris. The King arrived at St. Denis, on the 7th of September, and was solemnly enthroned in the ancient abbey church, where the warlike kings of his royal race were sleeping in their tombs.

The French forces, twelve thousand strong, were drawn up in battle array at Montmartre, on the following day, September 8th, the feast of our Lady, and the mail-clad maiden, with battle-axe in hand, led the attack on the gate of St. Honoré, and fought during the whole day with marvellous skill and daring. The faint-hearted French leaders, however, withdrew from the fight in the afternoon, despite her earnest assurances that if they persevered the city would be taken. The heroic maiden still fought beneath the walls, although she had been severely wounded in the side by a bolt shot by an English cross-bow man, and she had to be forced from the field of battle at nightfall, crying out impetuously meanwhile: "The place might have been taken." She wished the next morning to renew the assault, but the King ordered her to desist; and whether jealous of her fame or weary of the war, he forsook the great prize that was almost within his grasp, and, leaving half his army to garrison the newly-conquered towns, he retreated with the remainder to

the banks of the Loire. The Lords persuaded Joanna to follow him, although her voices bade her stay at St. Denis. But before she left for ever this last scene of her military glory, she knelt humbly before the shrine of the patron saint of France, and gave thanks to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to the holy martyrs, for having escaped death; and, in accordance with the chivalrous custom of that age, she hung up on a pillar beside his tomb her rich suit of armour, and the sword which she had won in fight from an English knight, at the siege of Paris. She then followed the French king in his flight to Gien, being sad at heart at the thought that her heaven-given mission had not been entirely fulfilled; for "God does not help those who do not help themselves."

Whilst this youthful shepherdess was being taunted at Poitiers with her rashness in undertaking to save France, one of her judges said to her: "You ask for men-at-arms, and you say that it is the pleasure of God that the English should depart from France, and return to their native land: if that be so, no men-at-arms are needed, for the will of God alone is able to repulse and drive them homewards." She answered: "The men-at-arms will fight in the name of God, and God will give the victory." She neglected no human means, as if all depended on her skill and foresight, and she hoped in the help of God as if success were to come from Him alone. As she rode triumphantly through the beleagured city on the banks of the River Loire, she said to the citizens who thronged the streets in order to see her pass: "The Lord has sent me to succour the good town of Orleans." And when an aged man cried out: "My daughter, the English are strong and well entrenched; it will be hard to drive them away," she answered: "Nothing is impossible to the power of God." The holy maid sought in every way to win the help of God. She led a stainless life; she daily fasted, and confessed her sins with tears; and whenever she might she received in Holy Communion the sacred Body of Jesus Christ. She always went to the church at the dawn of day; and, having by sound of bell summoned together the priests, who followed the army, to offer the Holy Sacrifice

of the altar, she knelt in their midst, whilst they chanted a hymn to the Blessed Virgin; and when she rushed to the fray with her sacred banner waving in the wind, her war-song was the hymn to the Holy Ghost. She never failed to beg the prayers of pure-minded maidens and sinless children, in order to win the blessing of God upon her work; but her chief care was to reform the evil lives of her fellow-soldiers, since she looked upon their sins as the greatest enemies of her glorious enterprise; "for the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven."¹ She at one time sweetly reproved them, and at other times severely upbraided them, for their crimes; but the constant example of her spotless life, and her earnest piety, was the most powerful incentive towards their conversion. She ever exhorted them to penance and to trustfulness in God and His infinite mercy, and she promised them victory if they remained in the state of grace. She solemnly received Communion before them in the open air, and her faith and her love of God so worked upon their souls that most of them confessed their sins, and gave up their evil ways; so that within a short time the army became like a peaceful procession of religious men. God did not withhold His all-powerful help; but blessed the holy maiden so much that she became a miracle of holiness and wisdom; and the peasants who flocked to her standard fearlessly followed wherever her sacred banner waved. She was the wisest in council, the most unwearied in work, and the most fearless in the fight; and so unrivalled was her warlike prowess, that gallant knights fled before a woman. The French army and nation, however, became intoxicated with success as a holy priest had foretold, and fell back into their former wicked ways. Joanna foresaw the misfortunes that were to follow, and she often said to her confessor: "If I should soon die, bid the King, my master, for me, to be pleased to build chapels wherein the Lord may be invoked for the souls of those who have been slain whilst fighting in defence of the kingdom." The fair creature was doomed to die, and bribery and treachery

¹ 1 Macch. iii.

were the means of her destruction. The English looked upon her as possessed by the devil, and as a woman of evil life, and they threatened to burn as a witch "that creature in the form of a woman, who was called the Pucelle" by her countrymen. The holy girl herself never ceased to believe in the doom that awaited her; and although she did not foresee the manner of her death—the many spectators thronging into the city of Rouen, the lofty scaffold, the surging smoke, the crackling flames, and the angry shouts of bitter foemen—she ever felt within her soul a presentiment of her sufferings and shameful death.

November had now arrived, and the army of the King had been disbanded. The bitter winter wind swept wildly through the leafless forest, and the earth, both on hillside and valley, had become hard beneath its icy breath, and gloom again overspread the land of France. When, however, the springtime had come back, and the birds sang joyfully on bush and brake and hedgerow, Joanna, who loved her banner forty times more than her sword, and never slew a foe, leaving behind her the sensual court and the thankless King, girded on her armour, and dealt many a sturdy blow against the enemies of her country, and her soul-stirring war-cry once more resounded on battlement and bastion. She sped onwards towards Paris during Easter week bereft of help, and sorrow-stricken of heart; but her presence soon aroused the enthusiasm of her fellow-countrymen, and she fell swiftly upon the English army which was besieging Melun, and drove them away in headlong flight. As she stood one balmy April day on the city wall, gazing on the glistening Seine and the distant woods, and listening with delight to the music of the cathedral bells, as it floated over the fields by the riverside, she clearly heard her voices warning her that before the feast-day of St. John she would be a prisoner. The holy maid received the heavenly message with resignation, although she shrank from suffering, and willingly consented to bear the cross which her Lord was pleased to place upon her. She, however, earnestly prayed that her imprisonment might not last long.

Joanna left Melun at the end of April, and hastened

forward towards Compiègne, the French frontier town between the kingdom of France and the territory of the Duke of Burgundy and Flanders which was about to be attacked by the whole Burgundian army, aided by their English allies; and as she drew near Paris, the English governor, the Duke of Bedford, and his most trusty warriors were dismayed, but the holy maid passed on, and on the 13th of May reached Compiègne. The royal chancellor withdrew at her coming, but many of her former companions-at-arms gathered around her, and ere long she had brought together a powerful army for the defence of the threatened town. On the morning of Ascension-eve, May 24th, 1430, Joanna received Holy Communion in the church of St. James; and, as the story was often told in bygone days, whilst standing near a pillar of the church, and looking sadly at the eager faces of the children clustered round her, she said: "My children, and dear friends, I tell you that I have been betrayed and sold and soon I shall be delivered up to death. I therefore beseech you to pray for me, as nevermore I shall have power to serve the King, and the realm of France." She rode out of the city gate at the head of the French army, at five o'clock that evening, and made a sudden onslaught on the besieging armies. The Burgundians fled before the impetuous onslaught of the French; but the English gaining heart successfully fell upon their flank, and the French soldiers fled towards the city despite the heroic efforts of the holy maid. This "very beautiful, and very strong maiden," waving her sacred banner, and dealing blows right and left with her flashing sword, fought furiously in order to cover the retreat.

Many Frenchmen yielded themselves prisoners of war, whilst many, panic-stricken, threw themselves into the river flowing beneath the city wall. As friend and foe were mingled together outside, the Governor raised the draw-bridge, and Joanna was left alone with her faithful body-guard surrounded by her fierce assailants. She made superhuman efforts to cut her way through the throng of soldiers; the bells of the city meanwhile ringing the alarm, and the townsfolk on the ramparts breathlessly looking on, until at

length a soldier seized her crimson surcoat, and dragged her from her horse. She still refused to cry for mercy, and sought to wrest herself from their grasp; but she was taken prisoner, and given as prize to the Burgundian leader, John of Luxembourg, who sent her strongly guarded to his fortress of Beaulieu, and afterwards to his castle of Beaurevoir. She spent the weary hours of her prison life praying for her native land, for she was filled with sorrow for the sufferings of her people, and she yearned to fly to the help of her comrades at Compiègne. When she heard that she had been sold, by the Duke of Burgundy, to the English, terror-stricken and disheartened, making the sign of the cross, and entrusting herself to God and to the Blessed Virgin, she leaped from the topmost tower, hoping to escape, and was found by the warders lying senseless in the castle-fosse. The order at length came, that she was to be taken to Rouen, to stand her trial for sorcery, heresy, and rebellion, and she was hurried off in mid-winter to Le Crotoy, at the mouth of the river Somme. She beheld from the battlement of her prison the grey sea and the bleak strand stretching westward, and heard the waves beating on the shingly beach, and the melancholy sough of the wind coming from England, and then as the sweet sound of the bells of St. Valéry was wafted across the sands, her mind wandered back to her bright home in the vine-clad valley of Domremy, and the forlorn, and forsaken girl wept.

At Christmas when there was gladness and plenty throughout the land she rode through Normandy manacled and downcast amid her bitter foes, and looked for the last time on the fields and trees and peaceful homesteads, and having reached the town of Rouen at the beginning of the new year, she was roughly thrust into a gloomy dungeon of the castle, and sadly spent her nineteenth birthday therein, and lingered within its massive walls tightly bound with heavy iron chains around her neck and waist and feet until the spring had come again, forgotten by the faithless king, and bereft of every word of sympathy and love, but hoping in God, and ever praying for the welfare of France and of its rightful sovereign. Homesick and sad at heart, and daily

ill-treated and beaten by her savage guards, she bore her great sufferings with patience, and whilst standing before her pitiless judges, fearless as on the battle-field, the guileless maiden answered their wily questions with wise and modest words. This caged bird never ceased to sing her song of love of country and love of God, and instructed by her heavenly voices foretold that soon her native land would be freed by a victory given to it by God, and that the English would be driven out of it for ever. Prayers were offered up for her in the towns of France, and some gallant knights made a fruitless effort for her deliverance. Her voices promised her freedom and a glorious victory, and her hopeful, buoyant youthful heart rejoiced, for she little thought that a shameful and cruel death was the means ordained by God to free her from a life of strife and sorrow, and to lead her to a heavenly kingdom. She appealed in vain to God and to the Holy Father, and besought to be sent to the ecclesiastical prison of the city; but her wicked judges refused her prayer, and unjustly sentenced her to death by burning. When the guileless maiden heard her awful doom, and learned that she was to die in the spring-tide of her youth, she shuddered, and, overcome by a paroxysm of fear and anguish, throwing herself upon the stone floor of her narrow prison cell, she tore her hair and shrieked aloud, and piteously entreated to be put to death by the sword; but soon peace came back into her soul, and cheerful resignation to the will of God beamed upon her face like a sunburst when the storm-cloud has passed away; and, clasping her hands together, she earnestly prayed to God for mercy and for the forgiveness of her sins. The holy girl then confessed her sins, and solemnly received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and at nine o'clock on the 30th May, in the year 1481, she was seated on a rough cart with her hands bound behind her back, and she went to her martyrdom through the streets of Rouen guarded by eight hundred English spearmen, bewailing her sad fate and uttering mournful cries, whilst tears streamed down her cheeks, to an open space where the half-finished cathedral of St. Ouen was rising in all its loveliness, and she was led to the summit of a lofty platform in sight of a vast throng of

French and English citizens and soldiers, some of whom were moved with pity at beholding the meek and humble maiden about to die, whilst others were filled with deadly hatred against the great conqueror of their countrymen. The saintly girl clasped to her bosom and kissed and bedewed with her tears the crucifix which had been brought to her from a church close by ; and then kneeling down she prayed aloud for her friends and foes, and asking and granting forgiveness she besought the people to pray for her and the priests to offer sacrifices for her soul. Whilst she was praying to God, to the Archangel St. Michael, and to St. Catherine, she was dragged amid the scoffs and wrathful shouts of the English rabble to a wooden scaffold, and was chained to a stake, and fire was set to the faggots beneath her bare feet. As soon as she felt the scorching heat she sent away her faithful friend the Dominican friar, Martin L'Advenu, and stood alone amid the billows of white smoke and hissing flames until at length her body was wrapped in a sea of fire. She cried out thrice with a loud voice, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu*, and bidding farewell to France she ceased to live. She had fought her last fight, and had won the victory, and her death gained freedom for her native land. May her death still plead for France, and may England be forgiven her share in that awful crime.

ALBERT BARRY, C.SS.R.

LAMENNAIS

IV.

FROM his childhood Lamennais had been an ardent royalist. He had indeed been dazzled for a while by Bonaparte's splendid triumphs; but the attempt to make the Church and her Pontiff the tools of the imperial power had confirmed him in his old allegiance. He welcomed the Restoration as at once the re-instatement of the rightful monarch and the deliverance of the Church from an ignominious yoke. But he soon found that under the Bourbons the Church's position was hardly less humiliating than before. Louis XVIII., and much more Charles X., looked upon themselves as the heirs of all the ecclesiastical prerogatives claimed by Louis XIV. It was plain that under such circumstances Lamennais' uncompromising ultramontanism and his ardent royalism must sooner or later come into collision. As in other incidents of his life, his own impetuosity and the folly of his party precipitated the conflict. In 1825 he brought out a volume entitled: *La Religion considérée dans ses Rapports avec l'Ordre Politique et Civil*. The Government immediately prosecuted him on the ground that the book was an attack on the royal authority. Berryer defended in a speech which produced an extraordinary impression throughout the country, and is still looked upon as one of his master-pieces. When he had ended, Lamennais rose up. Disdaining any explanation of his meaning, or any appeal to the clemency of the judges, he said defiantly: "I owe it to my conscience and to the sacred character with which I am invested, to declare to this tribunal that I remain firmly attached to the lawful head of the Church; that his faith is my faith; that his doctrine is my doctrine; and that I will continue to defend this faith and this doctrine to my last breath." Though he was only fined a nominal sum, the prosecution rankled in his mind. Henceforth he ceased to be a royalist. He did not, however, immediately adopt any other political creed. He remained in a sort of pessimistic indifference until he was roused by the example of our

illustrious O'Connell. The Irish blood which ran in his veins was stirred at the sight of his brethren demanding religious liberty in the name of the common principles of freedom. At the same time the brave Belgians were successfully struggling against their Dutch Protestant persecutors. In his own country, on the other hand, the King, while exacting the most servile submission from the Church, nevertheless sacrificed her interests by the ordinances of 1828 against the Jesuit schools. Lamennais could restrain himself no longer. A fresh volume, *Des Progrès de la Révolution et de la Guerre contre l'Eglise*, announced a complete break with his political past, and a defence of the Church's rights on advanced liberal lines.

"We demand for the Catholic Church [he wrote] the freedom promised by the Charter to all religions; the freedom which Protestants and Jews enjoy; the freedom which the followers of Mahomet and Buddha would enjoy if there were any of them in France. . . . We demand freedom of conscience, freedom of the Press, freedom of education—just as the Belgians are demanding them from their government oppressors."

In his letters, he spoke even more strongly:—"The Belgian Catholics are much more advanced than we are. They see the need of curing themselves of that terrible disease called Royalism." "People tremble at Liberalism: make it Catholic, and society will have a new life." "When the Catholics shout out 'Liberty,' you will see many changes." When Charles X. tried to make head against the Revolution, Berryer implored Lamennais to rally to the royal cause. "Too late," was the answer; "*Jam factet*."¹ And when the unfortunate King and his family fled into exile, their former champion only said of them: "They thoroughly deserved their fate, they can never return."

Three months after the fall of the Bourbons, the first number of the famous newspaper *L'Avenir* appeared. Few men have possessed the qualities of a great journalist in a higher degree than Lamennais. Bold and quick, clear, brilliant and forcible, widely but not deeply read, he could discuss the graver topics of the day at short notice, in

¹ John xi. 39.

limited space, and in a manner adapted to the general intelligence. His weak health prevented him from making full use of his powers, but he had around him a devoted band of young and able men who were well qualified to second his efforts. Lacordaire, at this time a young priest, twenty-eight years old, had only lately joined the community of La Chênaie. A profound thinker, a passionate Liberal, he had long been repelled by the unsound philosophy and extreme royalism of the master. No sooner, however, had Lamennais finally broken with his old friends than this brilliant recruit rallied to his side. A still younger colleague, Montalembert, who was not yet of age, saw the first numbers in Ireland and hurried back to plunge into the fight. Though others sometimes wrote, it was these three—Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert—who were the soul of the new paper. The prospectus came out on August 20th, 1830. The very name *L'Avenir*, "The Future," was a programme in itself. It indicated the coming in of a new era. 'The age of kings was gone; the age of the people was at hand. The Church must still continue; but to live and thrive she must frankly accept the new conditions, and give up all vain longings to bring back an irrevocable past. A luminous cross, surmounting the Bible and the Keys of Peter, formed the arms of the paper, and for motto was chosen, not the old "God and King," but "God and Freedom."

"The majority of Frenchmen [said the prospectus] wish for religion and freedom. No stable order is possible if these two are looked upon as hostile to each other. The two chief forces of society cannot be in conflict without producing divisions and confusion. On their union—natural, and even necessary, as it is—depends the safety of the future. But there are many prejudices to overcome—many passions to be soothed. On the one side, men sincerely religious do not accept, or accept only with difficulty, the doctrines of freedom. On the other, ardent friends of freedom look with mistrust upon the religion professed by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen.

The present is a favourable time to put an end to this antagonism, for a salutary change has already taken place in French Liberalism. There are two Liberalisms among us—the old and the new. The former, inheriting the subversive doctrines of the philosophy of the last century, and particularly its hatred of

Christianity, breathes nothing but intolerance and oppression. But the new Liberalism, which is growing every day, and will end by swallowing up the other, restricts itself, as far as religion is concerned, to demanding the separation of Church and State—a separation necessary for the freedom of the Church, and equally desired by all enlightened Catholics."

October the 16th, 1830, was the date of the first number. The opening article was from the pen of Lamennais himself. After taking a rapid survey of the past, he pointed out that one rude hour had sufficed to engulf it for ever. "All this was going on but yesterday—to-day we seek in vain for some traces of what was thought to be everlasting, and now time rolls its waves over these mighty ruins." The torrent which swept them away is next magnificently described. "What then," goes on the writer, "What then is left? Two things—and two things only—God and freedom!" In the past the French clergy, notwithstanding the warnings of Rome, had made themselves the servile tools of despotism, and so had led men to believe that the Church was a foe to freedom. Hence the infidelity of the philosophers: hence the persecutions of 1793. The excesses committed in the name of freedom had, in turn, made that name hateful to Catholics. The time was now come to burst the ancient bonds, to heal the ancient feud, to make the Church put her trust in freedom, and freedom put her trust in the Church.

A violent outburst from nearly every side greeted this outspoken language. The old royalist party, fallen, but not yet utterly cast down, were filled with indignation against the traitor who would dissolve the sacred union between Church and king, and force the Church into an unholy alliance with the Revolution. With few exceptions, the Liberals, too, were equally antagonistic. Their mighty foe was more dangerous than ever, now that he had entered into their stronghold and was robbing them of their weapons. The younger clergy and the flower of the youthful laity—the partisans of the *Essai*—knew no bounds to their enthusiasm. They went about everywhere, *Avenir* in hand, flourishing the new teaching in the faces of their grave elders and bearing down all opposition. Day after day the

new journal continued to pour forth articles on the most burning topics. It demanded complete and unreserved freedom of conscience for all Frenchmen; the abolition of privileges of every kind; the entire separation of Church and State; the suppression of the salaries paid to the clergy; the repeal of the Concordat; free communication with Rome; above all, the non-intervention of the civil authority in the choice of bishops, and freedom to teach and to form associations. Outside the domain of religion the *Avenir* advocated the extension of the franchise and the establishment of local government in the departments and the communes. The opponents of this programme, Royalists and Liberals alike, were assailed with a power and a fierceness never exerted before on the side of religion. Philosophers and Gallicans, ministers of State and petty sub-prefects, doctrinaires and bourgeois, all came under a lash which knew no pity. Lamennais and his little band of followers seemed to revel in the numbers and the dignity of their foes.

Again following the example of O'Connell, they founded a Catholic Association (*Agence Générale pour la Défense de la Liberté Religieuse*) to carry out into practice the doctrines proclaimed in their journal. Woe to the Minister of State who issued a decree hostile to religious freedom! Woe to the petty official who dared to insult a village curé! Pulled down from their pride of place, or dragged out of their obscurity, they were held up to ridicule and contempt in the *Avenir*, and remorselessly pursued by the *Agence*. The military commandant at Aix forbade the Capuchins to wear their habit in public; the *Agence* summoned him before the Supreme Court, and obtained his removal to the other end of France. When the Trappists of Meilleraye were to be dispersed by a band of soldiers, the *Agence* offered to defend them by force of arms. The famous case of refusal of burial by the Curé of Aubusson led to an eloquent address to the clergy. A portion of it will give some idea of the style and method of the *Avenir*.

“ One of your brethren has refused to a man who died outside your communion, the usual farewell address and prayers . . .

Your brother was right. He acted like a free man, like a priest of the Lord resolved to keep his lips from servile benedictions. Woe to him who blesses against his conscience! Woe to him who speaks of God with a mercenary heart! Woe to the priest who mutters lies at the grave side, and who through fear or for vile wages conducts a soul to the judgment-seat of God. Your brother was right. Are we the gravediggers of the human race? . . . Your brother was right. But a shadow of a pro-consul was of opinion that so much independence was out of place in one so vile as a Catholic priest. He has given orders for the body to be brought before the altar, and the doors to be burst open, if necessary—the doors of the refuge where reposes under the protection of the law and the guardianship of liberty, the God of all mankind, and acknowledged by the majority of Frenchmen . . . A mere sub-prefect, a paid removable, whose own dwelling is secured from invasion, has dared to violate the house of God Himself. He has done this while you are slumbering peacefully on the faith pledged by the Charter of August 8th; while you are obliged to call down blessings on the king, the head and representative of the freedom of the nation. He has done this in the teeth of the law, which declares all religions to be free—and how can a religion be free, if its temple is not free—if dirt may be cast into it by armed force? . . . He sits by his fireside, calm and self-satisfied. You would have made him tremble had you taken your dishonoured God and borne Him to some poor little hut, vowing never to expose Him again to insult in the temples of the State.”

The *Avenir* did not restrict itself to attacks on the invaders of the Church's rights. The clergy were earnestly called upon to rise up, and cut off the chains with which they were bound:—

“Priests of Jesus Christ, what have men made of you? Nothing but public officials, paid for services rendered at the bidding of anyone who deigns to command you; imprisoned within narrow boundaries which you are forbidden to cross; compelled, at the whim of a policeman, to put on or to put off the distinctive dress of your calling—this is what you have become . . . The civil authority follows you to the altar; and there, standing by your side, it keeps an eye on the sacrifice and presides over the sacred mysteries. Do you recognise, in the unutterable degradation of this hateful slavery, the priesthood of the Son of God? And do you wonder that the people, disturbed and distracted, ask themselves how there can be anything divine in such an institution? Look at Christ: be poor like Him, and, like Him, you will be free, you will be revered, you will be strong. It was not with an order upon Cæsar's paymasters that Jesus

sent His apostles to conquer the world . . . What does a priest require for his mission? Nothing but lips that can speak freely and a morsel of bread? We are paid by our enemies, by those who look upon us as hypocrites and fools, who are convinced that our very existence depends upon their money. True, they are our debtors; but they have come to believe that in paying us, they are really giving us an alms. . . Fancy a debtor meeting his creditors, and flinging down some money in the mud, and telling them: 'Work, you idle beggars, work!' This is how our enemies treat us; and here we have been for more than thirty years stooping down in the mud to pick up the pittance which they throw us."

If such language excited the lower clergy, it produced a veritable panic among the bishops. Lamennais knew well that the hierarchy would not tolerate any dictation from a simple priest. Nevertheless he spoke out boldly to them:—

"To you especially, bishops of France, do we address ourselves; to you who are at once our chiefs and our fathers; to you on whom rest all our hopes, and to whom, in these evil days, we feel more keenly the need of drawing closely. Who are to be your successors? As death mows you down, one after another, to whom will your flocks be entrusted? Is there a Christian soul who does not shudder at the mere thought of bishops being chosen by the very men who have hewn down our wayside crosses, forbidden our teaching, and persecuted our faith? The ruin of the faith, the death of Catholicism in our midst—would not this be the inevitable result of a state of things which gives the Government control over the episcopal nominations? Think how soon there would be in France nothing left but a Church in chains, a mere shadow of a pastoral ministry, a vile puppet of a priesthood, blind, deaf, motionless, except when started by the lowest menial of the State. Bishops of France! bear well in mind, it is you, and you alone, who can grasp this great question, and secure the preservation of the sacred deposit entrusted to your care. The destinies of the faith, the salvation of the generations to come, are in your hands. Judge ye!"

The bishops were not long in coming to a decision, but that decision was a condemnation. In several dioceses the paper was forbidden. Seminarists who took it in had their orders stopped; professors were deprived of their chairs and curés of their parishes for maintaining its doctrines. This opposition did not at first alarm Lamennais and his friends. They had always looked upon the bishops as Gallicans, as

mere tools of the Government, with secret clings to the vile pay and empty honours bestowed by the State. They boldly declared that as long as Rome was on their side they could bear with the condemnation of the bishops. But the circulation of the paper rapidly fell away; the material resources of the party were reduced; and some of the members felt that they could go on no longer in so false a position. Lacordaire, who had had the largest hand in the *Avenir*, and had always been more of a colleague than a disciple of the master, advised an appeal to the Pope. It was arranged that Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert should go to Rome, and ask the Holy Father to decide between them and the bishops. Accordingly, thirteen months after its first publication, the *Avenir* ceased to appear. The last number (November 15th, 1831) contained an article signed by all the editors.

"We confide our protest [they said] to the memory of all Frenchmen in whom faith and decency have not died out; to our brethren of the United States, of Ireland, of Belgium: to all who are in labour for the freedom of the world, wherever they may be. We carry this protest, barefooted if need be, to the city of the Apostles, to the steps of the confessional of St. Peter; and we will see who will dare to stop the Pilgrims of God and Freedom."

V.

No one in France had done more for the overthrow of Gallicanism than Lamennais. In the early days of his collaboration with his brother Jean, in his own *Essai sur l'Indifférence*, and the controversies connected therewith, in all his articles in the *Avenir*, he had insisted in season and out of season on the infallible authority of the decisions of Rome. He boldly defended the rights of the Holy See from the encroachments of the State; he vehemently attacked the bishops for their want of submission to their Head. And yet in all this ardent advocacy we cannot fail to note a something that excites our mistrust. He seems to uphold Rome because Rome is on his side rather than because he is on the side of Rome; and he gives us to understand that the best proof of the infallibility of the Pope would be the approval of the *Essai* and the *Avenir*. He goes to the Holy

See as a dictator rather than as a suppliant ; he demands a decision—a favourable decision, of course—and the Holy See must be quick about it. One already trembles to think of what will happen if Lamennais' principle of authority and Lamennais' personal authority come into conflict. However, he and his two friends now journeyed to Rome, full of confidence in their triumph.

The Pilgrims of God and Freedom had hardly reached their destination when they perceived that their cause was lost. The mis-named Holy Alliance presided over by Metternich, was in the height of its power. Austria, Russia, and Prussia had been beforehand with them at the Vatican, and had called upon the Pope to condemn these audacious revolutionaries, who incited the populace to rebel in the name of religion. The French Government, too, exerted all its influence against them. In ecclesiastical circles their coming was viewed with marked distrust. Zurla, the Cardinal-Vicar, refused to receive them. When they asked for an audience of the Holy Father, they met with fresh discouragement. Leo XII., Lamennais' kind patron and friend, was dead, and had been succeeded by Gregory XVI. The new Pope had found himself face to face with the wave of revolution which swept over Italy in the autumn of 1831. But for the intervention of Austria his temporal authority would have been destroyed. He had been obliged to repress with sternness among his own subjects those very liberties for which the *Avenir* had been clamouring. The wonder is that he had not condemned its doctrines long before. He now caused Cardinal Pacca to convey to the editors his admiration for their abilities and good intentions, but at the same time his dissatisfaction with them for raising certain controversies, and advocating opinions which, to say the least, were dangerous ; and, as the examination of their case would take considerable time, he counselled them to return to France.

This announcement filled Lamennais with indignation. He could see in it nothing but cowardly truckling to the powers of this world. When at last, late in February, an audience was granted, he attempted in vain to discuss his

business with the Holy Father. Gregory received him kindly, gave him a pinch of snuff, talked for a quarter of an hour about the claw on one of Michael Angelo's lions, and sent him away with his blessing. The measure of Lamennais' resentment was now filled up: that single audience decided his fall.

"I have often wondered [he said, a few years later in his *Affaires de Rome*], I have often wondered that the Pope, instead of showing towards us that silent severity, did not say simply: 'You meant well, but you have made mistakes. Placed at the head of the Church, as I am, I know better than you her needs and her interests, and I alone am the judge of such matters. While disapproving of the direction of your efforts, I pay full justice to your intentions. Go back now, and from henceforth, before intervening in these delicate questions take counsel with those whose authority should be your guide.' These few words would have settled the whole matter. None of us would ever have thought of resuming our suspended activity, Why did he, on the contrary, persist in refusing us even a single word? I can only explain his conduct by the intrigues which went on around him, by the secret calumnies with which our enemies sought to blacken us in his eyes, and also by the incapability, which seems inherent in all powers, to believe in disinterestedness, sincerity, and uprightness."

One at least of the pilgrims—he who had originally suggested the appeal to Rome—submitted humbly to the Pope's injunction. Lacordaire now saw, when it was too late, that the appeal had been a fatal mistake, and that they had brought all their misfortunes upon themselves. He left the Eternal City soon after the audience. On the other hand, Montalembert, who, though still a youth, had clearly foreseen the result of the appeal, and had therefore been opposed to the journey, now clung with chivalrous devotion to his discomfited master. Lamennais determined to stay on; he had come for a decision, and a decision he would have. Shunned in all quarters, civil and ecclesiastical, he lingered on through the spring far into the summer.¹ The bitterness of his feelings, the acute sufferings of his nervous, feverish temperament, during these weary months of delay may be seen in his letters. He speaks of the Pope as "a good

¹ He stayed at the Barnabite Convent of St. Andrea della Valle as the guest of Father Ventura.

religious, who knows nothing about the world and has no idea of the condition of the Church." He compares the Papal Curia to the vile eunuchs of the lower Empire. "One of the happiest days of my life will be the day on which I shall get out of this huge sepulchre of worms and bones . . . I must have air to breathe: I must have movement, faith, love—none of which can be found amidst these old ruins over which the basest human passions crawl in darkness and in silence, like so many loathsome reptiles." At last he gave out publicly that he meant to return to France, and resume the *Avenir*.

"As soon as our mind was made up [he writes in his *Affaires de Rome*] we lost no time in quitting Rome. It was towards evening in the month of July. From the high ground overlooking the vale through which the Tiber winds its way we bade a last and sad farewell to the Eternal City. The slanting rays of the setting sun lit up the dome of St. Peter's, the image and reflection of the ancient glories of the Papacy. One by one the various objects faded from view, as darkness came upon the scene. By the doubtful twilight we still caught a glimpse, here and there, of the tombs along the roadside; not a breath of air stirred the dull, dead atmosphere, not a single blade of grass waved; no sound fell on the ear but the tramp of the horses' hoofs, and the monotonous rumble of the diligence wearily dragging along over the desert plain."

Germany, not France, was their first destination. Passing through Venice and the Tyrol, they reached Munich. Soon after their arrival they were joined by Lacordaire, who became reconciled with his old leader by the mediation of Montalembert. Next day, August 30th, the three editors of the *Avenir* were entertained at a banquet by the principal artists and literary men of the Bavarian capital. Görres was there, and Schelling, and Baader, and a young professor already famous—Ignaz Döllinger. The company had just drunk with great enthusiasm the toast of union between French and German Catholics, when Lamennais was summoned out of the room. In a few moments he returned, but with troubled face and flashing eyes, and carrying a document in his hand. He said nothing. Everyone felt that something serious had happened. Soon afterwards the

company broke up. As they were going out, Lamennais whispered to his colleagues: "I have just received an encyclical. It is against us . . . We must immediately submit." At last Gregory XVI. had spoken. The troubles in his states had hitherto prevented him from issuing the letter usually addressed by a new pontiff to the bishops of the world. The encyclical beginning with the words *Mirari vos*, and dated August 15th, 1832, explained this omission, and also took occasion to condemn in severe terms, but without naming any person, the whole policy of the *Avenir*. Liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, freedom of the press, the right of Insurrection—all were condemned.¹ Lacordaire and Montalembert went home with Lamennais to his lodgings, and there an act of submission was drawn up and signed by all three. The *Avenir* was not to appear again; the *Agence* was declared to be dissolved. Let us listen again to Lamennais on his submission and its sequel.

"It was, I confess, a happy day for me when I was able to go back to a calm, quiet life. Certainly, no thought, even the vaguest, of taking any new action entered my mind. I had had enough of fighting; I was worn out with fatigue. Rome gave me rest once again, and I embraced it with a joy which would have made me scruple, had it not come under the guise of duty. All that the editors of the *Avenir* had promised, they fulfilled to the letter. The affairs of the paper, and of the *Agence* were duly liquidated. Everywhere throughout the provinces our friends displayed the same unhesitating submission. Far away from Paris, retired in the country, living there in the bosom of Nature, whose charm is never so great as when one has seen close at hand the passions of men and the crying miseries of society—no desire, no regret, no feeling of *ennui* disturbed the peace of my solitary hours of study. This peace was not to last long. Certain miserable creatures store up, in their gloomy depths, animosities which nothing can calm; secret hatreds, which hide out of very shame, but which burst forth when they can clothe themselves with a pretext of zeal. Hardly had our declaration appeared when murmurs

¹ This is not the place to explain that the condemnation fell upon these doctrines in the abstract. In practice, under special circumstances, they might be tolerated, and even advisable. See *Acta ex quibus excerptus est Syllabus editus die viii. Decembris, MDCCCLIV, Romae, 1865*; Dupanloup's *La Convention du 15th Septembre, et l'Encyclique du 8 Decembre*, for which the author was thanked by Pius IX., Newman, *Anglican Difficulties*, vol. ii., page 246, *sqq.*

of mistrust and discontent began to be whispered abroad. It was not complete enough or explicit enough; it was too like the respectful silence of the Jansenists. Intrigues were hatched; calumnies were sown secretly; timid souls were disturbed by these charitable impostures uttered in a tone of regret—impostures which they would not and did not believe, but which nevertheless were repeated by everyone. Then came direct provocations, insults, outrages. Our enemies hoped to entangle us in discussions which were as delicate as they were dangerous for persons in our position. We detected the snare, and avoided it by holding our tongue. This increased their rage. They had not reckoned on this moderation—and why should I not say it?—they had not reckoned on such patience, in which they detected something like contempt.”

VI.

The eventful year 1832 passed away, and the spring of 1833 arrived. Great preparations were made at La Chênaie to celebrate Easter with more than usual solemnity. The morning broke brilliantly. Lamennais, assisted by a number of the neighbouring clergy, officiated at the Mass, and administered Holy Communion to his youthful disciples. All the community were filled with the gladness of the feast. Their dark days were over and gone; their prospects never seemed brighter. Little did they dream that they had been present at the last Mass of the master.

In truth, Lamennais was far from enjoying that peace of mind of which he boasted. Sainte-Beuve was astonished at his bitterness against Rome. To Lacordaire he seemed like one from whom the Spirit of God had departed; like a second Saul, borne along to a sure and awful doom. And while all was troubled within, his adversaries allowed him no chance of rest. Monsignor D'Astros, Archbishop of Toulouse, in concert with other bishops of the South, condemned a hundred and forty propositions extracted from his writings. This step was severely censured by Rome, on the ground that the decision of such matters belonged to the Holy See. Far from being touched by this protection, Lamennais spoke with increased bitterness. Then came threats of suspension. The Bishop of Rennes, in whose diocese La Chênaie was situated, was an old soldier of the army of Condé, and held rigid views of discipline. Once again Lamennais appealed

to Gregory XVI., to beg to be informed of what was required of him. The answer, received through the Bishop, insisted on absolute adhesion to the encyclical *Mirari Vos*, and a promise neither to write nor to approve of any doctrine not in conformity with it. This was more than he was prepared to do. Accordingly, the Bishop addressed a circular to his clergy announcing that M. de Lamennais had resigned his faculties, and would not receive them again until he had given satisfactory proofs of his complete submission. This was a severe blow to the unfortunate abbé, as the communities at La Chênaie and Malestroit could no longer exist when their founder was silenced. And then came a keener pang. As he was packing up the library for transport to Paris, his brother Jean came upon the scene, and exclaimed indignantly, "*Your books! your books! they are ours.*" Féli left the cases as they stood, and set off without a word. The two brothers never met again.

All was not over yet. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quélen, while disapproving of Lamennais' views, had always treated him with the greatest kindness. By his good offices the erring priest was induced to communicate again with Rome, and at length to sign a complete and unreserved submission (December 11th, 1833). The Pope's joy was unbounded. He himself wrote a touching letter to his repentant son, congratulating him on his obedience and exhorting him to employ his splendid talents in defence of the doctrines of the encyclical. But the submission was only an act of despair. Lamennais was resolved to have no more to do with ecclesiastical matters, but to devote himself to politics. Soon it was rumoured that a fresh book was coming out which would startle the world more than anything he had ever written before. Mgr. de Quélen became alarmed. He wrote to ask whether the report was true, and was assured that the work was a merely political one. Then he called in person, and implored Lamennais not to publish it. But all in vain. Within a few months of his complete and unreserved submission the little volume entitled *Paroles d'un Croyant* wrecked his career for ever.

One morning, more than a year before this time, as he

was pacing the gloomy walks of La Chênaie, and brooding over the desertion of his followers and the ruin of all his schemes and hopes, it occurred to him to unburden himself in a series of rhythmical prose poems. As each was finished he went back into the house, and wrote it down, and then set out to begin another. Though they were at first meant only for his own eye, he soon imparted the secret to the faithful few who still stood by him. Then came his difficulties with the bishop, his suspension, his conflict with Rome, and, finally, his submission. This last act exhausted his self-restraint. "It is time that all this should come to an end," he said to his young friend Sainte-Beuve, and placed in his hands the manuscript for publication. As the sheets were passing through the press, the printer wrote to say that the little book would make a great stir in the world, for his workmen were wild with excitement about it. And, surely enough, a violent commotion followed its appearance. Not France only, but all Europe, read it and received it with enthusiasm or rejected it with horror. Beginning with the Sign of the Cross, and arranged in verses like the Scriptures, and closely following their very words and style, it describes, in visions and parables, the woes of the down-trodden people and the infamies of their rulers. Sometimes we seem to be reading the most inspired passages of the *Imitation*; or we gaze on some touching scene of the virtues and sorrows of the poor; then we are hurried away, and plunged into the nethermost pits of hell, to emerge again, and see the multitudes rising in their strength, and marching on to victory. No analysis of such a book can be attempted; it is arranged on no plan; it follows no rules. It must be read to be understood; and even at this distance of time the reader will feel something of the horror and the admiration which it aroused on its first appearance. We cannot here quote the beautiful chapter on Prayer (xviii.), the sonorous litany (xxiii.), the wailing chant of the exile (xli.), the blessings on the youthful defenders of the fatherland (xxxviii.). We have only space for an extract which will enable us to understand why the book was so severely condemned. Take, for example, the vision of the kings,

seated on their chairs of iron, in a gloomy hall, draped with black, and lit only by a single blood-red lamp (xiii.) :—

“ In the midst of the hall stood a throne made up of bones, and at the foot of the throne for a footstool a crucifix reversed, and in front of the throne an ebony table, and on the table a vessel of foaming blood and a man's skull.

And the seven men with crowns on their heads looked pensive and sad, and from the depths of its hollow orbit their eye sent forth from time to time flashes of livid fire.

And one of them rising up staggered towards the throne, and put his foot on the crucifix.

As he did so his limbs shook, and he seemed ready to faint. The rest gazed on fixedly; no one of them stirred, and yet a something passed over their brow, and a smile that is not human contracted their lips.

And he who had been ready to faint stretched forth his hand, seized the vessel of blood, poured some into the skull, and drank.

And the draught seemed to give him strength.

And lifting up his head a cry came from his breast like a death-rattle :

‘ Cursed be Christ, who brought freedom upon earth !’

And the other six men crowned rose up together and together uttered the same cry :

‘ Cursed be Christ, who brought freedom upon earth !’

After which, when all were once more seated, the first said :

‘ What shall we do, brethren, to stifle freedom ? For our reign is ended, and the reign of freedom hath begun . . . Here is what I advise. Before Christ came, who could withstand us ? It is His religion which hath undone us : Away then with the religion of Christ !’ And all answered : ‘ It is true, away with the religion of Christ.’ ”

Then each in turn goes through the same ghastly ceremony, and suggests the abolition of science and thought, the suppression of free speech, the propagation of discord and terror, the sowing of vice and corruption.

“ Then the seventh, having drunk from the skull like the rest, spake thus, with his foot on the crucifix :

‘ Away with Christ ! there is war to the death between Him and us.

But how can we detach the people from Him ? Our own efforts have been in vain. What is to be done ? Listen to me : we must win over the priests of Christ by riches and honours and power, and they will command the people in the name of Christ

to be subject to us in all things, and the people will believe them, and will obey for conscience' sake; and our power will be strengthened more than before.'

And all made answer: 'It is true. Let us win over the priests of Christ.'"

In short, the moral of the *Paroles* is, that the powers that be are not of God, but of the devil; that kings are monsters of infamy, and priests are their willing tools. Though the Church and the Pope are not mentioned, the whole is a fierce attack on the doctrines of the *Mirari vos*. Lamennais himself acknowledged that Rome must now speak out. The encyclical *Singulari nos*, dated June 25, 1834,¹ is couched in terms very different from those of the encyclical two years before. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* is described as "small indeed in bulk but in wickedness enormous." Its attacks on lawful authority are set forth at length, and are there pronounced to be "false, calumnious, rash, leading to anarchy, contrary to the word of God, impious, scandalous, erroneous, already condemned by the Church in the Waldenses, Wycliffites, Hussites, and other like heretics." Moreover, Lamennais' philosophical system, so long tolerated out of respect for his services, was now condemned.

This encyclical dealt the final blow to Lamennais and his school. Lacordaire had already left him. The others soon followed. He himself never again gave any sign of submission. And thus the great movement, begun amid such brilliant hopes, seemed to have come to an end; but it was destined to be taken up again in better days and conducted by wiser if not abler hands to a glorious and successful issue.

T. B. SCANNELL.

¹ Ricard and Spuller repeatedly give the date as July 15, and I have unfortunately followed them in my first article. The document bears the date, "vii. Kal. Julias," that is, June 25.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

MAY A WOMAN BE PERMITTED TO SAY THE RESPONSES TO A PRIEST CELEBRATING MASS ?

REV. DEAR SIR,—I find among the priests of my acquaintance a difference of opinion regarding the nature of the circumstances which render it lawful for a priest to say Mass when he cannot have a male Mass-server, but must permit a woman to say the responses. For while some maintain that this is never lawful unless the priest is obliged to say Mass, either for the purpose of enabling a number of persons to satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on a Sunday or other day of obligation, or for the purpose of consecrating a host wherewith to administer the Viaticum to a dying person; others, on the contrary, hold that it is lawful, even when the priest wishes to celebrate Mass merely out of devotion. As the question is at present a very practical one, you will confer a favour not merely on the readers of the I. E. RECORD, but also on the liturgical canons, by stating what precisely they teach on this point.

SACERDOS.

On the point raised by our esteemed correspondent there are several decisions of the Congregation of Rites, two of which are quite recent. The first decision bears the date of August 27th, 1836, and refers to the case in which the priest who wishes to celebrate Mass is under *some necessity* of celebrating. The Congregation was asked:—

“Potestne Sacerdos, omnibus sibi prius commode dispositis, quæ ad sacrificium occurrere possunt, ne mulieres inserviant altari, uti ministerio mulieris tantum pro responsis?”

The reply of the Congregation was a conditional affirmative: “*Affirmative, urgente necessitate.*”

This reply, we need hardly remark, did not finally settle the question, for it left undefined the nature of the necessity that would justify a priest in permitting a woman to say the responses.

For, clearly, the condition—*urgente necessitate*—appended by the Congregation to their affirmative reply can be understood in at least two ways. In the first place it may refer to the case in which it is necessary for the priest to celebrate Mass in order to give others the opportunity of fulfilling the precept of hearing Mass, or that he may be able to administer the Viaticum to a dying person. Or, secondly, it may merely refer to the case in which a priest wishing to celebrate Mass cannot conveniently have a person of the male sex to serve his Mass, while he can have a woman to say the responses. The latter, we believe, was the usual, if not the universal, interpretation of the condition as expressed by the Congregation. However, as the other interpretation was at least probable, the one commonly acted upon remained doubtful, and hence the Congregation was lately asked to solve the doubt, and so settle the matter for all time. The question to the Congregation came from the Vicar-General of the diocese of Cahors. We submit both question and reply to our readers:—

“ R. D. Vicarius Generalis Rmi. Domini Episcopi Cadurcen. S. Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum ;

“ Ob temporum nequitiam saepe contingit ut nonnisi difficillime habeatur minister qui missae inserviat, ita ut sacerdoti a sacro abstinendum sit nisi ministerio mulieris utatur. Quum vero dubitatur utrum hoc in casu vera adsit necessitas de qua in Decreto S. Rituum Congregationis dici 26 Augusti 1836, hinc quaeritur.

“ An Urgens dici possit necessitas in casu quo sacerdos sacrosanctum missae sacrificium celebrare non potest quod minime necessarium est neque ad sacramentum pro infirmo conficiendum nec ad praeceptum adimplendum ?

“ Et sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum caerimoniarum Magistris ita proposito dubio rescribendum censuit ;

“ *Negative.*

“ Atque ita rescripsit et declaravit, die 4 Augusti, 1893.”

This response of the Congregation of Rites rendered untenable the second opinion mentioned by our correspondent, and obliged priests wishing to celebrate from mere devotion rather to abstain from celebrating than to permit a

woman to say the responses. And as a pretty general custom contrary to this decision had already been in existence, the decision was naturally a cause of considerable consternation to many priests, and numerous questions regarding its authenticity and full effect, as well as numerous complaints regarding the inconvenience of observing it, were forwarded to the Congregation. Moved by these the Congregation suspended the execution of the Decree, and announced this decision in the following letter addressed to the Bishop of Cahors, and dated January 12th, 1894:—

REVERENDISSIME DOMINE UTI FRATER,

Novit Amplitudo Tua quod dubio ab ipsam et proposito circa mulieris ministerium in Missa, Sacra haec Rituum Congregatio negative rescribendum censuit die quarta Augusti anno superiore. Quum inde hac de re ad Eandem nonnulla quaesita pervenerint, idem Sacrum Consilium nova in iisdem allata rationum momenta statuit perpendenda, atque interim praefati diei Rescriptum non esse executioni mandatum.

Haec dum pro mei muneris ratione Amplitudini Tuae comunico, diuturnam ex animo felicitatem adprecor.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Uti Frater

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *S.R.C., Praef.*
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S.R.C., Secret.*

Romae, die 12 Januarii 1894.

For the present, therefore, the custom existing previous to the Decree of August, 1893, may be persevered in.

ADDITION TO THE SIXTH LESSON OF THE OFFICE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, AND TO THE MARTYROLOGY

Our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., at the urgent request of many bishops has declared St. Vincent de Paul the patron of all the charitable societies in the whole world, whose existence can be in any way traced to the influence of this great apostle of fraternal charity. In commemoration of this, certain additions have to be made to the sixth lesson in the feast of the saint, and also to the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of July, the day of his feast. We append the changes,

together with the Rescript sanctioning them, both of which we hope, for the sake of the clergy, will be duly recorded in the *Ordo* for the coming year.

IN FESTO S. VINCENTII A PAULO CONF.

ADDITIO AD CALCEM VI. LECTIONIS.

Post verba: "die decima nona mensis Iulii quotannis assignata" addatur: "Hunc autem divinae caritatis eximium heroem, de unoquoque hominum genere optime meritum, Leo Tertiusdecimus, instantibus pluribus Sacrorum Antistitibus, omnium Societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium, et ab eo quomodocumque promanantum, peculiarem apud Deum Patronum declaravit et constituit."

ADDITIO MARTYROLOGIO ROMANO INSERENDA.

(19 Iulii) Quarto decimo Kalendas Augusti . . . "Sancti Vincentii a Paulo Confessoris, qui obdormivit in Domino quinto Kalendas Octobris. Hunc Leo decimus tertius omnium Societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium, et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium, caelestem apud Deum Patronum constituit."

RESCRIPT.

Quum per Litteras Apostolicas in forma Brevis, diei 12 Maii 1885, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. Sanctum Confessorem Vincentium a Paulo *omnium societatum caritatis in toto catholico orbe existentium et ab eo quomodocumque promanantium seu peculiarem apud Deum Patronum* declaraverit et constituerit; Rñus D. Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis, quo sancti Patris ac Fundatoris sui in universa Ecclesia honor et gloria magis magisque adaugeatur, Sanctissimum eundem Dominum Nostrum iteratis precibus rogavit, ut de eiusmodi Patronatu tam in Officio quam in Martyrologio Romano, die decimanona Iulii, per additamenta a se proposita, mentionem fieri benigne concederet.

Hae porro additiones quum a me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto et Relatore, in Ordinariis ipsius Sacrae Congregationis Comitibus ad Vaticanum subsignata die coadunatis, ut approbarentur propositae fuerint; Emi ac Rñi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audito R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, ita rescribere rati sunt: *Pro gratia et ad Emum. Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei.* Die 10 Iulii 1894.

Itaque earumque additionum revisione per me infrascriptum Cardinalem una cum eodem Promotore S. Fidei rite peracta, atque a meipso facta Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII

de hisce omnibus relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis ratam habens eiusmodi additamenta prout huic praeiacent Decreto, tam in Breviario quam in Martyrologio Romano inseri iussit. Die 23 iisdem mense et anno.

✠ CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA S. R. C. PRAEF.
ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, *Secretarius.*

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

PRÊTRES-ADORATEURS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the July number of the I. E. RECORD, in an article on the Association of the "Priest-Adorers" of the Blessed Sacrament, by the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, Mallow, over the words :—"Already, in some dioceses in Ireland, priest-adorers have gathered around them in their weekly adoration large numbers of the faithful, who can also be associated."

This practice appears to have arisen from a mis-reading of the statutes of the Association, and it is a pity that the faithful should be permitted to suppose that they gain indulgences which they do not, whereas by the same devout exercises they may gain many ample indulgences.

I am enclosing a copy of the *Statuta Associationis*, in which you will notice, under II. *Conditiones adscriptionis*, that the first condition is, "*Ut Sacerdotali caractere insigniatur, vel sit saltem in Sacris Ordinibus constitutus.*" There is nothing in the other conditions modifying this first essential.

Under III. *Associationis regulatio*, occur the words that have caused the mistake.

No. IV. speaks of the annual tax of two francs levied on all associates towards defraying expenses.

No. V. speaks of the privileges of "Benefactors," as all are entitled who contribute ten francs annually.

No. VI. speaks of the privileges of "Founders," as all are entitled who make a donation of two hundred and fifty francs.

No. VII. reads as follows :—" *Omnis laicus praedictis conditionibus satisfaciens, quae sive pro benefactoribus sive pro funda-*

toribus assignatur, omnibus et singulis privilegiis supra enumeratis jure fruitur."

The "above-named *privilegia*" cannot be taken to include *membership*, of which, as we have seen, Holy Orders is a *sine qua non*. Father Sheehan's words, therefore, "the faithful who can also be associated" appear to be incorrect; for, if "associated," they would be "associates," i.e., members of the Association, and they would be entitled to share in the indulgences. Benefactors and founders cannot, as such merely, obtain any indulgence, their privileges consisting in the inscription of their names amongst those of other benefactors or founders, and in a share in the Holy Mass offered monthly for them. Those privileges only are open to the faithful.

We have guilds and confraternities under our direction, of men, women, boys and girls, and families; but in the "priest-adorers" we stand units ourselves, without any thought of others to distract us; as professional men we seek a private audience with our chief, and look into the account of our trust.

If the zealous priests alluded to in Father Sheehan's article would wish to present to our Lord the adoration of pious souls from their flock, along with their own, they may do so; and, at the same time, enable the faithful to gain numerous indulgences, by having them enrolled in some confraternity to which a plenary indulgence is given for a visit to the church. Our Holy Father Leo XIII. has drawn special attention to the League of the Sacred Heart, which, in the devotion of "The Holy Hour," has a very similar devotion to the hour of watching of the priest-adorer. The chief difference is, that the priest-adorer may gain a plenary indulgence every day, and as many times in the day as he makes an hour's adoration, if he receives Holy Communion on that day, and fulfils the other usual conditions; whereas the layman can gain the plenary indulgence only once a week. Possibly the Brief of the Holy Father may have escaped the attention or the memory of some. Permit me, therefore, to allude to it. The devotion of the Holy Hour was instituted by our Lord Himself, when he told the Blessed Margaret, *in order to bear Him company in the humble prayer which He offered to His Father in the garden*, to rise between eleven o'clock on Thursday night and midnight; "and then," He said, "prostrate along with Me, to appease the Divine anger, to ask mercy for sinners, and in a manner to sweeten the bitterness which I

suffered when My apostles all abandoned Me, and *could not watch one hour with Me.*" This devotion became common, was indulged, and by a Rescript of May 13th, 1875, the time of gaining the indulgence was extended from 2 p.m. on Thursday to the *rising of the sun* on Friday. Our present Holy Father, by a Brief of March, 1886, "in order," as he says, "to prevent any members of the apostleship from being deprived of a grace of such importance," has empowered local directors to name *any hour* during the week, on which all members under their direction may gain this same indulgence. Membership of the League of the Sacred Heart requires only enrolment, and the promise to make a mental morning offering. Further information could be obtained from the Central Directors, at 6 Great Denmark-street, Dublin; and at *Messenger* Office, Wimbledon, Surrey.

I must say, however, that to me the attention required to direct the devotion of others during the hour's adoration of the priest-adorer appears foreign to the spirit of this Association. Make the "Holy Hour" with your people, by all means, but make your hour's private adoration as well.

Before closing, permit me to mention a pious custom that is now being introduced by the priest-adorers on the Continent into the clergy retreats; *i.e.*, to petition the bishop for a day's exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.

I remain, rev. dear sir, yours faithfully,

W. J. SMITH.

MORTOMLEY, SHEFFIELD, *August 13th, 1894.*

Documents

DECRETUM SACRAE RITUUM CONGREGATIONIS DE MUSICA SACRA

Quod S. Augustinus ceterique Patres saepenumero docuerunt de cantus ecclesiastici decore ed utilitate, *ut, per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat*;¹ id Romanorum Pontificum auctoritas sibi integre eximieque perficiendum semper attribuit. Quapropter in hoc Catholicae Liturgiae munus ita Gregorius cognomine Magnus curas ac studia contulit, ut vel ipsam appellationem ab eo sacri concentus sint mutuati. Alii vero, processu temporum, Pontifices, quum nescii non essent quantam huius rei partem sibi divini cultus vindicaret dignitas, immortalis decessoris sui vestigiis insistentes, Gregorianum cantum non modo ad receptam, eandemque probatissimam, numeri formam revocandum, sed etiam ad aptiorem melioremque exemplaris rationem exigendum indesinenter curarunt. Praesertim, post Tridentinae Synodi vota et sanctiones, atque Missalis Romani diligentissime exarati emendationem, Pii V. praecepto et auctoritate peractam, de promovendo liturgico cantu magis in dies assidua excelluit solertia Gregorii XIII., Pauli V., ac caeterorum, qui, ad incolume Liturgiae decus tuendum, nihil potius et antiquius habuerunt, quam ut rituum uniformitati, sacrorum etiam concentuum uniformitas ubique responderet. Qua in re illud Apostolicae Sedis sollicitudinem iuvit praecipue, quod ipsi curae fuerit Graduale, accurate recognitum et ad simpliciores modos reductum, Ioanni Petro Aloisio Praenestino elaborate praeclareque adornandum committere. Nam mandatum, ut erat dignum homine officii sui perstudioso, docte ille complevit; et celeberrimi magistri praestare valuit industria, ut, iuxta prudentissimas normas, servatisque genuinis characteribus, liturgici concentus reformatio iure conficeretur. Opus tanti momenti illustres Petri Aloisii Praenestini discipuli, insigne eius magisterium et documenta secuti, typis Mediceis Romae excudendum, Pontificum voluntate, susceperunt. Incoepa tamen huiusmodi experimenta et conatus non nisi aetati huic demum nostrae absolvere est concessum. Quum enim sa, me. Pius IX. liturgici cantus unitatem feliciter inducere quam maxime in votis haberet

¹ *Confess.*, l. x., c. 33, n. 3,

a S. R. C. assignandam, eiusdemque ductu et auspiciis muniendam, peculiarem virorum Gregoriani cantus laude praestantium Commissionem in Urbe instituit; eiusque examini editionem subiecit, qua denuo in lucem evulgaretur Graduale Romanum, typis olim Mediceis impressum et Apostolicis Pauli V. Litteris approbatum. Hanc dein editionem saluberrimo opere absolutam, parique studio et opportunis inductis emendationibus, ad normas a Commissione praescriptas, revisam, sibi valde probari haud semel ostendit, atque authenticam declarare non dubitavit suis Brevibus Litteris, die 30 Maii anno 1873, datis, quarum illa est sententia: "*Hanc ipsam dicti Gradualis Romani editionem Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis, iisque omnibus quibus Musices sacrae cura est, magnopere commendamus; eo vel magis, quod sit Nobis maxime in votis, ut cum in ceteris, quae ad Sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una, cunctis in locis ac Dioecesibus, eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia.*" Antecessoris Sui adprobationem decreto confirmare atque extendere e re esse duxit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. Litteris enim Apostolicis, die 15 Novembris anno 1878, primae Antiphonarii partis, quae Horas diurnas complectitur, novam editionem, ab iisdem viris per S. R. C. deputatis, egregie sane, ut decebat musicos eruditos, atque intelligenter revisam, peculiari commendatione est prosequutus, his sapienter ad Episcopos omnesque Musicae Sacrae cultores verbis usus: "*Itaque memoratam editionem a viris ecclesiastici cantus apprime peritis, ad id a SS. Rituum Congregatione deputatis, revisam probamus atque authenticam declaramus, Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis caeterisque, quibus Musices Sacrae cura est, vehementer commendamus, id potissimum spectantes, ut sic cunctis in locis ac Dioecesibus, cum in caeteris, quae ad Sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia.*"

Verum, quemadmodum post Pontificium Pii. IX. Breve de Graduali, ad ipsam editionis adprobationem in dubium vocandam, controversiae pluries subortae et obstacula sunt permota, ob quae S. R. C., die 14 Aprilis an. 1877, sui muneris esse persensit editionem authenticam adserere, suoque suffragio penitus confirmare; haud aliter, post Apostolicos etiam Leonis XIII. Litteras, quin finem contentionibus facerent, sibi adhuc integrum putaverunt nonnulli consilia et decreta negligere de instituto cantus ecclesiastici, constanti Romanae Liturgiae ratione et usu comprobati. Immo, choricis Ecclesiae libris in lucem prolati,

otaque hac re ad exitum egregie perducta, largiores evasere disputationes; et, in conventu cultorum liturgici cantus anno 1882 Aretii habito, validius excitatae censurae eos moerore affecerunt, qui in ecclesiastici concentus uniformitate, Apostolicae Sedi unice obtemperandum iure meritoque existimant. Quum autem qui Aretium hanc ob causam contenderant, vota quaedam seu postulata de eadem re non tantum in populum prodiderint, verum etiam Sanctissimo Domini Nostro Leoni XIII. formulis concinnata exhibuerint, Pontifex idem, negotii gravitate permotus, ut sacrorum concentuum, potissimum vero Gregoriani cantus, unitati et dignitati consuleret, vota illa seu postulata in examen adducenda assignavit peculiari Coetui ab se delecto quorundam Patrum Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus Praepositorum. Qui, omnibus mature perpensis, exquisitisque insignium quoque virorum sentiis, die 10 Aprilis anno 1883 sine ulla dubitatione decernendum censuerunt: "*Vota seu postulata ab Aretino Conventu superiore anno emissa, ac Sedi Apostolicae ab eodem oblata pro liturgico cantu Gregoriano ad vetustam traditionem redigendo, accepta uti sonant recipi probarique non posse. Quamvis enim ecclesiastici cantus cultoribus integrum liberumque semper fuerit ac deinceps futurum sit, eruditionis gratia, disquirere quatenus vetus fuerit ipsius ecclesiastici cantus forma, variaeque eiusdem phases, quemadmodum de antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus ac reliquis Sacrae Liturgiae partibus eruditissimi viri cum plurima commendatione disputare et inquirere consueverunt; nihilominus eam tantum uti authenticam Gregoriani cantus formam atque legitimam hodie habendam esse, quae, iuxta Tridentinas sanctiones, a Paulo V., Pio IX. sa. me. et Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone XIII. atque a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, iuxta Editionem nuper adornatum, rata habita est et confirmata, utpote quae unice eam cantus rationem contineat, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia. Quocirca de hac authenticitate et legitimitate, inter eos, qui Sedis Apostolicae auctoritati sincere obsequuntur, nec dubitandum neque amplius disquirendum esse.*"

Attamen postremis hisce annis, diversas ob causas, pristinae difficultates iterum interponi, recentesque immo concertationes instaurari visae sunt, quae vel ipsam quum huius Editionis tum cantus in ea contenti genuinitatem aut infirmare aut penitus impetere aggredierentur. Neque etiam defuere qui ex desiderio, quo Pius IX. et Leo XIII., Pontifices Maximi, ecclesiastici cantus uniformitatem summopere commendatam habuerunt, alios

quoscumque cantus, in Ecclesiis peculiaribus iampridem adhibitos, omnino vetari inferrent. Ad hæc dubia satius enucleanda, omnesque in posterum ambiguitates arcendas, Sanctitas Sua iudicium hac de re deferendum constituit Congregationi Ordinariae omnium Patrum Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus Praepositorum, qui, in coetibus ad diem 7 et 12 Iunii nuper elapsi convocatis, resumptis omnibus ad rem pertinentibus aliisque mox exhibitis mature perpensis, unanimi responderunt sententia: "*Servandas esse dispositiones sa. me. Pii IX. in Brevis 'Qui choricis' diei 30 Maii, 1873; Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papae XIII. in Brevis 'Sacrorum Conventuum' diei 15 Novembris, 1878; ac S. R. C. in Decreto diei 26 Aprilis, 1883.*" Quod autem ad libertatem attinet, qua Ecclesiae peculiare tantum legitime invecum et adhuc adhibitum possint retinere. Sacra eadem Congregatio decretum illud iterandum atque inculcandum statuit, quo, in coetu die 10 Aprilis an. 1883 habito, plurimum hortabatur omnes locorum Ordinarios aliosque ecclesiastici cantus cultores, ut Editionem praefatam in Sacra Liturgia, ad cantus uniformitatem servandam, adoptare curarent, quamvis illam, iuxta prudentissimam Sedis Apostolicae agendi rationem, singulis Ecclesiis non imponeret.

Facta autem de his omnibus per infrascriptum S. R. C. Praefectum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII. fidei relatione, Sanctitas Sua Decretum Sacrae Congregationis ratum habuit, confirmavit, et publici iuris fieri mandavit die 7 Iulii an. 1894.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, S. R. C., Praef.

L. ✱ S.

ALOISIUS TRIPEPI, S. R. C., Secretarius.

The following regulations were annexed to the above Decree:—

The Sacred Congregation of Rites at its ordinary sessions on the 7th and 12th of June, 1894, after mature deliberation, approved the following regulations regarding Sacred Music.

PART I.

ART. I.—Every musical composition which is inspired with the spirit of the sacred function which it accompanies, and religiously corresponds to the sense of the rite, and the meaning

of the words, is capable of exciting the devotion of the faithful, and is therefore worthy of the house of God.

ART. II.—Such is the Gregorian Chant which the Church regards as truly its own, being the only one which she adopts in her liturgical books.

ART. III.—Polyphonous Chant, as also Chromatic Chant, provided they be marked by the characteristics mentioned below, may likewise be found suitable to sacred functions.

ART. IV.—Amongst the chants of the polyphonous kind which are recognised as being most worthy of the house of God, are those of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and of his worthy imitators; whilst, for chromatic music, those compositions are recognised as suited to divine worship, which come down to us from the masters of the various Italian and foreign schools, and especially from the distinguished Roman masters, whose words were praised and acknowledged by competent authority as being truly sacred.

ART. V.—As it is well known that a composition of polyphonous music, however excellent, may become unsuited to its purpose by defective execution, in such cases the Gregorian chant should be employed in all strictly liturgical functions.

ART. VI.—Figured music for the organ should generally have a grave, harmonious character suited to the nature of the instrument. Instrumental accompaniment should sustain the chant decorously, and not drown or oppress it. In preludes and interludes the organ as well as the other instruments should always maintain a sacred tone in keeping with the spirit of the function.

ART. VII.—The language to be used in canticles during solemn, and strictly liturgical functions should be the proper language of the rite, and the texts “*ad libitum*” should be taken from the Sacred Scripture, from the Breviary, or from the hymns or prayers approved by the Church.

ART. VIII.—In all other functions the common language of the country may be used, taking the words from devout and approved compositions.

ART. IX.—All profane music, whether vocal or instrumental, particularly if it be inspired by motives or reminiscences of the theatre, is strictly forbidden in the church.

ART. X.—To provide for the respect due to the words of the liturgy, and to prevent the ceremony from being unduly prolonged,

every chant is forbidden in which words are at all omitted, or transposed out of their natural sense, or indiscreetly repeated.

ART. XI.—It is forbidden to separate or divide into distinct pieces verses that are necessarily and naturally bound together.

ART. XII.—It is forbidden to improvise fanciful pieces on the organ, in the case of all who are not capable of doing it in such a manner as not only to respect the rules of musical art, but also to preserve and excite the piety and recollection of the faithful.

PART II.

I. Sacred Music being part of the liturgy, the Most Rev. Ordinaries are recommended to take special care of it, to make it the subject of suitable prescriptions, particularly in diocesan and provincial synods; always following the sense of these present regulations. The co-operation of the laity is admitted under the vigilance of the bishops, and subject to their authority.

No committees can be formed, nor congress held, without the express consent of the ecclesiastical authorities. These are the bishop in his diocese, and the metropolitan with his suffragans in the provinces. Periodicals on sacred music cannot be published without the "Imprimatur" of the Ordinary. All discussion on the articles of the present regulation is prohibited. In other matters regarding sacred music it is allowed, provided—(1) the laws of charity be observed; (2) no one sets himself up as the master and judge of others.

II. The Most Rev. Ordinaries will see that the obligation of studying the Plain Chant, as it is found in the books approved by the Holy See, shall be exactly fulfilled by their clergy. With regard to other kinds of music, and the practice on the organ, they will not make it obligatory on their students in order not to distract them from the more important studies to which they are obliged to attend. But if any of them should be already instructed in this kind of study, or show a particular disposition for it, they can permit them to perfect themselves as far as possible.

III. The same Most Rev. Ordinaries will watch with care over their parish priests and rectors of churches, and see that they do not permit musical chants contrary to the instructions of the present regulation, having recourse, if necessary, with

caution and prudence, to canonical penalties against those who disobey.

IV. With the publication of the present regulation, and its communication to the Most Rev. Ordinaries of Italy, all preceding acts on the same subject are completely abrogated.

His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., an account having been presented to him of the above regulations by the undersigned Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, deigned to confirm and sanction in every part the preceding regulation, ordering its publication on the 6th day of July, 1894.

GAETANO CARD. ALOISI MASELLA, *Prefect.*

L. S.

LUIGI TRIPEPI, *Segretario.*

Notices of Books

DISTINGUISHED IRISHMEN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

By the Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J. London: Burns and Oates.

THE author of this work has given us a very valuable contribution to Irish historical literature. In a series of interesting chapters he tells us of the lives and sufferings of a number of Jesuit priests, who bore with heroic courage the tortures and persecutions inflicted upon them during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In his graphic sketches he presents to us a faithful picture of the times, and recalls the devotion and heroism of many faithful Catholics who did not belong to his order, and whose courage and fidelity in these evil days should never be forgotten in Catholic Ireland. We would draw special attention to his account of Miss Margery Barnwall, whose name would not unworthily figure alongside those of the noblest Roman virgins who suffered in the days of Nero or Domitian. But Father Hogan is chiefly concerned about the members of the Society of Jesus who fought the battle of the faith, and contributed the part of one noble regiment to the victory against such terrible and such

unscrupulous enemies. In these pages we learn—to use the words of Lord Macaulay—“With what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what exact discipline, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, the Jesuits fought the battle of the Church.” And at the end of our perusal it is impossible not to recall that other passage of the great English essayist in which he pays his tribute of admiration to the sons of St. Ignatius :—

“In spite of oceans and deserts, of hunger and pestilence, of spies and penal laws, of dungeons and racks, of gibbets and quartering blocks, Jesuits were to be found under every disguise, and in every country—scholars, physicians, merchants, serving men ; in the hostile Court of Sweden ; in the old manor-houses of Cheshire ; among the hovels of Connaught ; arguing, instructing, consoling, forming the hearts of the young, animating the courage of the timid, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying.”

This picture will be easily recognised in Father Hogan's sketches of Fathers David Woulfe, Edmund O'Donnell, Robert Rochfort, Charles Lea, Edmund Tanner, Richard Fleming, John Howling, Thomas White, Nicholas Comerford, Dominic Collins, Walter Talbot, Florence O'More, Thomas Filde, Richard de la Field, Henry Fitzsimons, James Archer, William Bathe, and Christopher Holywood. We have no hesitation in saying that this book is one which should find a place in every library in Ireland. The author has taken great pains to consult original documents, and make his information as accurate as possible. His work is written in an attractive and readable style, and when such pains have been taken, we have little doubt but that clergy and laity will show their practical appreciation of the work, and give the author the encouragement and recognition to which his labours so justly entitle him. Catholics are sometimes reproached with their neglect of historical studies, and with allowing the glories of the past to lie buried in the archives and records of libraries and offices of the state. We trust that when a practical effort is made to clear the ground from under such critics, that it will receive such support as not only to compensate its author, but to encourage others.

J. F. H.

THE VENERABLE VINCENT PALLOTTI, FOUNDER OF THE PIOUS SOCIETY OF MISSIONS. By Lady Herbert; with a Preface by H. E. Cardinal Vaughan. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THIS is a very interesting as well as a very edifying biography. It tells us all about the life and work of the venerable servant of God, Vincenzo Pallotti, who founded the "Pious Society of Missions," with which the Foreign Missionary College of Mill Hill, London, established by Cardinal Vaughan, is connected. The fathers of the Society have also a church in London, and devote themselves chiefly to the large Italian colony who inhabit the city. They likewise attend the Italian hospital, and have opened large schools under the care of the Sisters of Charity. They have founded another Mission at Hastings, and are doing admirable work in New York, Brooklyn, and in South America, at Montevideo, at Mercedes in the Argentine Republic, and at Valparaiso in Chili. The story of the venerable founder, and of his work, is admirably told by Lady Herbert, and the preface is written by Cardinal Vaughan, who has always had a great interest in the "Pious Society."

J. F. H.

LE SAINT SACRIFICE DE LA MESSE. SON EXPLICATION DOGMATIQUE, LITURGIQUE ET ASCETIQUE. Par le Docteur Nicholas Gihl, Traduit par M. l'Abbe L. Th. Moccano, Vicaire General d'Annecy. Paris: Lethielleux, 1894.

THIS is the first volume of an important treatise on the Mass, by a learned German divine. It treats—(1) of the sacrifice in general; (2) of the bloody sacrifice on the cross; and (3) of the unbloody sacrifice of the altar. The liturgical portion of the work is only begun in this volume. So far we have only what is to be found in the ordinary books of theology on the nature and effects of the holy sacrifice. We look forward to the second with interest; for, if well done, it will be a valuable acquisition to Catholic literature. There are questions connected with the liturgy of the sacrifice, and particularly with the Canon of the Mass, some of them dogmatic, some historical, and some purely liturgical, which, if well treated, must prove full of interest. It is difficult to get a full and able treatment of them in any one work at present. We must therefore reserve our opinion of the value of the whole work until the second volume reaches us.

J. F. H.

**HYMNARIUM QUOTIDIANUM B.M.V. Ex HYMNIS MEDII AEVI
COMPARATUM. CURA ET STUDIO R. P. RAGEY, SOCIETATIS
MARIAE. Paris: Lethielleux.**

WITH great discernment and diligence the author of this work has collected from the most varied sources the Latin Hymns of the middle ages composed in honour of the Blessed Virgin. It was a labour of love conceived and carried out by a devout client of our Lady. It is arranged so that one hymn corresponds to each day of the year, beginning with the 1st of January, and ending with the 31st of December. Although the author was at much pains to collect, and arrange the materials for his volume in this order, it is to be regretted that the critical and historical part of the work is so meagre. We miss the valuable notes which make the collections of Mons. Dreves, and other German writers on the same subject so ~~useful~~, and so interesting. The author, however, had but one object chiefly in view, viz., to bring together in one volume the chief literary tributes of the middle ages to *Notre Dame*. In this he has well succeeded. As he himself proclaims in the introduction, his work was an undertaking of piety, and not of erudition. As in the English work recently published, entitled *Carmina Mariana*, in which the poetic contributions of English writers in honour of the Blessed Virgin were compiled, and wreathed together, so here we have the still more beautiful and pious chaplet of the devotion of the ages of faith.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

THE public prayer of the Church is, as all the world knows, one of the safest as well as one of the most interesting witnesses to the faith and customs of Christian antiquity. Hence the proverb: *formula precandi norma credendi*. This is especially true with regard to the rites used in the administration of the sacraments, and particularly of the Blessed Eucharist. Supposing that all the writings of the fathers were devoid of authority, and that even the Gospels were lost, the ancient liturgies, some of which date back to the second century of our era, would suffice to convince us of the belief of our forefathers in the real presence of our divine Lord, after the words of consecration have been pronounced by the priest over the species of bread and wine. The study of the Divine Office is indeed of minor importance compared with that of the sacramental functions. Nevertheless it is sufficiently interesting to justify the student of Church history in his spending many hours in the acquisition of Oriental languages in order to enable him to understand the sacred forms of prayer used by the various local churches many centuries ago, and to console and edify himself thereby.

Public prayer was in use long before the coming of our Lord. We find distinct allusions to it—though no precise command—in Holy Scripture; as, for instance, in Psalm cxviii. (vv. 62 and 164); again, in the Book of Daniel (vi. 10), in

which we read of three different hours of prayer. The New Testament is yet more explicit. The prayer at midnight is distinctly mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xvi. 25), as also that of the sixth hour (*ibid.*, x. 9), and that of the ninth (*ibid.*, x. 3 and 30); while that of the third is probably alluded to in the history of the first Pentecost. During the first few centuries we catch an occasional glimpse of the Divine Office in the writings of the fathers; thus when we hear of St. Ignatius, the "God-bearer" († 116), that he introduced antiphonal singing, and that another patriarch of Antioch prescribed the service of the "bending of the knees" on Pentecost afternoon, the fifty days during which the knees should never be bent being then over.¹

But, on the whole, the early fathers are silent on the subject; they had enough to do to defend their faith against pagans and heretics, and to propagate the Christian doctrine among the Gentiles. As soon, however, as the persecutions ceased, we behold the spectacle of a fully-developed hierarchy, flourishing religious institutions, a complete ritual, and a well-arranged canonical office. Eusebius Pamphili († 340) in his *Church History*² claims as Christian certain practices concerning the Divine Service attributed by Philo to Jewish Ascetics in Egypt. Still more explicit is Cassian († 440), who in 380 undertook a long journey to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and on his return to Southern Gaul wrote several works on the manner of life of the Eastern monks and anchorites. The second and third books of his *Institutions* are a mine of information on the subject. For my present purpose it will suffice to say that both in Syria and Egypt the greater part of the night was given to prayer; during the day the Egyptians did not assemble in Church, but accompanied the work of their hands with the recitation of psalms; whereas the Syrians met three times a day in church, for the third, sixth, and ninth hour, each of which consisted of three psalms.

¹ See J. M. Neale's (posthumous) *History of the Patriarchate of Antioch*, London, 1873, Appendix II., p. 200.

² Book ii., chapter 17; Migne, *Gr.*, 20, 184.

We have here, altogether, five canonical hours, viz. :—Vespers (the beginning of the night), the night office, and the three hours during the day; and this number is further confirmed by St. John Chrysostom, who, in the Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy,¹ gives a short description of the lives of the monks in the mountains near Antioch :—"Having finished the morning prayers and hymns, they turn to the reading of the Scriptures; there are also some who have learnt to write books. They then say Terce, Sext, and None, and recite Vespers; and while dividing the day into four parts, they worship God in each of these parts by the singing of psalms and hymns." The division of the night office into two parts, one to be performed in the middle of the night, the other at the dawn of day, is of somewhat later date.² At the end of the fourth century a new hour was, for the first time, introduced in the large monastery at Bethlehem. It appears that some monks after (what we should call) Lauds went back to bed, and slept until late in the morning.³ To prevent such an abuse the office of Prime was introduced as a fitting preparation for the manual labour. The origin of Compline is not quite clear. It cannot be traced back beyond the time of St. Benedict († 543). Probably it owes its origin to the relaxation in the matter of fasting. According to the old discipline of the Church, no food should be partaken of on fasting days until after Vespers. In order to bring this rule into harmony with the requirements of a lukewarm age, Vespers were gradually anticipated, and from an evening prayer, became an afternoon service, so that a new office, Compline, had to take the place of the ancient night prayers.

As I have mentioned before, there were different sets of prayers in use in different churches. Everywhere the psalms formed the groundwork, round which canticles, hymns, lessons, and "bidding prayers" were grouped. Already at the first appearance of the Divine Office in the writings of the

¹ Migne, *Gr.*, 62, 576.

² *Apost. Const.*; viii. 34, Migne 1, 1135, footnote.

³ *Cassian Inst.*, book iii. See Migne, *Lat.*, 49, 126.

fathers, we find great diversity; and, if we may judge from our present knowledge, it would seem that there were, at a very early epoch, as many as six different rites in use; the Coptic, the East Syrian, the Greek (with an Ethiopian, a West Syrian, and an Armenian branch¹), the Gallican, the Gothic, and the Roman Rites. It is possible that further investigation may reduce this number, but since much harm has been wrought in liturgical matters by rash assertions, it seems more prudent to dogmatize as little as possible. A very vague recollection of these various offices, and their origins survived until the eighth century, when the curious *Origo cantuum*² was written, probably by an Irish monk in France. We shall have occasion to mention it again later on.

The comparison of the various rites would be easy, if we possessed a proper breviary of each; but such is not the case. Manuscripts containing the Divine Office are, as a rule, of very late date, for in the earlier centuries tradition alone appears to have guided the monks, and even when we occasionally meet with some kind of rubrics, they are so enigmatical that the utmost care is required lest they be wrongly interpreted. The only safe method to reach the original cast, is to take the office in its most perfect form, and to divest it of all notoriously late additions. Such, for instance, are most of the hymns; they bear, as a rule, the names of their authors, or, at any rate, the characteristics of the epoch of their composition. But, even so, there remains many a question without an answer. Nevertheless, every contribution to the study of the various rites is a step towards the final investigation of a highly interesting subject.

One thing, however, requires explanation before we turn to the study of the Armenian Office. However different the various rites may have been, even at the outset, there are

I have had no occasion as yet to study the Ethiopian and the West Syrian offices, nor am I aware that anybody else has done so, with a view to comparing them with other rites. In making the above statement, I am guided by the contents of certain manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, as described in the catalogue of MSS. As to the Armenian branch, I shall substantiate my assertion.

² Migne, *Iat.*, 72, 605.

certain features common to all, which could not be the result of blind hazard. We have seen that some kind of canonical hours were known to the Jews long before the dawn of Christianity. The merit of having drawn the attention of students of liturgy to the Hebrew prototype belongs to a German professor, Dr. G. Bickell.¹ Though principally engaged with the earliest history of the Mass and its points of contact with the ritual of the Passover, he did not altogether neglect the Jewish forms of prayer. Until we shall have an occasion to devote time and labour to this subject, we may adopt the result of Dr. Bickell's summary report.

The principal liturgical function of the Jews is the *Shacharith* (morning offering) on the Sabbath. It begins with the morning blessing, that is, with divine praises, thanksgiving and prayer, followed by certain lessons taken partly from the Scripture, partly from the Talmud, and referring to the daily sacrifices; the psalmody, which consists of a blessing (something like an antiphon), the psalm inserted in 1 Paral. xv. 8-36, a whole series of psalms, and concludes with Psalm c. (Vulgate, Psalm xcix.). After a prayer, Psalms cxlv. to cl. are recited, followed by a hymn of praise. Another song of the antiphon type serves as introduction to the canticle of Moses (Exod. xv.), while a blessing brings this part of the service to a conclusion. On the Sabbath, Psalm xcix. is left out, but in its place nine other psalms are inserted, and the blessing begins with the words: "Let every spirit praise the Lord." The third part of the service begins with a kind of responsory between cantor and congregation. After a very long magnificently-worded blessing, in which God is praised for the creation of light, and for the election and salvation of Israel, the exhortations (*shma*, so called from the first word: "Listen, Israel") are recited (Deut. vi. 4, 9; xi. 13, 22; Num. xv. 37, 41). In the Middle Ages the *piutim* (festival hymns) were here inserted. The service continues with the verse: "Lord, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall declare Thy praise;" and now

¹ *Messe und Pascha*, Mainz, 1872. The following extracts are taken from page 64.

come the eighteen (at present nineteen) "blessings of Esdras." After the third, the *Kedusha*, resembling strongly our own preface with the Sanctus, is recited. If a descendant of Aaron be present, he imparts to the congregation the high priestly blessing (Num. vi. 24). The fourth and last part of the service consists of lessons from the Pentateuch (*parasha*) and the Prophets (*haftara*), with a sermon ; and the whole proceeding terminates with bidding prayers, for the congregation, for peace, for women in childbed, for the sick, for the king, and for the departed.

Such is the Jewish ritual for the morning service, and three other daily services are much on the same lines. Dr. Bickell is evidently of opinion that this function is, on the whole, identical with the services we read of in the New Testament. I cannot follow him into details, but I would ask my readers to remember the principal items, especially the portion of the Psalter, with the canticles, and the six last psalms, the blessings, the readings, and the bidding prayers.

I.—THE CHURCH OF ARMENIA.

I had devoted a great deal of time and labour to the Divine Office of the Greek Church, such as it appears in the eighteen large volumes constituting the Greek breviary. Having acquired a fair knowledge of it,¹ I resolved to turn to the Armenian Office. I cannot say that I had any definite idea as to what it was likely to be, for all my preliminary knowledge consisted of two points only : the first, that one of the office books bore the title *Sharagan* ; the second, that the office was much shorter than the Roman. The first piece of information was tolerably exact, while the second, though supported by what claims to be an authority, is a gross misrepresentation. Besides these two points, I also was acquainted with some Armenian hymns, inserted in Dom Guéranger's *Liturgical Year*. Nevertheless, I was not altogether unfavourably disposed towards the Armenian language and Church : the former having been the means of

¹ See my articles in *The Month* for January, February, and March, 1893.

preserving even to our own days many a valuable work of Christian antiquity; the second being venerable for its unshaken firmness in an ocean of persecution and calamity. Though I cannot share Father Lucas Ingigi's bold assertion, that Armenian was the language of Adam and Eve themselves (if so, poor Eve!), it certainly is an important branch of the Aryan family of languages, its nearest relation being Persian, with which it advantageously compares as to the number and variety of forms in declension and conjugation, whose richness of the vocabulary, and facility of derivation and composition of words it shares, though it does not equal it in poetical genius.

In the oldest times the Armenians made use of cuneiform characters, and about fifty inscriptions of that kind are still preserved. Later on, the Greek and Syriac alphabets were adopted, until, in the fifth century, St. Mesrob invented an Armenian alphabet of thirty-six (now thirty-eight) letters, which has proved so convenient, that the Turks themselves sometimes make use of it. Little, if anything, is preserved of pre-Christian literature; but the moment Armenia embraced Christianity, its scholars devoted their pens to translations from the Greek and Syriac fathers, and even the Greek classics, so that within one century Armenia became acquainted with every branch of sacred and profane knowledge. The place of honour among these translations belongs unquestionably to the Holy Scripture, not merely on account of its unsurpassed elegance, but also on account of its faithfulness, so that even now the Armenian text is as eagerly consulted as the Peshitto or the Itala, in order to determine the genuine reading of the New Testament. To give an example or two of the scrupulous faithfulness of the Armenian translators, I may mention, that for the word "angel," they make use of three different words, meaning "messenger" and "bodiless," as in Greek, or "watcher," as in Syriac; again, the Greek verb, "to paint" (*ζωγράφειν*) is literally translated (*khentankrel*, from "life," and to "write"), while the salutation "hail" (*χαίρε*) is rendered "rejoice." Under these circumstances, the translations of Plato and Aristotle, and of St. Ignatius, Tatian, Eusebius,

St. John Chrysostom and others, are doubly valuable, especially where the original is lost. As authors, the Armenians are scarcely less remarkable. Profane literature, it is true, was never cultivated; for as most of the educated class belonged to the clergy, secular and regular, they naturally occupied themselves chiefly with theological and historical subjects. Eznik (fifth century) is as deep an apologete as any of the Western fathers. Agathangelus and Moses of Khorene share the laurels of Herodotus. Thomas of Medzoph relates in thrilling accents the sufferings of his fatherland under that bloodthirsty monster, Tamerlane. Poetry alone is sadly neglected, or, what is worse, bound hand and foot in the fetters of a stiff, unwieldy mannerism. Wherever Armenians take up their abode, they first establish a printing press, and it would be difficult to decide whether the palm belongs to the editions of Etchmiadzin, Jerusalem, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Calcutta, or to those of Amsterdam, Venice, Vienna, Rome, and Paris. And yet there are numerous works still in manuscript, and no one can say what surprises may yet be in store for the world of letters.

The name Armenia was given to the country round about Mount Ararat, not by the inhabitants themselves, but by their neighbours. Their own name is Haj, plur. Haiq, and they design their territory as Hajasdan, the house of Hajkb, whom they consider the founder of their nation. He was the son of Togormah, who, in his turn, was the son of Gomer, grandson of Japhet, and great-grandson of Noah.

Armenia is a rugged country, if ever there was one. In summer it is subject to excessive heat, while the cold in winter surpasses all imagination. The scarcity of fuel obliges the inhabitants to seek refuge in the bowels of the earth, by constructing their dwelling-places under ground,¹ where they live, men and cattle huddled together. The enormous lakes, or rather inland seas, form a peculiar feature of Armenia. Thus, lake Vân, a salt-water lake, in

¹ See Curzon's graphic description of his journey into Armenia. Illness, unfortunately, compelled him to beat a speedy retreat.

spite of its elevation (five thousand one hundred and thirty feet above sea level), has a surface of twelve hundred square miles. One of the islands on that lake, Aghthamar, possesses a large monastery, where the Katholikos or Patriarch had his seat during several centuries. Lake Urmia, another salt-water lake (four thousand feet above the sea), is not much smaller than lake Vân, while lake Sevân, fresh-water (six thousand feet above the sea), covers three hundred and sixty square miles, and gives the name to another celebrated monastery.

Leaving numerous less important lakes unmentioned, I must not fail to say a word about the principal rivers. Foremost is the Euphrates, which takes its rise in the Garin mountains (Erzeroom), and is swelled by the Araḏ-zani, coming from the Dzalghi mountains. The whole course of the Euphrates, as far as Armenia is concerned, is a succession of picturesque landscapes; but nothing surpasses the wild scenery near Pinghian, and the bold bridge spanning the foaming river. Another spot which might well be taken for one of the most fascinating views of Switzerland, is the narrow passage at Dzakhqar. The river there is not more than five yards wide, but so furious that the crossing (by means of rafts, made of skins, filled with air) is exceedingly dangerous. The Tigris takes its rise in Armenia, and joins the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, while the Araxes (the Gihon of the Scripture) and the Cyrus fall into the Caspian Sea. Finally, the Jorokh, believed to be the Phison, takes a northern course, and throws itself into the Black Sea. Perhaps it is somewhat presumptuous on the part of the Armenians thus to appropriate to themselves all the streams of Paradise; but until the contrary is proved, we need not disturb them in their good faith.

The Armenians have been rightly designated a nation of martyrs. They were successively the victims of Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Tartars, Turks, and Russians. For the last fifteen centuries, it may be said, they have not enjoyed a peaceful year. Their whole country has been saturated again and again with their own blood; and what is most astonishing is, that after so many

centuries of incessant war and wholesale massacre, unequalled in history, there should have been left a single drop of Armenian blood to quicken an Armenian heart. However, few nations can boast of such obstinate vitality and stubborn nationalism. Providence, in placing this people in that corner which divides the south-east of Europe from the west of Asia, and assigning a gigantic mountain fortress to a bold, courageous, yet civilized and highly-intellectual people—nay, in entrusting to its care the outskirts of the Christian world—in doing this, I say, Providence knew well what it did. Ever since pre-historic times, Asiatic nations have been steadily advancing in a westerly direction. Sometimes, indeed, Europe has been overrun by them. Yet it would have been more so but for Armenia. What, for instance, would have happened, had not the forces of Tamerlane been decimated in Armenia? Nor should we forget that Armenia, as a Christian country, had to fight one-half of all the battles between the heathen world and the kingdom of Christ. We have heard lately a good deal of the "buffer-state" in the East; the epithet applies most forcibly to Armenia of old. It had to bear the brunt of each successive invasion, and was the common battle-ground of Europe and Asia; it had to prevent them from running into each other; and when unable to keep them at a distance, it was the first to suffer from telescoping; yet as soon as the wrecked nations were disentangled, it resumed with admirable elasticity its natural position as "buffer," prepared to receive fresh shocks. The tug-of-war, of which Armenia has been the victim for many centuries, was the cause of the isolation of the nation, which has become both its fortune and its misfortune—its fortune, from the fact that it caused the Armenians to stand firm to their faith with a tenacity bordering on obstinacy; its misfortune, in severing their relations with their fellow-Christians.

The legend of King Abgar of Edessa, and his correspondence with our Lord, and of the miraculous picture of the latter (after many wanderings, now at St. Bartholomew's, at Genoa), is probably well known to my readers. Neither the conversion of Abgar (supposing the legend to be reliable),

nor the martyrdom of two apostles—St. Bartholomew and St. Jude—and numerous apostolic men, produced a lasting effect. The slaughter of the ten thousand Roman soldiers on Mount Ararat, under Trajan,¹ no more than the freezing to death of the forty soldiers at Sebaste, seemed to touch the hearts of the sons of Hajkh. The conversion of the country took place at the end of the third century, and is intimately connected with the names of St. Gregory the Illuminator and St. Rhipsima and her companions. The legend, in its present form, can be traced back to the fifth century, but is open to criticism; and the Bollandists themselves failed in their endeavours to establish the real facts.

About the middle of the third century, Chosroës (famous for his hatred of Caracalla) sat on the throne of Armenia. Having successfully supported his ally, Ardavan, King of Persia, against the usurper, Ardashir, the latter promised a handsome reward to whoever would assassinate Chosroës. Anag, an Armenian chieftain, accepted the offer; and, feigning to escape from Ardashir, betook himself to Chosroës, by whom he was kindly received, and under whose hospitable roof he lived two years, with his family. During this time his son (Gregory, the future apostle of Armenia) was born. At length a favourable opportunity presented itself, and Anag accomplished his treacherous design, and stabbed Chosroës. His perfidy was severely punished, for he and his family were put to death by the enraged Armenians. Only the youngest child, Gregory, was saved, by a Christian nurse, taken to Cæsarea, and brought up in the Christian religion.

No sooner had Ardashir been informed of the assassination of Chosroës, than he set out to take possession of the kingdom. He massacred all Chosroës' relations, with the exception of the youngest children, Tiridate and Chosrovitukht, who had been hidden in a place of safety, and, favoured by circumstances, were brought to Cæsarea. As might be expected, Tiridate and Gregory soon became intimate friends, neither being aware of the other's descent. In

¹ *Roman Martyrology* (22nd June).

course of time Tiridate joined the Roman army, and distinguished himself by his bravery, particularly in the Gothic war. Gregory remained in Cæsarea, in an humble position. He married a Christian girl of great virtue, by whom he had two sons, Vertan and Arisdaghès. After a reign of five and twenty years Ardashir died, and Tiridate hastened to Cæsarea to make good his claims to the throne of Armenia. He was honourably received by the Armenians, and invested with the regalia. He then set out to take possession of the kingdom, accompanied by the friend of his youth, Gregory, now a widower. Having reached the province of Egheghiatz, where stood a celebrated fane of the goddess Anahid, he inaugurated his reign by solemn sacrifices. On Gregory's refusing to take part in them it was discovered that he was a Christian—nay, it even became known that he was the son of the murderer of Tiridate's father. The more intimate Tiridate's friendship with Gregory had been, the more unrelenting his hatred now became. Having subjected him to twelve different kinds of torture, he caused him to be cast into a dungeon in the fortress Ardashad, where he remained forgotten and forsaken, for many years.

At that time, the legend continues, there was a convent in Rome, under the Abbess Cajana. The Emperor Diocletian, desiring to possess the most beautiful woman in the world for his wife, sent messengers in every direction. They entered the convent by force, and noticed one of the nuns, by name Rhipsima, as being endowed with almost supernatural beauty. However, before the Emperor had time to take further steps in the matter, the whole community, faithful to their calling, took to flight, and did not rest until they had passed the Roman frontiers. After unspeakable sufferings they arrived at the foot of Mount Ararat, where they settled down in some abandoned buildings.

Diocletian, informed of the direction the nuns had taken, sent word to Tiridate to capture Rhipsima, and send her back to Rome. A careful search led, indeed, to the discovery of nearly forty nuns hidden in the vineyards near Ardashad. Rhipsima was easily singled out, and was brought before the King; but her constancy proved more powerful than his

solicitations. She broke through the royal guards, and joined her companions. The enraged King sent his satellites, who put her to death, together with thirty-three companions; while Cajana, with the two remaining nuns, met with the same fate on the following day. The bodies of these virgin martyrs were thrown as a prey to the wild beasts in the wilderness.

The wrath of God fell upon Tiridate and his Court. A foul disease broke out, against which the skill of the most renowned physicians proved unavailing. In this sore plight, it was revealed to Chosrovitukht, the King's sister, that Gregory, who was still languishing in his dungeon, would heal the King and all the people. After fourteen years' confinement he was released, and appearing at Court, promised the King health for himself and his subjects, if they would but listen to his words. He now began to preach the Gospel, and after sixty days they were ready to submit to the yoke of Christ. The disease disappeared miraculously, and Gregory received permission to spread the Christian faith through the length and breadth of Armenia. He advised the King to chose someone who should be consecrated bishop; for hitherto the Sacrament of Baptism had been administered to none of the converts. As might be expected, the choice fell upon Gregory himself, who accordingly was consecrated by Leontius, Bishop of Cæsarea. Before starting on his mission, St. Gregory beheld in a vision our Lord descending on the earth, and the spot where this vision occurred was chosen for the site of a monastery, which ever has been, and still is, the centre of the Armenian Church; it bears the name Etch-miadzîn, literally, Descent of the Only Begotten. The legend attributes also to Tiridate and Gregory a journey to Rome, where the former entered into an alliance with the Emperor Constantine, while the latter was confirmed High Pontiff of Armenia by Pope St. Silvester. At the Council of Nicæa, St. Arisdaghés, son and auxiliary bishop of St. Gregory (then an infirm old man) represented the Armenian Church. Until the end of the fourth century, the Armenian bishops were dependent on the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, and consequently on the

Patriarch of Antioch; but St. Isaac (390-440) first assumed the title of Patriarch Katholikos, which is still the prerogative of the highest ecclesiastical dignitary, and, after many vicissitudes, is attached to the see of Etch-miadzin. During nearly two centuries, this see was hereditary in the family of St. Gregory the Illuminator (Lussavoritch), most of his successors having entered the service of the Church as widowers. But at an early period the same rule was introduced in the Armenian as in other Oriental churches, viz., to choose the bishops from the ranks of the unmarried secular clergy (vartabieds, doctors of divinity), or else from the regular clergy. The secular clergy are allowed to marry previous to the ordination as deacons; but when their turn comes for performing the divine liturgy, they separate from their wives, and take up their residence in the diaconicum or sacristy of their respective churches. In large churches, the clergy are on duty for a week, and off duty for a month or so; in smaller churches, they may be on duty for a month, and off duty for another month.

The golden age of the Armenian Church began soon after the death of St. Gregory, and lasted throughout the fifth century, during which period most of the translations from Greek and Syriac were made, among them the Greek Ritual Works, mainly due to St. Isaac the Katholikos, and his disciple, St. Mesrob.

It does not lie within the scope of my undertaking to pursue the history of the Church, or the vicissitudes of the literature, of Armenia. But I must say at least one word in answer to a question, which is probably on the lips of my readers: How far is the Armenian Church heretical or schismatical? In the fourteenth century a grave accusation was lodged before Benedict XII., taxing the Church of Armenia with the modest number of one hundred and seventeen heresies. Such a wholesale accusation—every divergence of the ritual being considered a grievance—produced the reverse of the intended effect, and we need take no more notice of it than the Pope did.¹ Since the

¹ See also the interesting, but exceedingly intolerant form of recantation in Migne, *Gr.* 1, page 864, footnote.

sixteenth century, but especially on the occasion of an attempt at a union with Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth, this formidable list of points of difference has dwindled down to five heads, viz. : (1) The charge of Monophysitism ; (2) the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and* the Son ; (3) the doctrine of Purgatory ; (4) the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and (5) the Primacy of St. Peter.

1. The first point is unquestionably the most difficult and the most important. Armenia was duly represented at the three first General Councils ; but in 451, when the Council of Chalcedon was assembled, Armenia was groaning under the yoke of the Persians, and defended her faith at the price of the blood of numberless martyrs, called from the names of their leaders, the Vartanian and Leontinian¹ martyrs. It is not surprising that at such a juncture no Armenian name appears on the list of the six hundred and thirty fathers of the Council. The acts and decrees were, however, forwarded in due time, but so wretchedly translated, and accompanied by a letter of that wily Emperor, Zeno, couched in such language, that it appeared as if he himself only allowed the Council to sit to prevent greater misfortunes. If, then, the Greeks themselves disapprove of the Council, said the Armenian bishops assembled at Vagharshabad, why do they trouble us with their decrees? Some of the succeeding Katholikos made efforts to obtain the recognition of the Council, which had been accepted by the neighbouring Georgians, but every attempt proved unavailing. But now comes the crucial point: If the Council is not accepted, are at least its decrees recognised? In other words, are the Armenians imbued with Monophysitism or not? I am glad to see that Dr. Neale² himself rejects any such imputation. I cannot waste my space with lengthy quotations from Armenian writers, but I shall later on point out a few decisive passages in the Divine Office,

¹ Dr. Neale reads in the *Calendar* (Introduction, page 798), " Bishop Livonsky ;" and adds that he cannot make out who that may be. It ought to be " the Leontinian martyrs."

² Introduction, 1077-1092.

contenting myself for the present with the remark that the definite meaning we attach to such terms as Person, Substance, Nature, is one of the results of the theological disputes of the fourth and fifth centuries, and that even some of the most renowned Greek fathers were unsettled in their terminology. It is clear from Armenian writings that the Council was misrepresented as having taught the doctrine of two persons, instead of two natures, in Christ. In connection with this point are two divergencies of ritual. The first is the use of the unmixed chalice at Mass. Alone of all Christian communions—leaving Protestants aside—they use wine without water. But instead of seeing in this custom a proof of Monophysitism, I feel rather inclined to consider it as a protest against Nestorianism, “which this wicked and lying people, the Syrians, from whom the Holy Ghost is afar off” endeavoured to disseminate in Armenia. True, the mixed chalice admirably symbolizes the two natures in Christ. But would not leavened bread be equally symbolical of the same doctrine? and yet it gradually disappeared from the Roman Church, though at one time she indifferently used leavened and unleavened bread. When in 1177 the Council of Tarsus took pains to reconcile the Greek with the Armenian Church, the latter submitted that they would conform to the universal rite of the mixed chalice, if the former would conform to the See of Peter by using unleavened bread.

Another point adduced in evidence of the alleged Monophysitism of the Armenians, is the wording of the Trisagion at the Mass and in the Divine Office: “Holy God, Holy and Mighty, Holy and Immortal, *who wast crucified for us*, have mercy on us.” The italicized clause is varied according to the season: “who didst rise up from the dead,” “who didst gloriously ascend to heaven unto the Father,” and so on. It is well known that these words were first introduced by Peter the Fuller, the infamous Nestorian heretic, who polluted the first See of St. Peter, Antioch, by repeated intrusion (471-472 and 476-477), and from his point of view they are certainly heretical; but they may bear also a Catholic meaning, for the Trisagion is capable of being

appropriated to One Person of the Blessed Trinity; and that such is the case with the Armenians, appears clearly from the form it takes on Pentecost: "Who didst descend upon the Apostles." A Hellenizing party having omitted this clause, hot words, and even bloodshed, ensued among the Armenians. The present state of things is that the Gregorian (schismatical) party adhere to both the unmixed chalice and the clause of the Trisagion; whereas the Uniats, while protesting against any wrong interpretation of these two points, have conformed to the Roman custom.

2. With regard to the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Armenians agree with the Greeks. It comes to the same whether the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father *and* the Son, or (as these two Churches hold) from the Father *through*, or *by*, the Son;¹ and apart from human passion, the whole dispute is a quarrel about words. The Mekhitharists insert the words, "and from the Son," in all those places of the breviary where the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father is mentioned.

3. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the Greek, Russian, and Armenian Churches, with regard to the formulation of the doctrine of Purgatory, it is evident from the liturgical books that their faith in this matter is blameless, since the prayers for the dead, which, without the belief in Purgatory, would be nonsensical, form a prominent part of the liturgy. It might be added that our word Purgatory is somewhat misleading, as originally it was more expressive of the *state* of souls in process of expiation, than of the *place* where this expiation is performed; and, indeed, much more is known of the former than of the latter.

4. The Sacrament of Extreme Unction was regularly administered by the Armenian clergy until the fourteenth century, when the laity began to neglect confession, on the plea that Extreme Unction wiped out all the sins committed during lifetime. To counteract such a dangerous practice the clergy resolved to discontinue the administration of this

¹ S. Thomas, S. Th., qu. 86, a. 3 and 4.

sacrament; but they were certainly wrong in not reintroducing it after the end they had in view was attained. But even so, the Armenians acted more wisely than the Copts, who, in the twelfth century, abolished the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, believing that the prayer of the morning incense, or even interior repentance before a burning censer, conveyed sacramental absolution. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Armenian Uniate administer Extreme Unction, although they make use of a more simple ritual than the one followed before the fourteenth century.

5. I come now to the last point, which will also furnish an answer to the question, "Are the Armenians schismatics?" Allowing that some of the formularies of this Church are less explicit than one could wish, and that even some of her members individually may have swerved from the true faith, no sweeping accusation against the Church, as such, can be substantiated. This holds good also with regard to the primacy of St. Peter. The prerogatives of the "head of the apostles, the rock of faith," have frequently found expression in the early fathers, as well as in the office-books of the Armenian Church; while, on the other hand, she remained unstained by that spirit of rebellion almost unceasingly fostered in the Greek Church by emperors and Œcumenical patriarchs. If, nevertheless, the relations between Rome and Armenia were few and far between until the time of the Crusades, this fact must be ascribed to the difficulty of travelling, and even more to the isolation of Armenia on account of her language. Why, Photius himself could never have accomplished his barefaced forgery of documents, under the very eyes of the Papal legates, had the latter been sufficiently conversant with the Greek language; and the Armenians were necessarily much farther removed from the sphere of Roman action. As soon, however, as the Crusaders brought Western influence to act upon Eastern nations, relations were resumed, letters exchanged, embassies went to and fro, and presents were made. It would be interesting to dwell upon the relations of the Popes with the Ruperian dynasty; the embassy of Archbishop Conrad of Mayence to King Leo. II.; the presentation

of a costly mitre by Pope Lucius (1181) to the Katholikos, in consequence of which the Armenian bishops abandoned the use of the *saghavard* (or crown, as worn still by the Greek bishops) to the inferior clergy, and adopted the Roman mitre in its place. The registers of the Popes, from St. Gregory VII. downwards, are full of correspondence with the hierarchy of Armenia; and if exception be taken because Armenia was driven through distress to seek an alliance with the Holy See, the answer is obvious, that, if either Church had believed the other to be schismatic or heretical, no such demand would have been made; still less would it have been granted. Surely, Innocent III., to take one instance, was not the man to make a promise without laying down the law. More than that, however jealous the Armenians may have been of any encroachment on their national rite by the Greeks, they did what no mere political expediency could have made them do, for they introduced changes into their usages, with a view to rendering them more conformable to the Roman rite. This concerns principally the Mass, for the Divine Office is obviously less accessible to such alterations. The beginning of the Armenian liturgy is entirely copied from the Roman, though it sadly disconnects the ancient rite of the *prothesis*; again, the conclusion of the Mass with the Gospel of St. John is due to the Romanizing tendency.¹

When Armenia fell into the hands of the Turks, the appointment of patriarchs and bishops, and their subsequent removal (or assassination, as the case might be), became a political matter, as well as a financial. What surprise, then, if, under these circumstances, relations with Rome became more than precarious? Then there sprang up a Romanizing party, who entirely disregarded prudence and toleration, and made the name of Rome odious in the

¹ The recitation of the last Gospel was authoritatively prescribed by the revised Missal of St. Pius V., in 1570; but long before that time it began to be said, by way of private devotion, while the priest was returning to the sacristy, as is still the case at Pontifical High Mass, or while unvesting; and it is curious to notice that this recitation of the Gospel of St. John was one of the charges preferred against the Knights Templars. (See Pfeiffer's ed. of *Wolfram of Eschenbach*, vol. i., page xxvi.)

ears of their fellow-countrymen. Add to this the discord sown by Greeks and Turks, and Protestant missionaries and agents of Bible societies. Since the foundation of the College of Propaganda large numbers of clerics have been educated in Rome ; and much good has been done by them on their return to their own country. For the Popes have ever been the most strenuous upholders of Eastern national rites ; and the pupils of the Propaganda were, generally speaking, tolerably docile in this matter, though some party feeling is occasionally unavoidable. The Mekhitharists, an Armenian Benedictine congregation, founded by the Abbot Mekhithâr († 1749), with mother houses at San Lazzaro (Venice) and at Vienna, have been most successful ; and at one time—about 1810—the long-hoped-for and long-prayed-for union of all Armenians seemed on the point of being realized. Unfortunately it did not last long ; but finally led to the creation of a Romano-Armenian patriarch at Constantinople, in 1831. By this very fact all official communications between Rome and Etch-miadzin ceased, and the Gregorian Armenians became formally schismatical. It is, however, only fair to state that, although Etch-miadzin since 1823 belongs to Russia, the Katholikos has always been able to hold his ground against the interference of the “Holy Governing Synod” at Moscow. I cannot conclude this chapter without a sigh for the unfortunate divisions rending the Church of Christ, and a prayer that the day may soon arrive when all the flocks shall be penned in the same fold, and under the same shepherd.

BENEDICT ZIMMERMAN, O.C.D.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

FATHER ARTHUR MACGEOGHEGAN, O.P., 1633

Hastings.—"If they have done this deed, my noble lord"—*Glo'ster.*—"If!

Talk'st thou to me of 'ifs?' Thou art a traitor."

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III.*, Act iii., Sc. 4.

HOW much depends on the presence of that little word "if!" If Archimedes had a fulcrum, he would have moved the earth; there is no doubt whatever about it. But Archimedes had not, and the earth remains in its old position. The Greek philosopher, however, postulated an impossibility; and, though he spoke logically, what he said was only in illustration of his system or theory.

Let us take another case, a real one. A theologian, a priest engaged in a religious controversy, makes a hypothesis, and it is as true as he can make it: as an argument *ad hominem* it is unanswerable. But suppose it to be as orthodox as the Nicene Creed, or as loyal as an oath of fealty, yet it can be turned into heresy, or into high treason, by merely taking away the supposition on which it rests. In exact proportion to its original truth and force will its falsehood and wickedness now be. In such cases the monosyllabic particle is all-powerful. Let the priest have some malicious accusers; let them suppress the conditional manner in which he spoke, and falsely ascribe an absolute statement to him, then at once he is made to affirm what he has in reality denied. Let some enemies of Catholicity, who are unwilling that their *odium fidei* should be detected, but who are determined on ending the priest's life, be his judges, they will eagerly take advantage of the absence in the *evidence* of that short word "if." All the priest's protests are in vain; his proffered explanation of the "whole truth" will not be listened to, simply because his death is a foregone conclusion. To keep up appearances, to condemn him ostensibly for high treason, it is necessary to fasten the crime on him; and what more efficacious means of doing so can be conceived, than quoting one-half of his own words?

We who live in quiet times may find it difficult to conceive how a priest's death could be brought about by such knavery and bigotry; but this is what really happened to the holy martyr, Arthur MacGeoghegan, whose history is contained in the following pages. He was accused of having said, "It would be no sin to kill Charles I., King of England." The preliminary examination, before a committee of the Privy Council, was held with the utmost secrecy; it lasted three months. The State Papers, &c., contain allusions to this examination which throw considerable light on the real motives of some of the chief actors, as well as on the hopes and sentiments of their sympathizers. The subsequent proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, London, were watched with the deepest interest. On one side, the Catholics were in anxious suspense, though there could hardly be a doubt as to the ultimate issue; on the other, the Protestants, especially those of the Puritan party, were confident that the priest would be condemned. Both the public trial for high treason and the execution at Tyburn, on November 27th (O.S.), 1633, have been graphically described by eye-witnesses. They appear to have been the chief topic of the day. Ambassadors mentioned the occurrence in their despatches, and missionary priests wrote—one, that the dangers of his position were greatly increased on account of the excited state of the London populace; another, that he had been thrown into prison on suspicion of his being a fellow-conspirator of the Irish priest; and a third, that a sudden change took place—that a general belief in the Dominican's innocence was manifested immediately after his death.¹

¹ Our authorities may, for clearness sake, be divided here into four groups:—

A.—1. The official report of the trial at King's Bench, and of the sentence passed there. (*Coram Rege Roll*, 9 Charles I., Michaelmas Term; *Rex Roll*, No. 31, P. R. O., London. N.B.—*The Rex Roll is the part containing Crown cases.*)

2. The semi-official account of the doings in court, and of the execution at Tyburn. (Lord Mostyn's *Archives*, MS. 176, No. 4, Mostyn Hall, Wales.) See the *Hist. MSS. Report*, vol. iv., Appendix, page 355a. There is a duplicate of this most precious MS. in the Duke of Westminster's collection at Eaton Hall, Chester. In the *Hist. MSS. Report*, vol. iii.,

In the history of the numerous martyrs of the Irish Province, we meet with few accounts so complete, and, from a certain point of view, so interesting, as that of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan. A great many of his contemporaries have given us their impressions, and have described the event minutely. We can realize it all, the whole scene seems to pass before our eyes, while, on the contrary, we know comparatively little about some others of our martyrs. They passed their days in the silence and retirement of their cloisters, where life glided calmly on unnoticed save by God, till its sudden close revealed in a moment to the world the brightness of perfect sanctity. And when the cloisters lay in ruins, the remainder of their brethren continued the missionary work of the order as long as they could do so, till the hour came when they too sealed their preaching with

page 212, col. 2, No. 5, it is, by a curious mistake, catalogued thus: "Arraignment of Arthur Gohagan, a demoniac friar" (for "a Dominican friar").

3. The allusions made to the secret examination, during its progress, by Sir John Pennington, Clerk of the Privy Council (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1633-34), some miscellaneous references to the case in various volumes of the same series, and a description of what took place, in consequence of Father MacGeoghegan's execution, at Barcelona, seven years afterwards. (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-43.) Summaries of these are given in the printed volumes of the *State Papers*, but in every instance the originals have been consulted, and the relevant passages copied, for this article.

B.—The correspondence of the foreign representatives then resident in London:—

1. Vincenzo Gussoni, Venetian Ambassador (despatch to the Senate, December 9, 1633).

2. Amerigo Salvetti, Florentine Ambassador (despatch to the Grand Duke, 9th December, 1633).

3. Fontenay, the French Ambassador, was absent from London during the greater part of that year, but the despatch sent by his *chargé d'affaires*, Boutard, on November 16th, appears to refer to Father MacGeoghegan's case, among others.

4. Neither was the Dutch Ambassador, Joachim, in London at the time; but the deputy ambassador, Govert Brasser, mentions the secret examination (despatch of October 3) and the execution (despatch of December 8).

5. The most valuable of all the references to our martyr in the diplomatic correspondence is found in a letter of Don Juan de Necolaldi, secretary of Philip IV. of Spain, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the English Court. The letter was written in London, 9th December, 1633, to Don Martin d'Arpe, secretary to the Cardinal Infanta of Spain, the King's brother, then Governor of Milan.

6. In the same letter Nicolaldi promises his friend De Arpe, better known as the Marquis del Castel Rodrigo, that he will send him a com-

their blood. But, in either case, the death of a martyr was so common, that unless some unusual circumstances called for special mention, a place on the long roll published in various General Chapters was almost all that these heroic servants of God received.

And how few and short are the words that tell us of many a glorious end! The martyr's name, the place, the date, and sometimes not even these. Of Father Arthur's life in the cloister nothing is recorded, the account of the martyrdom in the *Acts of the General Chapter*, 1644, does not extend beyond eight lines as the reader may see,¹ nor should we perhaps know more about his death than about those of many others, but for a series of extraordinary events which preceded it. Occurrences which happened outside his convent home, transactions which did not belong to his

plete account of the martyrdom a few days later. In accordance with the writer's wish this account was forwarded either by the Cardinal or his secretary to Pope Urban VIII. The MS. is at present in the Vatican Library. In 1634 Cardinal Ferdinand became Governor of the Low Countries. A great deal of his correspondence, including the letter from Nicolaldi, is still preserved in the Royal Archives, Brussels (*Ibid.* 4,152). It is hardly necessary to observe that none of these despatches has ever appeared in print before. The originals were transcribed in the archives of the various governments.

C.—Letters of priests to their respective superiors:—

1. Father Eliseus, of St. Michael O.D.C., Vicar Provincial of the English Mission, to the General of his Order, December 6, 1633.—(*MS. Carmelite Archives*, Kensington.)

2. Rev. — Harris to the Venetian Ambassador, Vincenzo Guassoni, whose domestic chaplain he appears to be.—(Printed in *Hist. MS. Report*, XII., Appendix, vol. ii., part 2, page 41.)

3. The Papal agent or correspondent in London.—(*Vatican Archives*, MS. B. No. 13. "P. Arthuri Gohagan Passio," 20.)

D.—Printed accounts:—

1. *Acts of the General Chapter of the Dominican Order*, Rome, 1644.

2. O'Daly's (Dominic of the Rosary) *De Geraldinis*, Lisbon, 1655. (The author knew Father MacGeoghegan intimately.)

3. And last, but not least, Malpe, O.P., *Palma Fidei Ordinis Prædicatorum* (a history of Dominican martyrs), Antwerp, 1635.

¹"Venerabilis P. Arthurus Geoghegan, post peractum in Hispaniis studiorum cursum, et pertractata cum dexteritate Ordinis negotia sibi demandata, ad suam Provinciam rediens, in itinere ab Anglis comprehensus, et carceri Londini mancipatus, plures calumnias in odium fidei ab hereticis perpeusus, de crimine læsæ majestatis ut ibi moris est expositus, tandem ad patibulum ductus, post publicam fidei Catholicæ, et religionis Dominicæ protestationem suspensus, et adhuc semivivus membratim discissus, ejusque intestinis igne concrematis, mortem gloriose subiit, Anno Domini 1633."

ordinary personal duty as a religious, are precisely those which have left their mark in history. During his stay in Portugal, which was at the time, as our readers know, under the dominion of Spain, Father Arthur was brought into close relations with a high Spanish official; and the faithful discharge of his duty as theological censor, his fulfilment of the trust reposed in him, and his charity, were the occasion of his subsequent arrest in London, and of his martyrdom.

As regards the various sources of information already enumerated, most of these documents are short, and their contents, especially those of the dispatches, almost identical. Without interrupting the course of our narrative we shall insert them in their proper places. In putting them before the reader for comparison, there will, occasionally, be some slight repetition; this, of course, is unavoidable where accounts coincide; but such repetition is amply compensated for by seeing the mutual illustration which these statements afford. It is indeed most interesting to note the complete agreement that exist between all these independent accounts; for instance, between that of an English official and that of a priest, or between that of an ambassador and that of a Dominican historian.

Among them all, three claim pre-eminence, and these accordingly have been selected to form the basis of the present article. Two of them, moreover, supplement each other. One narrates at length what took place in Lisbon, the other what happened afterwards in London; one informs us of the real cause of Father Arthur's death, of the events which originally led to it, and of the miracles that followed it; the other describes his arrest, and the scenes in the King's Bench and at Tyburn. They are respectively the *Palma Fidei*, by Malpe, and the Moystyn MS. Father Malpe who was Prior of the Dominican house in Brussels, says he took down from the words of eye-witnesses what he relates about the miracles. He does not indicate the source of the rest of his knowledge, but he probably heard the whole tale from the lips of some Irish Dominicans that had lived with Father Arthur in Lisbon, and had subsequently been present at his martyrdom. At the time there were a good many

members of the Province in Louvain. In his description of some other martyrdoms, Malpe says his informant was a certain Irish Dominican, Father Thaddeus, who, after spending years in prison for the faith, ended his days in Flanders. Father Thaddeus, who died about 1620 (?), could not have told about Father Arthur, but after 1633 there were several who could.

The Mostyn MS. may, perhaps, be best described by saying that it is what would be called at the present day a special correspondent's report. It has, however, a semi-official look, and it evidently is the work of a legal expert who took down minutely what he saw and heard. What it contains is more circumstantially narrated than it is even in the *Palma Fidei*. In those days such descriptions were often written separately or printed on a single sheet. Noblemen and others residing at a distance from London usually got in this way the news of important trials, &c. Collections of such accounts form the series which is now known as the *State Trials*. But while many of them betray the author's bigotry, and are distinctly anti-Catholic in tone, the Mostyn MS. shows no sign of Protestant origin; indeed one or two phrases would almost indicate that the writer was a Catholic, or at any rate had strong sympathies with the martyr. The Mostyns were a powerful Catholic family until the time of James II., and the elder branch (Sir Piers Mostyn) still keeps the faith. The MS. has never been printed or given to the public before, and of all the English MSS. relating to any of our martyrs, it is unquestionably one of the most interesting.

The third, namely, Nicolaldi's description has many points of contact with both these accounts. It informs us of what happened both in Lisbon and in London, but it also contains a great many important details which are not in Malpe's work nor in the Mostyn MS. For instance, it is our only source of information about Father Arthur's sufferings in prison, and the efforts made for his release up to the last by Nicolaldi himself. As the document is long, and the old Spanish seems to require a translation, instead of being inserted here, both have been relegated to the

appendix. This arrangement will be more convenient, and the great value of Nicolaldi's narrative will be better appreciated when one has got a clear idea of the whole transaction. As far as possible it has been sought to let each of our authorities in turn speak for himself. Many of Nicolaldi's details are passed over here, interesting though they are; only those have been introduced which clear up obscure points, or seemed necessary to prevent incidental misconceptions on the part of some readers.

Around these accounts, all the others naturally group themselves. The most important of the latter for our narrative are the Vatican account, *Passio*,¹ &c., and the Carmelite. Besides giving them *in extenso* in the appendix, we shall sometimes have occasion here to quote them for a passing illustration. In this case they will be referred to by their initials, thus, V. C., and in the same way the Mostyn account by M., and Nicolaldi's by N. The *Palma Fidei* is in a sense the groundwork of our whole description of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan's career, or rather the original of which the present article is little more than a translation. It has been strictly adhered to throughout, and whatever statements are made relative to the martyr for which no authority is here given, are all to be understood as taken from it.

The greater part of Father Arthur's life as a religious was spent in Spain, where he made his ecclesiastical studies apparently at Toledo. As we saw already¹ during the first half of the seventeenth century, the novices of the Irish Dominican Province were on account of the persecution at home sent abroad soon after their profession—some to Italy, others to Belgium or France, but the majority to Spain. In 1613 the famous Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, wrote to Philip III. in behalf of the many Irish Dominican students resident in his Catholic Majesty's realms, especially in Spain; and a list of the members of the Irish Province sent to the Propaganda in 1629, shows that there were then in Spain about fifty students. Both documents may be seen

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1894.

in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. In the Propaganda list we find the name of "Frater Arturus Geoghegan," the subject of the present article. He had already shown exceptional tact and aptitude for transacting difficult affairs, when after a short stay in Corpo Santo, Lisbon, which was then recently founded (begun in 1615, finally established in 1629, by Dominic of the Rosary), he was commanded to go to Ireland in order to procure subjects for the new missionary institution. The *Chronicle* of the Portuguese Province in its account of Father Arthur's martyrdom states that he left Lisbon with some companions, and the *Agiologia Domenicana* (or *Lives of Dominican Saints, &c., for Every Day in the Year*), Lisbon, 1719, in the chapter which it devotes to his memory remarks that his companions on his journey homewards are all commemorated elsewhere in the work itself on their respective days as *martyrs*. Neither work, however, informs us who these companions were. But if their names are those which we see near his in the 1629 list, and of this there can hardly be a doubt, the little band destined to wear in heaven the crown of martyrdom consisted besides, of Terence Albert O'Brien, the future Bishop of Emly; Thaddeus O'Moriarty, and John O'Cuillain.¹ The first two were certainly Toledo students, as we saw in the articles just referred to; hence it is very probable that our martyr read his theology in that grand old university city; and as Terence Albert O'Brien commenced his studies there in 1622, and as our martyr said on the scaffold, "I have been eleven years in Spain" (M.), it is equally probable that he and the future bishop travelled out together.

We do not know whether Father Arthur's companions separated from him early on their journey home, or whether they came with him as far as London. As he was already two months in England (N.) when he was apprehended in July (M. and Rex. Roll.), he is probably the person referred to in the following correspondence:—"May 18th, 1633, Whitehall. Secretary Windebank, to write to Lieutenant of Dover, to examine the Irish priest to know upon what

¹ I, E. RECORD, February and April, 1894.

errand he goes thither into Ireland." Endorsed by Sir John Coke. And the answer—"May 22nd, London. Sir Francis Windebank, for your Honour. The French Ambassador is gone from hence, but such course shall be taken with the priest as you have directed."¹ Sir John Coke was, as we shall see, one of the Privy Councillors that subsequently examined Father MacGeoghegan. As the latter, so far as we are informed, was the only one of the young Dominicans that had business in London, it may have been judged more expedient that he should enter England alone. At that time, even though Charles I. was disposed to act leniently, and though his Queen was a devout Catholic, still it might have been dangerous for four priests to return from the Continent together. However, they may have done so, for at this period a great many priests did go back from France to England.²

In the *State Papers*³ we find it asserted that Father MacGeoghegan had three companions. The letter dated 17th December, which contains the assertion, is addressed to Lord Newburgh who had been one of the Privy Councillors that had sent him to be tried at King's Bench. In it by mistake he is called a Jesuit. The writers, Sir Benjamin Ayloffe and Sir Thomas Wiseman, magistrates of Colchester,

¹ Coke MS., Melbourne Hall, Derby. See *Hist. MSS. Report*, xii.

² "Many believed that a new era was beginning for Catholics; that the consequences of Henry VIII.'s apostasy would soon disappear. In the Propaganda Archives there is a document entitled "The state of the Catholic religion in England about the end of the year 1632." It is an official report to the Holy See, and it begins by saying that England has never been so disposed to return to the faith, whether we consider king, queen, counsellors, pseudo-bishops or people; and it ends with a declaration "that the Holy See may now confidently look for an early reconciliation of the country." We are told that crowds flocked to the sermons at the Queen's and the ambassadors' chapels. In Holy Week, 1632, as many as ten thousand people visited the altar of repose in the Queen's chapel, and at the time more than one thousand used to attend the sermon in the chapel of one of the ambassadors. On Rosary Sunday, two thousand were enrolled in the Confraternity. (*Downshire Review*, Dec., 1898.) Queen Henrietta Maria obtained leave from the General of the Dominican Order to have the confraternity erected in her own chapel, according to her confessor, Gamache. This was one side of the picture at the time that Father MacGeoghegan thought, perhaps, that he might return with safety.

³ *Domestic*, 1638, vol. 252, No. 67, printed vol., p. 328.

say that they have committed to jail a certain Francis Barrett, "for speakeing wordes which amounte to Treason (as we conceave), being uttered in this manner. The said Brewer demanding of him if hee came from London, the said Barrett answered hee did. Then you heard, said Brewer, of a Jesuit lately executed for treason, to which hee replied hee did, and there is Three more of the companie, but it skills not wheare they be, I knowe not. These words Brewer, &c." It is amusing to observe the trepidation of these worthy justices of the peace, and their nervous anxiety that none of the "Jesuit's" fellow-conspirators should escape. They appear to have been at the same time desirous of impressing on Lord Newburgh that their loyalty and zeal in no small degree resembled his own. We learn also from the Mostyn MS. that when Father Arthur was apprehended in London, there were "two of his countrymen in the chamber with him who spake Irishe among themselves;" but whether they were Dominicans that had travelled with him, or only friends who came to visit him while he was in London, is quite uncertain.

But to return to himself, and the purpose of his journey homeward to the island he was never more to see. Joyfully did Father Arthur set forth on his perilous mission, which he fulfilled, as we shall now find, but in a way which he and his superiors could hardly have hoped for. The blood of martyrs had ever been the seed of Christians; it was now, moreover, to be the seed of Apostles. Father Arthur did, in fact, draw many fervent postulants to Corpo Santo, there to be clothed with the white habit and to be prepared for the toils and dangers of the Irish mission; but the sacrifice of his own life had first to be made, the grain was to fall into the ground that it might bring forth much fruit.¹

The singular occurrence which, as we said above, took place during his sojourn in Lisbon, must be described here, for it is the turning-point of his life, and it eventually led to his betrayal and martyrdom in London. Father

¹ A Portuguese work, *Historia de St. Domingos*, states that within a single year the Irish Province had more than one hundred and sixty martyrs, most of whom studied in Corpo Santo.

MacGeoghegan stood high in the favour of the Duke of Maqueda, Don Jorge de Cardenas y Manrique, who in 1626 was appointed Lord High Admiral of the Spanish fleets in the Atlantic (Capitan General del Mar Oceano) and Councillor of State. Malpe calls him Viceroy of Portugal, but this appears to be a mistake according to one of the greatest living authorities on Spanish history. According to this writer, there was at the time no Viceroy of Portugal, but the Duke of Villahermosa governed there as President of the Council. If this were so, it would follow that Maqueda had, properly speaking, no authority in Lisbon itself, but only over the ships which entered its port. He had been Viceroy of Sicily from 1601, the date of his father's death, until the arrival of the Duke of Feria. In 1618 he was made Governor of Oran and Meraquiver in Algiers, and when next heard of he is Admiral; and, as we shall see, Admiral he remained up to 1641, at least.¹ However, as two of Maqueda's own contemporaries, Malpe and Father Arthur ("at Lisborne, with the Duke of Macada, Governor there," M.; "que governava en Portugal," N.), who ought to know, state that in 1631 the Duke had authority; they must be believed, even though there is an uncertainty on our part about the duration, or the correct name of his office. The question does not affect Father Arthur's history very much; so far as it is concerned, it is enough to know that the Duke of Maqueda had a high position in the Government of Lisbon. An error, however, which may be noticed in passing is mentioned in Vincenzo Gussoni's dispatch. He writes: "It is reported that the Dominican was confessor of the Viceroy of Seville." If it is meant by this that Maqueda was Governor there, the rumour was unfounded; and it

¹ See also Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Reyes y Titulos de Espana*, and Cabrera. Rabello de Silvo says, that in 1631 the Government of Portugal was in the hands of Doyo de Castro, Conde de Basto, who had the title of governor, under the direction of Olivarey. *Historia de Portugal*, &c., tom. iii., p. 405. Where such high authorities disagree, we must be content to let the matter rest. Perhaps, however, these conflicting statements can be very easily reconciled: at different times in the year 1631, different Spanish noblemen may have been governors of Portugal.

may be added, there is no trace of the confessorship in the Seville archives.¹

However this may be, the Duke did really avail himself of Father Arthur's services as censor of books (in Catholic countries an object of close scrutiny at the douane or custom-house) in the ordinary inspection of vessels that entered the port of Lisbon. In this capacity the Irish priest, well versed in theology, who in addition to his own language spoke at least English, Spanish, and Portuguese, rendered valuable services to all, but received a bad return from some whom he had especially befriended. It happened in this way. An English ship which had captured a Dutch one came up the Tagus with its prize, and the latter was immediately declared forfeit to the Spanish treasury in consequence of the treaty then existing between Spain and England.² But such was the address of Father MacGeoghegan, and his influence with the Lord High Admiral, that the vessel was released on the condition that some other Dutch ship when captured should within a certain time be sent to Lisbon. The English sailors also who had been thrown into prison, either because they violated the terms of the treaty by not delivering up their prize, or because they were with good reason suspected of being secretly in league with the Dutch, so that the seizure of the vessel was a pretended one (V.),³ were liberated at

¹ It is a coincidence worthy of notice that one of the English martyrs, the Blessed John Storey, was entrusted with precisely the same office in Antwerp by the Duke of Alva, the Spanish Vicegerent of the Netherlands, and that the office was the cause of his apprehension and death. He went on board a ship in discharge of his duty, and was immediately imprisoned and carried off to England.

² On January 2nd, 1631, a secret treaty between Philip IV. of Spain and Charles I. of England, against Holland, was signed at Madrid by their respective representatives, Olivarez and Cottington. The first clause runs thus:—"In the first place, it is agreed on, that there shall be a league and confederacy, offensive and defensive, 'settled between the two kings against the Hollanders, which shall last during the war against them, or till there be peace made with them, with consent of both kings." The second clause begins:—"That an offensive war shall be made by both kings against the Hollanders, by sea and land, till the total reduction of these provinces to the due obedience of the King of Spain, their natural sovereign."

³ It may be mentioned here that the Archivist at the Hague says there is no entry in 1631 (the Ambassador Joachim's correspondence) to show that such a ship was taken by the English.

Father Arthur's intercession. He innocently believed the Englishmen's profession of their intention to fulfil the condition, and pledged his word for them; so they were allowed to weigh anchor and depart. The Dutch vessel with her cargo would be a valuable prize for the Spanish Exchequer; Malpe says it was worth fifty thousand florins. But the promised one never arrived, the result of which was that the Duke of Maqueda removed Father MacGeoghegan from his position of trust.

In order that that his patron should not be overreached, so far as he could prevent it, the latter then resolved to go to London on his way home, as the reader already knows. He met the captain of the ship there, told him why he came, and requested him to fulfil the engagement made with the Spanish Admiral. The captain, as if willing to keep his promise, expressed his happiness at seeing his benefactor once more, and asked him where he was staying. Father Arthur little suspecting the motive of the man's inquiry, gave his address, and before long to his utter amazement saw a number of constables enter his room to apprehend him on a charge of high treason. He knew well that his being a priest was the real and only cause of his arrest.¹ On

¹ The circumstances of the arrest are described very differently by the Dutch ambassador, who in all probability was a Lutheran or a Calvinist:—

“Brieven van Govert Brasser, gedeputeerde waarnemend ambassadeur gedurende de afwesigheid van den ambassadeur Albert Joachimi te Londen. 3 October, 1633.

“Seker Engelsch coopman onlangs van Lisboa weder hier gecomen, heeft op straat ontmoet een Yerisch Jesuit, daer methy te Lisboa int clooster gesproocken hadde ende heeft hem naert gebruijck alhier terstont in een herberge geleijt om hem met een pint wijn te vereeren daer eenigen tijt met hem geweest zijnde, heeft zich gelaten alsof daarontrent penningen te ontfangen hadde ende den Jesuit verzocht dat hij hem in de herberge wilde blijven wachten, is ondertuschen uytgegaen ende heeft officieren van justitie met zich gebracht, die den Jesuit hebben gevangen genomen. De coopman leijt hem te laste dat hij naer veel propoosten tot nadeel van Sijne Majesteit van Groot Brittaignen gehouden, eijntelijk geseght soude hebben dat hij deselvige noch verhoopte met sijn eijgen hand het leven te benemen. D'examinatie van de Jesuit geschiet gans secretelijck, in voegen dat den heere Grooten Zegel bewaerder zelfs de notulen daervan hout.”

Letter of Godfrey Brasser, Deputy Ambassador during the absence of the Ambassador Joachim, London, Oct. 3, 1633:—

“An English merchant, who lately returned from Lisbon, met in the street an Irish Jesuit, with whom he had spoken in a convent at Lisbon.

the charge, however, of high treason, the one commonly resorted to against Catholics, he was taken before Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal; Sir John Coke, Secretary of State; Lord Newburgh, and Lord Falkland.¹

On that day, we may be sure, the humble religious felt that in all likelihood his fate was sealed, and began to prepare for death. He understood now the purpose of the captain's question. Falkland and Newburgh had issued the warrant for his arrest (M.), and the King afterwards appointed the first two noblemen to take part in the committee of inquiry (N.). All four were rank Puritans. In the Star Chamber, however, Coventry was usually on the side of clemency.² As regards Coke, Gardiner says: "He was a man without any fixed political views, except a hatred of everything that savoured of the Papacy." He was also, according to Prynne, "a most bitter hater of the Jesuits, from whom he intercepted access to the King; he entertained many according to their deserts, he diligently inquired into their factions."³ The Puritan divine, perhaps, had Father MacGeoghegan's examination before his mind as he wrote these lines; at any rate, we may be sure it was congenial occupation for Coke. Lord Newburgh is best known on account of his loyal adherence to Charles I. Lord Falkland,

According to the custom of this country he asked him to have some wine with him in a hotel. After a time he went out under the pretext of getting some money in a place near at hand, but before doing so he begged the Jesuit to wait there till he returned. He came back accompanied by some bailiffs who arrested the Jesuit. The merchant accused him of having used very disrespectful language about his Britannic Majesty, and of having said that he would take the King's life with his own hand. The examination of the Jesuit is being conducted with the greatest secrecy, so that the Keeper of the Great Seal himself retains the notes of it in his possession." These notes of the Keeper of the Great Seal (or Lord Chancellor) will, if possible, be published in the Appendix to this article, or afterwards in the General History of the Irish Martyrs.

Brasser's description of the circumstances of the arrest is due to mere hearsay. It disagrees with Nicoldaldi's, the Mostyn, and the Carmelite MSS. Father Eliseus, the author of the latter, says he took the greatest pains to ensure correctness.

¹ The four had remained in England during the King's visit to Scotland and were among the noblemen who for the time administered the country, (*State Papers*, Dom. 1633, page 52.)

² Leslie Stephen's *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

³ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

of whom more anon, was of the four the most inimical to our martyr. (N.)

All were Privy Councillors. The Privy Council did not, however, act in its corporate capacity. All its extant records have been carefully searched, page by page; but nowhere is there mention of this inquiry. The King named these four to examine the prisoner; that is, to find out whether there were grounds for proceeding against him in the public law courts. Charles gave express orders that Father MacGeoghegan should not be interfered with on account of his religion; but in case he had offended against his allegiance as a subject, that justice should take its course. (C.) Malpe remarks that the Privy Counsellors, with the exception of Lord Falkland, viewed the matter very quietly, and were disposed, in appearance at least, to acquit the prisoner. A letter of Falkland's to Sir John Coke (now among the Coke MSS. at Melbourne, Derby), places the writer's conduct in a rather unfavourable light. He expresses himself in terms which would hardly be suitable if impartial justice to the Dominican had been the rule and motive of his actions.

“ALDENHAM, Sept. 10, 1633.

“Yf you wyll besyde add the consideration that it is thus donn immediatly after my detection of ffather Arthure and his apprehension, you shall doe noe wronge to y^e matter, and much right to y^e present condicion of

“Your Ho. humble servant,

“FALKLAND.

“To Sir John Coke,

“Principal Secretary of State to His Majesty.”¹

Lord Falkland, as he himself soon afterwards acknowledged, was punished by God for the part he took in the condemnation of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan.² (V.) After

¹ See *Hist. MSS. Report*, xii., vol. ii., page 31.

² Henry, first viscount, was father of Lucius, the famous Lord Falkland, and Viceroy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. During his residence here he was comparatively lenient to Catholics. Lady Falkland was a convert; and no doubt to her influence much of this justice is to be ascribed. She was remarkable for her works of charity in Dublin, and also for her great learning. Her knowledge of languages extended from Hebrew and Greek to Transylvanian; and at nineteen, when she was converted, her study of the fathers had convinced her that the Catholic

his decease, however, as it would appear, the other noblemen answered the King's question in the affirmative, and instructed the Attorney-General (Sir William Noye) to prosecute. The Committee of Council had made its investigation with ominous slowness. It would appear from the Mostyn MS. that the secret examination began early in August, and, from the *Coram Rege Roll*, that it ended late in November. The Privy Councillors were probably desirous of appearing to act irrespectively of difference in religion, or perhaps they hoped to elicit from the accused some valuable information about other ecclesiastics in England, about private negotiations with those in Spain, &c. The writer of the *Vatican MS.*, who was thoroughly cognizant of all the external or public facts, conjectures that Father Arthur's judges (apparently including those of the King's Bench) condemned him to death either because one of the judges bore an ill-will to him, or because they wanted to satisfy the Puritans, who were discontented, and murmuring at Charles's clemency towards the Catholics; or, again, because they intended to strike terror into the Puritans, to deter them from reviling the King, as they were accustomed to do in conversation; or, lastly, because they wished to clear themselves from the imputation of being so partial to Catholics as was commonly said.

Salvetti, the Florentine Ambassador, who was equally well informed, writes thus:—"It was a long time since any regular had been put to death; and it fell to the lot of this poor victim that in his person the old maxims of persecu-

religion was the true one. Two of her sons, Patrick, the poet, and Placid, entered the clerical state, and her four daughters became nuns. From a contemporary account, *The Life of Lady Falkland* (first published in 1861), the following particulars respecting her husband's death are taken:—"At the end of summer, waiting on the King (then newly come out of Scotland), shooting in Tibbald's Park, fell from a stand, and broke his leg, and instantly broke it in a second and third place with standing up upon the King's coming up to him . . . The surgeon, undertaking the part of a bone-setter, pretended to set his leg; but, failing in it, instead of being set, it gangrened" (page 46). "And this of his refusing to say he died a Protestant, two of his Protestant servants who were present did acknowledge" (page 47). He died on September 25th, 1633, and was buried in Aldenham (*Dict. Nat. Biography*). Let us hope that the prayers of his family and those of Father MacGeoghegan obtained for him the grace of conversion on his death-bed.

tion should once more be put into practice; and this simply to please the Puritans, and, at the same time, to hinder the Catholic party from increasing.”¹

If we may infer the dispositions of Coventry, Coke, Newburgh, and Falkland from those of the Clerk of the Privy Council (Sir Edward Nicholas), their proceedings and their motives were much better kept in secret, for they would not bear the light of day. Nicholas writes in confidence to his friend, Admiral Pennington, as follows:—

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, CHAS. I., VOL. 246, NO. 26.

“NOBLE CAP^T.,—I have receaved yo^rs of y^e 9th of this moneth & am glad my form^e came safe to y^r hands w^{ch} I sent by the post of Sandw^{ch}.

“There hath bene an Irishe Jesuit here in exaiacon many tymes of late for words w^{ch} he should speake [*in con*] firmacion of their bloudy tenet ag^t Kings. I hope he shalbe hanged for example to deterre those that are of his divelish opinion.

“Y^r affeconat freind & humble servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westm., 12 Sept^{bris}, 1633.”

No. 85.

“NOBLE CAPT.,—I have receaved yo^rs of y^e 23rd of this moneth . . . The Irishe preist hath bene here often examyned, but noe course is yet taken for his punishm^t, albeit it be prooved by 2 witnesses that he tould them in Spayne, that if he ev^r came ov^r into England (as he intended) he would kill o^r gracious King himself, for that he said he was an heretick; I beleeve if yo & I were men of y^e Jury to try him wee should make him a popishe Martir att Tiburne.

“Y^r affeconate freind & servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westminster, 27 Sept., 1633.”

Vol. 248, No. 65.

“NOBLE CAPTAIN,—I hope now shortly to see yo^r here . . . I heare now a rumour that the Irishe preist that in Spayne said he would kill o^r gracyous Master (whome God Almighty long p^rserve) shal be arraigned, but I shall not beleeve it till I see it.

“Yo^r faithfull & affec^{te} freind and humble servaunt,

“E. NICHOLAS.

“Westminster, 28 Octo.”

Vol. 277, No. 107.

¹ According to Challoner, the last martyr at Tyburn had been Thomas Maxwell, July 1st, 1616.

Meanwhile reasonable suspicions were aroused in the minds of some Catholic ambassadors that all was not going on right, but that hatred to Catholicity was at the bottom of the whole affair. Thus Boutard says, in his despatch of November 17th, addressed to M. Boutillier, conseiller d'Etat :—"L'on a delivré de nouvelles commissions contre les Catholiques sur lesquelles ayant fait discrètement mes instances, l'on m'a fait entendre c'estoit pour raison d'Etat et non de religion. J'attend avec impatience, vos commissions, etc."¹ And, as we shall see, the Spanish Ambassador Nicoldaldi, says (December 9th) that he had used his utmost endeavours with the King and his ministers to save the life of the *martyr*, but all in vain; and that he would be glad to leave a country where malice, enmity to Catholics, and lies, abound.

Meanwhile Father MacGeoghegan was a close prisoner in Newgate.² On Friday, November 22nd, he was taken from the Gatehouse Prison (Newgate), in custody of Aquila Wykes, gentleman jailor, to the court assembled at Westminster. At the bar he pleaded not guilty; and, as the *Roll*, has it, "thereof he put himself upon his country," or submitted his case to the justice of his fellow-countrymen. The jury was empanelled on Monday, November 25th. The Dominican was sentenced to death, and handed over to the custody of the marshal, by whom he was then taken to the Marshalsea, in Southwark, there to remain till he should be drawn on a hurdle through the middle of the city to Tyburn.

But to return to Malpe's narrative. At length, to the general surprise, on November 25th, it was sworn in open court that Arthur MacGeoghegan was guilty of high treason of the worst possible kind. The charge was, that he asserted, in September, 1631,³ while in Portugal, that it would be no sin to kill the King of England, Charles I., because he was a heretic; and that if he ever got the opportunity, he would do so himself. His accusers alleged, in addition,

¹ Paris, *Archives des affaires etrangeres-Angleterre*, 1633, a. 45, fol. 286.

² *Coram Rege Roll*, from which we take the following statements.

³ September 31, *Coram Rege Roll*.

that he had actually came to England with this regicidal intention.

The only witnesses were two companions of the captain, two merchants (V.), to whom Father Arthur had been so kind when his ship had been seized in Lisbon. Their testimony was accepted, of course. The captain deposed that he had not heard Arthur MacGeoghegan say these words, but only heard the others state that he had said them. The prisoner answered the Lord Chief Justice (Thomas Richardson, *C. B. Roll*) that he had never, even in thought, held that the King of England might lawfully be killed. What he had really asserted—in a discussion with a man who denied free will—was, that if his tenets were true, it would be no sin to take the life even of a king. He was, moreover, at the time, alone with this man, the ship's pilot,¹ so that the captain's companions could not have overheard his words. On that occasion, he had gone on board the English ship to examine all books, as was his duty; and a Lutheran or Calvinist work which had been submitted to his judgment by the pilot was the cause of the discussion. But the malicious suppression of that little word *if* decided the Dominican's fate. At the time, in England, any pretext was sufficient to ensure the condemnation of a priest; Father MacGeoghegan was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, while, as a matter of course, the public crier proclaimed by the command of the Chief Justice and the Attorney-General, that he was condemned to death, not because he was a priest, nor because he was a religious, nor for any other cause connected with the Catholic creed, but because he was a criminal convicted of high treason. Many were found who openly disapproved of the iniquitous sentence, and various expedients were suggested, by which the unoffending victim might be delivered, but all in vain; the Puritans were resolved on doing away with the priest, and no time was to be lost, for they were thirsting for his blood. On the 27th of the same month he was dragged

¹ The pilot was a native of Ostend, as we learn from Rechac, *Les Vies des Saints etc., de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs*. Paris, 1650. This is the only additional information Rechac gives; his account of our martyr is an acknowledged translation of Malpe's.

on a hurdle, through the city to Tyburn, where six thousand persons had gathered to witness his execution, when he reached it, sore and bruised as he was, he loudly expressed his happiness at being permitted to die on the spot made holy by the sufferings of all those who had given their lives there for the faith, and thanked God for the privilege. He then protested that he forgave from his heart his false accusers, and everyone else that had a hand in his death, and entreated the bystanders that if, after his death, the truth should come to light, and his innocence should be made manifest, they would intercede with the King for his enemies' pardon. He also called God to witness that he never even harboured the thought of doing that for which he was now ostensibly to be executed. Lastly, he gave expression to his grief, at not being allowed to have a confessor, but hoped that God would accept his desire, and have mercy on him; declared that he was a Dominican and a priest; then he recited the Creed, commended himself particularly to the Blessed Virgin, made the sign of the cross, and gave himself into the hands of the executioner. While actually hanging he was seen, with joy depicted on his saintly countenance, frequently to make the sign of the cross; for, in the final struggle with the powers of evil, the great truth, "In this sign thou shalt conquer," was borne in upon him with more vividness than ever before. According to the barbarous practice then customary in England, he was cut down when half dead, disembowelled, and his heart torn out. The hangman held up the heart that the crowd might gaze upon it, saying as he did so, "Behold the heart of the traitor." Instantly the body, more dead than alive, turned its eyes towards him, as if in abhorrence of the crime of treason, to reproach him with the calumny, and to protest that death was being endured for the holy Catholic faith.¹

¹ The dispatches of the Dutch, Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors find their most suitable place here. It must be observed with regard to the dates of all the dispatches, that the reformed Gregorian Calendar is used, whereas the English documents have the old method of computation, according to which Father Arthur suffered on November 27th. Malpe

We shall now see how the trial and the execution are described, and the speeches reported in the *Mostyn MS.* :—

Arthur Gohagan, by birth an Irishman, a frier of the Order of *St. Dominick*, was arraigned at the King's Bench Barr, 25 Novemb., 1633, being Munday, for speakinge theis words :—

"I will kill the kinge if I can come to him because he is an heretique," w^{ch} words he uttered the last of Decembr., A^o Septimo Car, 1631, in a cabbín of a shipp belonging to one Capteyne

conforms to it, but remarks that it is *stylo Anglicano*. Govert Brasser's second dispatch is short :—

"6 December, 1633.

"Mijn heeren. Op gisteren es alhier gehangen en in vier stucken gehackt den Yerschen priester daervan ick Uwe Hoog Mogenden voor desen geschreven hebbe dat geaccuseert wiert voorhebbens te zijn Sijne Majesteet het leven te benemen, welch hij op de plaetze van de executie ontkende, gebruijkende ijselijcke vervloeckingen en cas sulen waer mochte zijn."

"SIRS—The Irish priest to whom I alluded in a former letter to your Excellencies was hanged and quartered yesterday. He had been accused of intending to assassinate the King. He denied it on the scaffold, with awful imprecations in case it were true."

The mention which Gussoni makes of our martyr is equally brief :—

"Tomentato a strascico de cavalli, fu terzo giorno condotto all' ultimo supplicio un tal qual sacerdote Domenicano di nazione Irlandese che passatosene in Spagna et ivi come dicono, trattenutosi confessore del Vice Re di Siviglia, ritornatosene poi in questo Regno, fu subito riconosciuto, fatto prigioniero, accusato et convinto d'haver detto in Ispagna di non voler piu ritornar in Ighilterra se non per amazzar il Re." "A certain Irish Dominican was, on the third day (*after his condemnation*), dragged by horses to the place of execution. He had been in Spain, and, as it is reported, was the confessor of the Viceroy of Seville. When he returned into this kingdom, he was immediately recognised, made prisoner, accused and convicted of having said, while in Spain, that he would never go back to England, unless it were to kill the King."

Amerigo Salvetti (Alessandro Antelminetti di Lucca) resided in London as Tuscan Ambassador from 1618 till his death in July, 1657. He was well acquainted with the ways of the English law courts, and with the injustices done to Catholics. Salvetti's dispatches fill twelve volumes. The passage relating to our martyr is found in the sixth (1632-38) :— "Mercoledì passato fu squartato un frate Domenicano Irlandese, essendo due giorni avanti condannato dal Tribunale della Banca Regia per crimine di maestà, consistente d'avere, mentre si trovava in Spagna alcuni anni sono, sostenuto potersi depuorre et amazarre il Re ec., volendo, inferire questo, et che sarebbe venuto presto in questo regno per effettuare lui stesso questo pensiero. I giudici che lo condannorno, insieme col Procuratore fiscale, volero pubblicamente dichiarare nella condannazione che questo huomo non veniva nullamente condannato per esser frate et cattolico, ma si bene per traditore ec. [*The rest is in cypher.*] Quelli che lo videro morire dicono che negasse fin all' ultimo di haver mai detto di volere amazzare questo Re; ma alcuni mercanti inglesi, che lo conobbero in Spagna, testimoniarono contro di lui, et sopra de loro testimonii fu

Bust an Englishman riding in the roade of Lisborne in Portugall neere the castle there.

To w^{ch} he pleaded not guiltie. The King's Attorney informed against him upon the Statt. of 25 Ed. 3.¹ Wheeler and Essinge, two English Merchants or ffactors, appeared witnesses against him, who deposed they heard him speake the words then, and there, w^{ch} they presently related to Capteyne Bust who was att that tyme of the uttering of the said words gone forth of the cabbिन where the said *Gohagan* had been disputinge with him about the principles of our Religion, especially about the merit of Works & freewill, w^{ch} the said ffrier mainteyned.

About July last the said Capt. Bust mett wth the ffrier in the Strand neere London, who tooke acquaintance of the said Bust, but hee knew him not, w^{ch} the ffrier perceavinge asked him, have you forgotten y^r freind Father Gohagan that did

condannato. Era gran tempo che non si era fatto morire religiosi et toccò a questo poveraccio di rinuovare le massime antiche, et tutto per dar gusto ai Puritani et in uno stesso tempo tener la parte cattolica di non aumentare." (Firenze, Archivio Mediceo, Legazione d'Inghilterra).

"An Irish Dominician was hanged on last Wednesday. He had been condemned in the Court of King's Bench two days before for high treason, namely, for having maintained, two years ago, in Spain, that the King might be deposed, and put to death, &c., from which it was inferred that he had come to England for the purpose of putting his theory into execution. The judges who condemned him, and the Attorney-General, had it publicly proclaimed that he was sentenced to death, not because he was a friar, or because he was a Catholic, but because he was a traitor, &c. [*The rest is in cypher.*] Those who saw him die say that he declared to his last breath, that he had never said that he would kill the King; but some English merchants who had known him in Spain, gave evidence against him, and upon it was he condemned. It was a long time since any regular had been put to death, and it fell to the lot of this poor victim that on his person the old maxims of persecution should be once more put into practice, and this simply to please the Puritans, and to hinder the Catholic party from increasing."

¹ The following is the Statute referred to :—

A.D., 1350-2. Anno 25° Edwd. III., st. 6, cc. 1, 2.

Cap. II.

A declaration which offences shall be adjudged Treason.

"Also whereas divers opinions have been before this time in what case treason shall be said, and in what not: the King at the request of the Lords and of the Commons hath made the declaration following, that is to say :—When a man doth compass or imagine the death of our Lord the King (Quant homme fait compasser ou imaginer la mort nostre seigneur le Roi) *Statute Book*, p. 325, Eyre, London. The Attorney-General (Sir William Noye), certainly went back far enough to find a law for his purpose. The 26th Henry VIII., c. 13, was really the statute against which Father Arthur offended, but his judges dared not quote it—their *odium fidei* would have appeared. It was in virtue of this statute of Henry's that so many of the recently beatified English martyrs went from Tyburn to heaven.

you many curtesies in Spaine, att Lisborne, wth the duke of Macada, Gouvernour there, whereupon the said Bust saluted him, thancked him, promised him the best service he could doe for him in England.

The said Bust being departed from him called to mynd the words w^{ch} the said Wheeler and Essing told him the fryer had had spoken in their p'sence in Spaine w^{ch} he imparted to one Davenport of London, a Cittizen who advised him not to conceale the same, but to acquaint the Lords of the privie Counsell therewth, who thereupon went with the said Davenport to Viscount ffauckland, and the Lord Newbergh, Chauncellor of his Mat^{ty} Dutchie of Lancaster, who uppon further informacon of the said woordes and Gohagans arrivall into England (and att that tyme liveinge by Lincolnes Inn ffeilds, near the Cockpitt playhouse) signed a Warrant for his apprehension, and sent a messenger along wth them, who after a weekes search found him in the place aforesaid.

Att there cominge thither the said Gohagans Chamber doore locked, and being denied entrance the Messenger said he would breake it open if hee would not lett them in, w^{ch} after some little passages of discourse (seeinge noe meanes to hinder them anie longer) was opened unto them, where the Messenger Bust and Davenport found him lyinge upon his bedd, wth two of his countrymen in the Chamber wth him, who spake Irishe among themselves. The Messenger att that instant searching about y^e roome for pa^{pers} w^{ch} might discover somethinge of the said Gohagan's purpose and plott, but found none, wher uppon the Messenger commanded the said Gohagan not to speake in Irish but in English, that they might understand them; and wthall he tould Gohagan that he must goe along wth him, w^{ch} he said he would not doe because he was sicke, but the messenger replied that he must and should, for he was the kings prisoner, to whome Gohagan retorned this Aunswer—I care not thus much for y^{or} kinge, putting his Thumb betweene his teethe and ierching it back againe.¹

This was deposed against him. Further Gohagan answered it was not true that was laid to his Charge, and his argumt was this—

first he never saw their faces, vizt., Wheeler and Essing, who accused him of the Traiterous woords spoken in Spaine. And that Capteyne Bust, wth whom hee had about that tyme disputacon in the cabbin about meritts of woorks and free will, did not heare him speake theis woords.

Secondly he had done manie speciall curtesies for Capt. Bust, and one Graves and Bust being arrested, sentenced, and seized upon as Confiscate to the kinge of Spain, because it was

¹ It must be remembered that this was only a gesture commonly used in Spain, as it is even at the present day.

flemish bottome, but his pvidence hee gott the same restored unto them thorough his creditt and favour wth the duke of Macada.

After wth he peured a leter of Marke, helped them to a tall stroong builde shipp wth they much desired att a reasonable price, and all this he did for them (gratis), thoughte it was alleadged they gave him as much searge as would make him a coate, wth he denied and said that peice of searge was given to the Duke of Macadaes Secritary for dispatch, and concluded that if he had thought soe ill of the kinge he would never have shewen that favour to those men that were the kings subjects and such strangers to him.

He said further that it was a most ungratefull thinge to requite the manie courtesies he had done for them wth this false accusacon of him.

And his Argumt for merrits was this—

“If ill woorks deserve punishment, good works deserve Rewardes”

His argument for free will was this—

“If a man be necessitated to doe an evill act why should he be punished for it, why should a man be hanged for comitting ane offence if it be not in his power to shunne it.”

And after this he was interrupted by the Lo. Chief Justice, who tould him he had spoken much, but it was all imptinent, soe he was silent.

The Lo. Chief Justice badd the Jury goe togeather (the fore man being Sr Thomas flowler Kt and Barronett of Islington), who after a little stay retorned and deliv'd upp their verdict guiltie of those traitorous words. After the Lord Chief Justice spake to ffather Gohagan as followeth :—

“Sirrah, yo^e have been^e arraigned of highe Treason, to w^{ch} yo^e have pleaded not guiltie; yo^e have beene tried by the oathes of 29 men, 17 grandjurie and 12 pettye Jurie, accordinge to evidence, and have beene by them founde guiltie.”

The cheefe substance of his speech was this—

“That we were the happiest people in the World, for while all the Christian World were clasheinge together in armes, wee lived in peace and plenty, and that those and all the blessings of this kingdom wee owe, under God, to the juste and quiett government of our most gracious kinge, who is att this day the most pious, religious, and gracious Prince in the Christian World, that hee was the kings Subiect, and that hee was bound to acknowledge the Kings goodness therein, and to render thanks to God for his Maties blessed Governmt over us. That he was a most wretched villaine to say he was an Heretique, howsoever (*i.e. whosoever*) adjudged, and declared him soe or would doe, yet being unsentenced an heretique he would not conclude him soe, And say that therefore he would kill him.

"That they meddled not with him conering his Religion but for Treason, for w^{ch} all the Jesuites and Preists have suffered death wth in theis 80 yeares, and not one of them all for Religion. And therefore they do all vainelie ymagine that they die Martirs for Religion.

"This is they judgment w^{ch} is not myne but Judicium Regis.

"Thou shall goe from whence thou standest to the place from whence thou camest or to some other Prison, and there stay a convenient tyme. Then thou shalt be taken & drawne upon a hurdle wth thy feete forward, the reason is that such a traiterous villaine as thou art, art not worthy to tread upon the earth, [] to the place of Execucon, where thou shalt be hanged by the Neck, but not till thou art dead, and then beinge cutte downe alive, the fire beinge first prepared, thy into the fire. After thy belly shalbe ript upp, and that traiterouse heart of thine w^{ch} ymaged this mischeefe against our gracious Sovereigne shalbe torne out and likewise cast into the fire. Nextly thy head shalbe cutt off, And last of all thy body shalbe devided into 4 Quarters w^{ch} shalbe at his Ma^{ty} dispose.

"I will say the Lord have mercy on thy Soule in charitie, and desire God to give thee grace to repent thee of thy foule Treason, although I know it is not worth thankses from thee, or any of thy Religion."

Then the Clarke of the Crowne asked him if he coulde say anie thinge for himselfe.

Hee answered he had nothinge to say.

Upon Wednesday the XXVIIth of Novemb. the said Arthur Gohagan was accordingly drawne upon a hurdle from the Kings Bench to the city of London and soe to Tiburne, from whence he was lifted off into a Cart. Where undismaid and wth a feareles countenance he spake these words, "In manus tuas comendo spiritum meum quia redemisti me O Deus veritatis meæ," w^{ch} he often iterated.

"I have been 11¹ yeares in Spaine. I am free of the Order of St. Dominick. I die a Roman Catholique. I pray yo^e al beare witnes of it. I believe the 12. Articles of the Creed according to the exposicon of the Romish Church. I forgive all my enemies hartilie, as hartily as I desire God to forgive me all my infinite sins. I pray God to forgive them that are the Cause of my death, for I never spake theis words. If I did may all the Devills in Hell take away my Soule at this instant tyme. In manus tuas, &c. I pray God blesse the Kinge and his Successors, and make all his enterprises successfull.

"I desire that my body be not dismembered, but that it may be putt,² and that the Spanish Ambassador would send it

¹ A friar (?)

² i.e., interred.

to be buried in some Abby or place belonging to an Abby of St. Dominick's.

"I would suffer in my clothes, if you would give me leave me for decencies sake, if not I will do as you please, which was denied. After this his stockings and breeches pulled of hee asked if he might not weare those little under breeches, viz., a pair of white Trousers, which the Sheriff likewise denied."

Then desiring all good Christians to pray for him hee earnestly commended his Soule to God, and said :—

"O thou glorious Virgin Mary Mother of our Lord and Saviour, pray to thy Sonne Jesus Chr. to receave my soule. I would faine have receaved the Holy Sacrament accordinge to the Injunction of our Order, but I could not gett a priest to give it me."

Then being stript to his shirt holding upp his hands to heaven with great earnestness iterating *In manus tuas, &c.*, the carte was drawne away when he hanged a little tyme, then the Rope was cutt with a Bill, the hangman holdinge him fast in his armes that he should not fall to the ground, att which tyme the corde being slack he made a great noise in his throate.

Then they laid him on the earth, drewe him along (being alive) neere the fire, threw there his Bowells and hearte laid him afterwards upon his face, cutt off his head by the Neck, devided his body by the waste and then cut it asunder in fower parts w^{ch} were not dispersed on the gates, but some of his freinds obteyned the disposing of them, and sent them over sea to be interred as he requested.

Inquiries about the martyr's burial-place have been made without result in Holland, Belgium, France, and Spain, and none of the many documents discovered up to the present gives the desired information. One would have confidently expected to find it in the account written by the Spanish ambassador, Nicolaldi. But this appears to have been finished and posted before the translation mentioned in the *Mostyn MS.* took place, for it merely tells us "*y dicen que le enterraron todo de noche debaxo de la misma horca;*" "it is said they interred all (the head and quarters) at night near the same place." Other subsequent facts of great importance are not mentioned by Nicolaldi; for instance, the King's proclamation of Father Arthur's innocence (due probably to Nicolaldi's own representations), which shows that he sent the account to his friend Don Martin de Arpe very soon after the martyrdom.

At all events, we know that Nicolaldi is the ambassador

alluded to by Father Arthur, and that it was owing to his care that the holy remains were transferred to some Dominican Church. Nicolaldi had been Father Arthur's friend and protector all through. Two days after the martyrdom, he writes :—

“ De aqui no ay que dezir esta semana. A un frayle dominico Irlandes nos aorcaron dos dias ha. Se puede entrar en el numero de los martires, y no puedo embiar ahora la relacion deste caso, que lo haré otro dia y veeran en Roma'que muy al contrario lo que dan a entender a Su Sanctidad (los?) Franceses de la pequena persecucion de aca por causa de religion, que por ella padecio este frayle buscandole malicioso pretesto, sin que pudiesen obrar mis diligencias con este Rey y ministros, y deseando salir de entre tanta maldad y mentira y tales enemigos.”

[TRANSLATION]

“ There is no news here this week. They hanged an Irish Dominican Friar for us two days ago. He can enter into the number of the martyrs. I cannot send the account of the case now, but will do so another day, and they will see in Rome—whatever the French may say to the contrary, to his Holiness, about the trivial nature of the persecution here on account of religion—that this Friar suffered for religion. His persecutors maliciously invented a pretext, and all I could do with the King and his ministers was of no avail. I wish I could get away from such malice and lies, and out of the midst of such enemies.”

Malpe relates two prodigies which then took place, as he heard on good authority—one, that when the executioner was throwing the heart, &c., into the fire prepared on such occasions, a young man in the crowd perceived that a part had fallen on the ground outside, and put it into the fire with his walking-stick, at the same time cursing the Popish priest and his belief. He had hardly done so, when he was seized with violent interior pains, and trembled like an aspen leaf from head to foot. He fell helplessly to the ground, and could only tell by faint groans the agony he was enduring when some nobleman went to his assistance.

The other wonderful occurrence that Malpe describes testifies still more clearly to Father Arthur's sanctity. Two women, who were going by chance towards Tyburn after the martyr's death, perceived that the air was redolent with fragrance, sweeter than they had ever inhaled before; and

the fragrance became stronger as they approached the spot, where, to their amazement, they found that only mangled remains were lying. Though one of the women was not a Catholic, yet she openly acknowledged that it was from the priest's dead body the heavenly aroma proceeded. A German perfumer also, who happened to pass that way, asserted, on his part, that in all his experience he had never known any odour comparable to it.

These supernatural signs, by which God glorified His servant, could not be concealed. Queen Henrietta Maria, the Catholic consort of Charles I., was informed of all that had occurred. Ever since her coming into England, Henrietta—whose married life, as her god-father, Pope Urban VIII., is said to have predicted, was a series of afflictions—had done all that piety and zeal could suggest for the support of the Catholic religion. In the first year of their marriage, Parliament reproached the King with having, "through the Queen's influence, spared the lives of twenty priests who had been condemned to die as traitors;" and, later on, Buckingham had the insolence to tell his sovereign "to beware how she behaved, for in England queens had their heads cut off before now."

Notwithstanding this dastardly opposition and persecution, which must have cost her many a tear, the Queen held out courageously, and as an angel of peace calmly continued her mission of doing good. One of her favourite practices of devotion was a pilgrimage to Tyburn. She went as an act of reparation to the memory of those who had unjustly suffered there, and as a public profession of the veneration in which she held the martyrs. To her the spot was hallowed and dear, even though, while she knelt there, as Queen of England she could not but fear that it called to heaven for vengeance on many of her blinded subjects.

She had now a new reason for sorrow. For the first time in her own reign a martyr's blood had been shed at Tyburn. She communicated to Charles the sad tidings of Father MacGeoghegan's execution, and the King, in consequence, ordered an investigation of the whole trial to be made, with the result that the sentence of condemnation was retrospec-

tively reversed—when too late. All, however, that could be done in atonement was faithfully performed: the King ordered that the quartered remains of the victim of the Star Chamber should not be exposed to view.

The meaning of Malpe's words "*Denique omnium fere suffragiis, etiam aulae procerum, acta judicum rescissa et damnata,*" is not clear to us now, but further investigations may bring to light documents that will show precisely in what this rescinding consisted. Meanwhile two provisional explanations may be put forward. "*Aulae procerum*" may mean "of the Privy Council." As Charles had allowed the Attorney-General to proceed on the report of a committee of Council, he may now have laid the fresh evidence produced before the Council, and asked for an informal opinion. Or "*aulæ procerum*" may simply mean "of the courtiers." In any case, "*rescissa et damnata*" cannot signify a formal rescinding of the sentence. No body of noblemen had power to annul the act of the Lord Chief Justice.

Public opinion certainly branded the action of all concerned in the priest's execution as one of consummate iniquity. Rechac says that the judges acknowledged they had done wrong, but pleaded in self-defence that they had been imposed upon. However, notwithstanding all their protestations of impartiality, the occasion was seized for a renewal of hostilities against the Catholics. The accusation which the judges had now reluctantly acknowledged to be false was nevertheless made a pretext for the necessity of taking further *precautions* for the King's safety, and by the very party which, a few years later, was to rebel against him, and to send him, too, to the scaffold. The following letter, which appears to have been written about this time by a priest who was imprisoned on the pretence of his being an accomplice in Father Arthur's treason, gives us a true idea of the whole situation:—

"To the noble Lord, my Lord Vincenzo Gussoni, Ambassador of the illustrious republic of Venice to His Majesty of Great Britain, these:

"*Parcat sua clarissima Celistudo si minus accurate quam vellem scribo' eo quod furto scribam. Dum pursuantes quos vulgo vocamus, occasione istius hominis qui conspirationis in*

Regiam Majestatem criminatur obvios quosque inquietant, me in domo cujusdam amicae herae offenderunt ad quam visitandi gratia accesseram; cum ipsis mihi necesse fuit Curiam petere, quamvis me e numero domesticorum vestrae Celsitudinis per apertas literas significaveram. Hinc post longam moram, jussu Domini Secretarii Coke, delatus sum ad domum cujusdam pursuantis juxta turrim Londinensem.—Nihil mihi conscius sum, nisi sacerdotium et longa propter illud incarcerationis periculosum crimen fit."

The letter was intercepted. Sir John Coke wrote on the back of it, "Harris the priest, to Vincenzo Gussoni, Ambassador for Venice," and it is still among the Coke papers.

Let us now see what befell some of the witnesses. The report of Father MacGeoghegan's fate soon reached people in Spain, and naturally created intense indignation against those who had sworn his life away. One of them was not slow in asking the Privy Council to indemnify him for the losses he sustained thereby, as well as to reimburse him for his travelling expenses.

"To the right hon^{ble} the Lords and others of his Ma^{ty}'s most honorable privie Counsell.

"The humble peticon of Henry Elzey, of the Towne and Countie of Southampton, Marchant.

"In all humblenes sheweth that whereas yo^r petitioner hath bene at great charges in twice coming upp from Southampton and attending y^r Lopp^s aboute^r geving evidence againste the Traitor Grohagan, the Irish ffryar, whoe was discovered by Cap^t. Buste out of y^r pet^r's first relation, as may appeare by all the pceedings, yo^r pet^r' being from his youth breed upp in the Spanish trade deareth not now come any more there for fear of the treachery of the ffryars factio, and having no meanes or livelyhood to subsist.

"Doth most humbly beseech y^r hono^r in comiseration of y^r pet^r's distressed estate and his greate charges hee hath bin at in that busines to confer uppon yo^r pet^r' the pursers place of the shipp y^r hono^r's comanded the sheare and Towne of Southampton to make reddey for his Maty's servis, and allsoe to allowe yo^r pet^r' his charges hee has disbursed in the aforessaide servis.

"At Whytehall, the 28th of November, 1634."

We have not met his name before; but the name, Elzey of Southampton, occurs elsewhere in the *State Papers* in

¹ *State Papers*, vol. 493, No. 33.

a letter to Sir John Coke, and there is also in the same collection a letter from a John Ellzey, Southampton, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Nicholas, who was so desirous of seeing Father MacGeoghegan hanged.

A word about the betrayer, Captain Bust, and we have done. He appears also to have been rewarded according to his deserts. His petition for aid shows that Father Arthur's death was long remembered by the Duke of Maqueda.

"Edward Bust was Capt & Henry Fabian M^r wth him of a shipp in a voyadge to Lisbon 8 yeares now past, where aboard the said shipp Arthur Graogan, an Irish preist, threatned to take away his Ma^a life.

"About 12 months after Capt. Bust did aprehend the said preist in London, whoe was tryed at the Kinges bench barr, & there convicted, and suffered death at Tyburne according to his demerits.

"Since w^{ch} time neither the said Capt. nor M^r durst travell into those parts by reason of threats against themselves and their company for the death of the said preiste.

"This winter Fabian went to Barselona, where the Duke of Makeda is Admirall of the Spanish fleete, who was informed of Fabians being there, and therupon gave order for his present aprehendinge & execution, wh. Fabian had notice of by an English man, whoe is guner of the Admiral('s) Gally, by whose helpe & the assistance of the company of 3 Dartmouth shippes he escaped, though the said shippes were serched for him.

"The Duke hath solemnly vowed to execute all that he can take that were in the said shipp wth Capt. Bust 8 years since, as the said guner enformed, w^{ch} Fabian is able to prove by the testimony of above 40 men belonging to the Dartmouth shippes.

"Edward Bust being comanded by the Lords of his Ma^a most hono^{ble} Councell to attend hys tryall, whoe was then bound to sea, to trade between the Straights and the Spanish dominions, lost his imployment & before 6 monthes were past heard of these threats, therefore durst not since follow his usuall imployments, being forced to live heere wholly upon expence these 7 yeres, to the utter undooing of himself and his:

"Both pray to be releaved by some speedy imployment in his Ma^a Navy, & to be secured by the Spanish Embasador if they shall finde occasion to travell into those parts.

"And shall dayly pray, &c." ¹

Such were the misfortunes that overtook Father Arthur's

¹ *State Papers*, 1641-3, page 422, n. 33.

enemies, such was the just retribution of their crime. While events were passing thus on earth, never-ending glory was, we believe, the reward of the Dominican in heaven. He had confessed his Lord and Master before men, and now was honoured for it by angels and saints. Let us hope that the day may soon come when the Church on earth will unite with the Church triumphant in celebrating the martyr's praises.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

LAMENNAIS

VII.

"I desire that this little work [*Les Affaires de Rome*] should be considered as the last of the series which I have been bringing out during the past five-and-twenty years. Henceforth I have simpler and clearer duties before me. The rest of my life will be, I trust, devoted to these as far as my strength will allow. No more is required of any man. Let there be no mistake: the world has changed; it is weary of theological discussions."

To follow the career of a fallen priest is not usually an edifying or even an interesting task. Lamennais' case is, however, an exceptional one. His difficulties did not arise from the higher criticism or the lower passions. His great aim had been the regeneration of society; he had looked upon the Church as the one organization capable of such a work, and when she had refused to undertake it he had no choice but to quit her pale. We can see now easily enough that his errors were not errors of principle, but simply of exaggeration. A little moderation on his part, a little forbearance on the part of his adversaries, and all might have turned out well. The *Paroles d'un Croyant* must not be taken as a deliberate expression of his opinions. It was rather the cry of one wounded to the very quick, of one who found that all his cherished hopes were blighted for ever. But when once he had so spoken it became difficult for him ever to return. The Church is often reproached with having cast out her ablest champion. But

what did Democracy do for him? As long as he remained a faithful priest he knew no want; after his fall the radicals and infidels left him to starve. In truth, he had the misfortune to please no party. The *Paroles* contained too much religion for the infidels, and too much rebellion for the Catholics. To the last he continued to have some belief in Christianity: but it was a vague and undogmatic Christianity—a form of belief much less common in his day than in ours.

We have seen that none of his friends followed him in his revolt from Rome. But he soon found others. Béranger, Liszt, George Sand, Charles Didier, were some compensation for those whom he had lost. To give him an opportunity of exercising his brilliant journalistic talents, they founded for him the *Monde* newspaper. But the new venture was not a success. And here we may ask, why did his writings fail after he had left the Church? Some have said that he suffered from the blight which affects genius when it abandons the cause of justice and truth. It may be granted that there is something in this explanation. We miss the brightness and hope, the enthusiasm for the strife, the confidence in victory, which are so conspicuous in the early works. On the other hand, he gains not a little in pathos, but it is the pathos which belongs to a lost cause and a fallen champion vainly striving against fate. Many apostates, indeed, have seemed to acquire fresh power by their apostasy. But these have completely gone over to the enemy, and have distinguished themselves by the bitterness of their attacks on all that they formerly held sacred. Not so Lamennais. After his fall he simply ignored the very existence of the Church. Then again, in his orthodox days, he had an elaborate ecclesiastical organization to spread abroad his writings; and everyone knows how the thought that he is addressing a wide public stimulates his pen. Moreover, his new friends had their own ways of thinking and working, and so could not prove such efficient colleagues as Lacordaire and Montalembert, Gerbet and Salinis.

The *Affaires de Rome*, though written when he was no longer a member of the Church, belongs by its subject to

his Catholic days, and is to my mind the most interesting of all his books. It has already been frequently quoted in these articles. The reader will have noticed that though he speaks severely, he has none of the rancour of the vulgar apostate. He speaks more in sorrow than in anger. One could have wished that he had allowed certain passages to stand unchanged instead of trying to weaken their force by palpably prejudiced notes. The *Livre du Peuple* is also well worthy of study, especially at the present time. It is a sort of echo of the *Paroles*, or rather it is a prose and sober version of the *Paroles*. But now we must speak of his relations with the government of the Citizen King.

The compromise between the Revolution and the reaction had never been accepted by Lamennais. Half measures were never to his taste. He had been a legitimist; he had become a Republican; and now was ready to wage fierce war on the comfortable, narrow-minded adherents of Louis Philippe. His nephew, Ange Blaize, was arrested, and put in prison, for being a member of an electoral committee. Lamennais, who was also a member, was roused to indignation by this "infamous tyranny." In a bitter pamphlet, entitled *Le Pays et le Gouvernement*, he vigorously attacked the whole system of the Government of July. The first edition was rapidly sold out; but any further sale was checked by the arrest of Lamennais himself, and the seizure of his papers (November 10, 1840). His trial was watched with the greatest interest. Men wondered whether the government would dare to convict so illustrious a delinquent. But, if the repressive laws were to be enforced at all, the only way was to give a striking example. Lamennais was accordingly found guilty of holding up the King's government to ridicule and contempt, and of setting class against class; and for these offences he was sentenced to a fine of two thousand francs and one year's imprisonment. A great demonstration was organized to conduct him to the gates of the prison; but he at once put a stop to the preparations.

"I have a fairly large cell [he wrote to an old Breton friend], seeing that I can take nine paces from one corner to the opposite.

It is lighted by little windows, ten inches in height, which give it, by reason of their height, and the bars of iron which fasten it outside, the agreeable appearance of a cellar. Some rays of sun, however, can enter at this time of the year. I have two look-outs—one to the east, and one to the south; and, as I am perched under the roof, I can discover, by getting on a chair, a wide extent of view. When I stand on the brick floor, I can touch the ceiling with my wrist. A little stove which I have had placed gives me enough warmth. There is a narrow courtyard, in which I could take exercise with the others at certain times, but I do not go, nor will I. I prefer to stay in my dungeon, for more than one reason. Permission is readily granted to my visitors: As to letters, they are first carried to the police-office; and so I have refused to receive them. About nine o'clock I make my coffee; four hours later I eat a little bread and butter; at six a dinner of two courses is sent in from a neighbouring restaurant. The day passes without any *ennui*; for one cannot suffer from that while one has books . . . But shall I be able to work? I do not know yet."

He did work, and worked hard. The great philosophical work, *L'Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, which he had begun in his Catholic days, was now continued, in a spirit very different from his first designs. He continued also to compose three smaller works—*Une Voix de Prison, Du Passé et de l'Avenir du Peuple*, and *De l'Esclavage Moderne*. The titles of the two last named sufficiently indicate the nature of their contents; the first was a pathetic repetition of the terrible *Paroles*. Thus he passed the whole of the year 1841. When he regained his freedom he found himself in delicate health, and in great want. He kept apart from active politics, though he was often consulted by the leading Republicans. His literary labours occupied nearly the whole of his time. It seemed that his public career had come to an end, when suddenly a great change in the state of Europe once more brought him into notice.

VIII.

In the early summer of 1846 a great event took place in the Catholic world. Gregory XVI., the pope who had condemned the *Avenir* and its editors, died on June 1st. The ensuing conclave was short. Lambruschini, the leading member of the reactionary party, was looked upon as the likeliest to secure the majority of votes. But once again,

Chi entra papa esce cardinale. To everyone's surprise, and most of all to his own, Cardinal Mastai, a strong liberal—an admirer of Gioberti, D'Azeglio, Balbo, and others of the young Italy party—became pope under the title of Pius IX.

Twelve years had passed since Lamennais had quitted the Church amidst the tears and regrets of so many of the faithful. During all this time countless devout souls who had owed to him their first awakening to things spiritual or their enthusiasm for religious freedom, had not ceased to hold him in reverence and love. Many a tearful prayer had been offered up for him as the spouses of Christ listened to his reflection on the *Imitation*, or as the old curés took down the volumes of the *Essai*, and turned over the files of the *Avenir*. They noted with a melancholy satisfaction his successive reverses, in the hope that these would open his eyes and touch his heart. Hitherto they had prayed in vain, but now it seemed that at length they were to be heard. The new Pope accepted much that Lamennais had contended for. He had broken with the Holy Alliance; he had declared himself on the side of the people. Why should the erring priest hesitate to be reconciled when he had been met more than half way? His good friend Padre Ventura sent him at this time a work which the celebrated Theatine had composed on Daniel O'Connell. With it was a letter stating that the book was nothing but a *résumé* of Lamennais' own magnificent ideas in the days of his orthodoxy. "I have also a message for you," continued the writer: "it is from the angel whom heaven has sent us—from Pius IX., whom I saw this morning. He told me to tell you that he sends you his blessing, and that he is waiting to embrace you. It is the shepherd who is seeking his sheep: the father who has gone in search of his son. So I do not despair of seeing you again under the old flag, working as we have done before for the glory of religion and the happiness of poor mankind." A portrait of the Pope accompanied this message. But, as in the days long before, when he was asked to rally to the royalist cause, so now Lamennais said again: "Too late." His reply, though full of affection for Ventura, and of respect for the new Pope cut off all hopes of any return to the fold.

Not long afterwards another opening more to his taste presented itself. The hated government of Louis Philippe, against which he had struggled so long, came to an ignominious end in February, 1848. The dream of Lamennais' life—the establishment of a Republic in France—was at last realized. Now was the time to rouse the people to insist on the full enjoyment of their rights. Twenty days after the fall of the monarchy he brought out his third newspaper, *Le Peuple Constituant*. Here he advocated extreme republicanism, and severely criticized the Provisional Government as being too much the mouthpiece and tool of the *bourgeoisie*. His own contributions can be easily singled out from those of his colleagues. Something of the old fervour, something of the old sublimity still remains in them. They must often have gone over the heads of his working-men readers, who, doubtless, preferred the sledge-hammer style of his inferior colleagues. When the elections for the new assembly took place, he and his friend Béranger had the honour of being returned by the important part of the Seine. He joined the party of the Extreme Left. As he entered the chamber his old friend Berryer, who had so ably defended him a quarter of a century before, came forward to greet him. But some violent radical members were watching, and Lamennais turned sadly away. No sooner had he taken his seat than a fresh trouble befell him. Looking up from a paper which he was reading, he noticed some commotion at the doors. Presently a friar with shaven head and white habit entered; and advancing towards the Mountain, sat down within a few benches of him. "Do you see who that is?" said a friend. Lamennais became more absorbed in his reading. "Look! it is Lacordaire." "Let me alone," was the answer: "that man weighs upon me like a world."

Lamennais was convinced that he was called upon to play the part of the Abbé Siéyès, the renegade priest, and constitution-monger in the days of the great Revolution. But he was now in his sixty-sixth year. He was no public speaker. He had never sat in any previous assembly. When he first rose to read an elaborately-prepared speech, the

members flocked in, but as soon as they satisfied themselves about his appearance and manner, they returned to the lobbies or went on writing their letters. Disappointed in his hope of swaying the Assembly, he still thought that he could exercise much influence in the committee-rooms. Accordingly he was chosen by acclamation as a member of the committee for the formation of the constitution. Here again he was doomed to failure. His scheme which he had drawn up with so much care, and presented with such confidence, was not even entertained. The invasion of the Assembly by the mob, on May 15th, should have been to him, as it was to Lacordaire, a sign that there was no hope for the regeneration of France by such a government. Then came the terrible revolution of June. Lamennais, true to his extreme opinions, openly sided with the insurgents. But from that time the fate of the Republic was sealed. The reaction commenced by the suppression of the freedom of the press. It was decreed that every newspaper should deposit a large sum as caution-money. The *Peuple Constituant*, already impoverished, was unable to raise the required amount, and accordingly ceased to appear. The last number, bordered with black, came out on July 11th, 1848. It contained Lamennais's farewell article. Four hundred thousand copies were sold:—

“The *Peuple Constituant* began with the Republic; it now ends with the Republic: for what we see is certainly not the Republic, or indeed anything that has a name. Paris in a state of siege, delivered over to martial law; Louis Philippe's dungeons and forts crowded with fourteen thousand prisoners, after a frightful butchery organised by dynastic conspirators; countless transportations without trial; proscriptions worse even than those of 1793; laws against the right of public meeting; the slavery and ruin of the press by the revival of old monarchical regulations; the national guard disarmed; the people decimated and driven back into greater misery than ever; no, assuredly, this is not the Republic, but rather the saturnalia of reaction round about its tomb.

“The men who have become its ministers, its devoted servants, will soon reap the reward which the reaction has in store for them, and which they only too well deserve. Driven away with contempt, bowed down with shame, cursed in the

future, they will go to join the traitors of every age in the charnel-house where the corpse-like souls, the dead consciences, rot away.

“As for us, Soldiers of the Press, devoted to the defence of the liberties of our country, we, too, are treated in the same way as the people; we, too, are disarmed. For some time past our paper has been dragged from the hands of our agents, torn to pieces, and burned in the public streets. The intention was clear enough: we were to be reduced to silence at all costs. The caution-money has at last succeeded in doing this. To enjoy the right of free speech a man must now have money, and plenty of it. We are not rich enough. Henceforth, silence for the Poor!”

As long as the Republic lasted he kept his seat in the Assembly, assisting regularly at its meetings, and voting silently with his party. At last the infamous *coup d'état* came; but so low had his influence fallen, that he was not thought worthy of being arrested.

IX.

The last of Lamennais' various careers was now over, and it only remained to prepare for his own end. His Catholic friends, in spite of frequent disappointments, still hoped and prayed for his conversion. They thought that in his case, as in so many others, the passing away of this world and the near approach of the grave, would turn him to repentance. The years 1852 and 1853 went by, his health gradually failing; but still he gave no sign. In January, 1854, he felt that death could not be far off. It was then, with full deliberation, that his mind was fully made up. Calling his friend, M. Barbet, he drew up and signed the following document:—

“I wish to be buried among the poor, and in the way that the poor are buried.

“Nothing is to be placed over my grave, not even a simple stone.

“My body is to be carried straight to the cemetery, without being taken to any church.”

Verbal orders too were given by him that no priest should be allowed to approach his death-bed. To make this sad deliberation all the more marked, there was no suddenness about his death. His final illness, bronchitis,

complicated with congestion of the lungs, lasted six weeks. Madame de Kertanguy, his favourite niece, was summoned from Brittany to attend him. Her first word was to ask him if he would see a priest; but she only received a determined and repeated refusal. Many of his later friends visited him, and found him cheerfully awaiting the last summons, and firmly convinced of their all meeting again in another life. On the morning of February 27 the sun rose brightly, and poured its beams through the windows of the miserable room of the dying man. "Let it in," he said; "it has come to fetch me!" And at half-past nine he was gone.

Great was the excitement in Paris as the sad news got abroad. The Government, fearing a demonstration, gave orders that the funeral should be strictly private: nevertheless a vast crowd assembled around the house. At an early hour, on March 1, the body was brought out, and placed on the pauper's hearse. As the *cortège* passed through the streets, without priest or religious emblem, and guarded by so many police, and followed by multitudes, the bystanders murmured to one another, "It is Lamennais." At the entrance to Père-la-Chaise all were stopped, except the few immediate friends. The coffin was carried along through the broad walks of stately monuments to the narrow trenches into which the nameless dead are cast. There, without a single prayer, the remains were laid.

One evening, some weeks later, a carriage stopped at the door of the little chapel at La Chênaie. An old priest, weighed down with grief rather than age, alighted and entered. Falling on his knees before the denuded altar, the hot tears streaming down his cheeks, he remained a long time in prayer. Then rising to his feet, he moved towards the house, and looking up at one of the windows, "Féli, Féli," he cried out, "O my brother, where art thou?" It was Jean de la Mennais.

Lamennais' sad story is often held up as a warning; and a warning assuredly it is. It is a warning to us all not to chain our hearts to our ideas; to bear in mind that there is no greater obstacle to repentance than wounded

pride, and that the most brilliant qualities are no security for salvation. It is a warning to those who have rendered great services to the Church, that a day may come when these may be forgotten. And no less is it a warning to those in high places, that their decisions concern something of greater import than the tenability of a proposition, or the prudence of a policy, or the enforcement of a right—for what they hold in their hands is the fate of many an immortal soul.

T. B. SCANNELL.

ST. CANICE, ABBOT AND CONFESSOR, PATRON
OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY

11TH OCTOBER

AS the Feast of St. Kieran of Ossory, the *Primogenitus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, March the 5th, brings us back to the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and the advent of the heavenly spring that gladdened the hearts and homes of Erin, so also, the festival of St. Canice, on the 11th of October, cannot fail to remind us of the first-fruits of that rich golden harvest which was gardenized by the celestial husbandman from the virgin soil of the Island of Saints.

The commencement of the sixth century, 515 or 516, witnessed the birth of St. Canice or Kenny, at Glengiven, "the Valley of the Roe," in the barony of Keenagh, County Londonderry. His parents were so poor at the time of his birth, that a special interposition of Providence was required in order to afford the new born babe the very means of subsistence. But although destitute of worldly goods, they were rich in virtue, and of superior intelligence. His father, Lughadh Lethdearg, was a member of the bardic class, and held the post of tutor to Gael Bregach, afterwards Prince of Hy-Many. Lughadh Leithdearg appears also to have been a poet of some distinction, and it may have been from him that our saint inherited that rare gift of eloquence, which

caused him to be compared by Irish writers to St. Philip, who is supposed to have been the most eloquent of the Apostles.

In a manuscript catalogue of the Irish saints, which dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is preserved in the College of Salamanca, Meaula or Mealla is mentioned as the mother of St. Canice, and that her principal church is in Kilkenny. Hanmer in his *Chronicle* relates that in the thirteenth century, a church was erected in Kilkenny under her invocation, over against the east side of the Nore (where St. Maul's cemetery now lies). The Church of St. Maul, with four marks of silver yearly, was conferred on the Vicars Choral of St. Canice, by Bishop Barry, in 1428.

At an early age, Canice resolving to devote himself to the study of sacred truths, proceeded to the monastery of Lancarvan in Wales. This school of piety was at that time ruled by the Abbot Cadoc, surnamed the Wise—a saint who had himself been trained in the paths of piety by a saint of Irish birth, St. Tathai. At Lancarvan Canice soon distinguished himself by the practice of every virtue, especially by the strict observance of holy obedience. One day whilst engaged in what was to him the delightful occupation of transcribing the Holy Scriptures, the bell of the monastery called him to other duties, and we are told that the obedient novice left the letter, at which he was engaged, half finished, and thenceforward his abbot loved Canice exceedingly.

After having received the Holy Order of the priesthood, about the year 546, Canice asked and obtained permission to proceed to Rome in order to receive the blessing of Christ's Vicar on his future missionary labours. At that time Italy was overrun with barbarians, the Goths and their leader, Atilla, and so, the pilgrimage of St. Canice must have been a work of great difficulty. But the special Providence of God preserved him in all the vicissitudes of that perilous journey, the very men who sought his life were converted, and became his devoted disciples, so that he was enabled through their instrumentality to found in the distracted land a monastery, where his own name and those of his

compatriots, known as "the saintly pilgrims from Ireland," were for ages held in the greatest veneration. On his return to Ireland our saint, wishing to perfect himself still more in the knowledge and practice of virtue, spent some time in the great schools of Clonard, under St. Finnian, and Glasnevin, then governed by St. Mobius. He had for his companions, Columkille, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Comgall, Brendan, and others of the great saints, who were styled the twelve Apostles of Erin.

St. Mobius having built a beautiful oratory of oak, of unusually large proportions, a question arose among his disciples as to their wishes regarding it. St. Kieran expressed his wish that it were filled with holy men who, by day and night would chant the praises of God. St. Comgall, wholly intent on penitential exercises, would wish it to be filled with all the pains and burdens which are the lot of men during their pilgrimage on earth, and that all might come to him as his inheritance. St. Columba would like to see it well filled with gold and silver, to be expended in the erection of churches and monasteries, and in the service of the poor. St. Canice, being asked to tell his thoughts, declared that it would be his desire to see the oratory filled with religious books and sacred texts by which men would be imbued with a knowledge of divine truths, and led to the fervent service of their Creator. St. Mobius, hearing their pious wishes, prayed that each of these holy youths would receive from heaven the special gift which he desired. The time came when Canice was called upon to leave his peaceful solitude and the sweet society of his brethren; when the holy priest and perfect religious was to become himself a founder of churches, and a vessel of election to carry the light of faith to a people sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. Following the example of his friend St. Columba, Caledonia was selected by him as the country then affording the best prospect of a rich virgin harvest of souls.

His first success was in rooting out from his native place in Derry the surviving superstitions of Druidism, and the conversion of his foster-brother, the chieftain of Dungiven,

who afterwards assisted our saint in founding the great church of Drumachose, in Londonderry. His sister's son, St. Berchan, also owed his recovery from a mortal illness to the prayers of St. Canice. His name appears in our Irish Calendars as the founder and patron of Consast, in the King's County. St. Columbkille had already converted the Island of Mull to the faith, and had made repeated missionary excursions to the adjoining mainland. He now meditated an assault on Pictish Paganism in its very centre and stronghold, and took for his companions Canice and Comgall. Imagine the three holy companions setting out on that perilous voyage, seated in their little coracle or ozier boat, covered with hide, which the Celtic nations employed for their navigation. Their destination is the heart of Caledonia, "stern and wild," which the imagination of our forefathers made the dwelling-place of hunger and of the prince of demons. Their way lies through an archipelago of naked and desert islands, sowed like so many extinct volcanoes, upon the dull and sullen waters, which are sometimes washed by the Atlantic waves, swept by the Atlantic blasts, and broken by rapid currents and dangerous whirlpools. The pale sickly sun of the North only serves to point out the fogs and mists surrounding and surmounting the lofty summits, and abrupt and naked sides of the bare and desolate mountains of that sterile, icy land. After overcoming all the perils of that adventurous voyage, the holy missionaries beheld, rising up before them, to the height of fully five hundred feet, the rock fortress of the Pictish King, some two miles west of the River Ness. His name was Brude; and he is styled by Venerable Bede, "a most powerful king," who had vanquished the Scots or Dalradians in many a hard-fought battle-field: and was now enjoying his kingdom in peace, having triumphed over all his enemies. From his eyrie on the rock, this bird of prey beheld with savage eyes Columbkille, "the dove of the churches," and his two companions advancing to plant the standard of the cross on his redoubtable stronghold. Burning with indignation at their boldness in presenting themselves unbidden before him, King Brude ordered the gates of the fortress to

be closed, and strongly barred against them. But our brave Irish priests had recourse to prayer; and Comgall, having made the sign of the cross on the outer gates, they immediately fell broken to the ground; Columba made the sign of the cross on the inner door of the enclosure, with the same effect. When the three saints stood face to face with the enraged King, he drew his sword, swearing by his ancestral gods, that he would avenge the insult offered to him; but Canice, making the sign of the cross towards him, his hand was instantly withered. And it so remained till Brude believed in God, received Baptism from St. Columba, and the perfect restoration of his daughter to her sight, hearing, and speech, by the intercession of St. Canice. The victory of the cross was complete; Caledonia became a portion of the vineyard of the Lord, rivalling the soil of her mother, Erin, in the fertility with which, for ages, she produced the fairest flowers and richest fruit of holiness and justice. And Iona became in a higher sense than any earthly Pharos, a spiritual lighthouse, shedding its beams of religion and culture far and wide. It was there Columba fixed his rude retreat:

“ There the first symbol of his creed unfurled ;
And spread religion over a darkened world.”

The amount of co-operation given by St. Canice in the glorious work of evangelizing Scotland may be judged from the number of places that retained his name, and cherished his memory in that country. Amongst these, the most remarkable was the monastery of Rig-Monadh, or the royal mound where the Cathedral of St. Andrew was afterwards erected. The *Felire of St. Ængus* contains in its notes of St. Canice's Feast, at 11th October, a reference to this foundation: “ Achadhbo is his principal church, and he has a Recles, *i. e.*, a monastery at Cill-Rigmonaig in Alba.” Scottish writers record that St. Canice was regarded, after St. Brigid and Columba, as “ the favourite Irish saint in Scotland.” He was honoured even in Iona, where a burial-ground still retains the name Kill-Chainnech. And fain would he have remained till death a voluntary exile from his

native land, in order to enjoy the heavenly conversation of St. Columba, and of his holy companions, and to help them to secure that golden harvest; but the saints of Ireland, not willing to be deprived of his example and counsels, sent messengers after him, praying him to return to his own country. They found him "living as a hermit in Britain, and Canice was then brought from his hermitage against his will."¹ This hermitage, according to Cardinal Moran, is identified with the remains of an ancient church called Laggan-Kenny; *i. e.*, St. Kenny's church at Laggan, towards the east end of Loch Laggan, at the foot of a mountain, in the Grampian range.

The homeward voyage of our saint was signaled by his having miraculously saved from a watery grave the illustrious St. Fintan, of Clonenagh, styled by the old writers the Father of Irish Monks and the Benedict of Ireland. The establishment of the first Irish monastery following the rule of St. Columba and St. Canice, that of Kilkenny West, in the County of Westmeath, was inaugurated by a miracle, related by all our saint's biographers. A turbulent chieftain of Meath, Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had carried off by violence a nun, sister of St. Aedh, Bishop of Killair, in Meath, and detained her captive in an Island in the centre of an lake. The Bishop took up his position near that part of the lake in which his sister was held prisoner, and there fasted and prayed that the heart of the King might be moved. Nothing, however, appeared to produce any effect on the heart of that wicked king until St. Canice came to the assistance of his episcopal friend. The King, hearing of the saint's approach, ordered the bolts to be drawn up, and all avenues to his fortress to be closed. Vain precautions! St. Canice passed over the lake, and entered the castle or fort; and, then, Colman Beg, struck with terror at a chariot of fire, which he saw moving towards the island, confessed his crime, delivered up the nun to her brother, and made a grant of that island to our saint. Some years after St. Canice travelling in Breffny rested at a wayside cross, at Bealach

¹ *Burgundian Life of St. Canice*, Ormonde edition, cap. 19.

Daithe, in the parish of Lurgan, county Cavan, and performed there the devotion of None. On inquiring whose cross this was, he was informed that it was there Colman Beg MacDiarmaid had fallen in battle. "I remember," said the saint, "that I promised that prince a prayer after his death;" and, turning to the cross, he prayed with fervour and with tears, until it was revealed to him that the soul of Colman was freed from suffering. In the 43rd and 44th chapters of *The Life of St. Canice*, there is an account of some incidents which occurred during a civil war in Ossory, in which Feredach, the son or grandson of a Munster usurper in that territory, was slain, *circiter* 582, by "the sons of Connla," *i. e.*, the true Ossorians. Colman, the son of this Feradach, notwithstanding this opposition, succeeded his father and ruled this territory till his death, in 601. He was the friend and patron of St. Canice, who settled permanently in Ossory during his reign, after the death probably of his former patron, Colman Beg, King of Meath, as the late Father Shearman remarks.¹

The reign of Colman MacFeradach was marked by the frequent rebellions of the discontented Ossorians. In one of these tumults, Colman was closely besieged in his fortress which was probably at Kells, which they gave to the flames. St. Canice, in his church at Aghaboe, hearing of this outrage, set out to the relief of his friend; and passing through Magh Roghni, the great centre plain of Kilkenny, *per medium regni*, he comes to "Dominick Moir Roighni," St. Patrick's parish, on the southern border of the town, to which subsequently his own name was annexed. The portly abbot of Domnach Moir, *Pinguis princeps*, whose sympathies were with the Ossorians, his own countrymen, came out from his church, and thus addressed the saint:—"I know that you are hastening to set free your friend, but unavailingly; as you shall only find his charred and mutilated corpse." St. Canice replies:—"The Son of the Virgin knows that what you imagine is not true, for before you return to your church, you shall find yourself a corpse."

¹ *Loca Patriciana*, No. XI.

After this interview the portly abbot returned in his chariot to his city, through another gate near at hand, the name of which was Darnleth. While the abbot was passing through the portal, the swinging gate or door fell on his head, and killed him on the spot.

In this legend we discover that Domnach Moir, St. Patrick's, Kilkenny, was at this period a place of some importance, containing an ecclesiastical establishment, surrounded with walls or "septa," with gates opening on the various roads diverging from the "civitas" or cashel, which was the nucleus of the town or villa which grew up about the Patrician church, the name of which was destined ere long to be merged, and all but lost, in a new designation. St. Canice rescued his friend Colman from the hand of his enemies; dashed through the serried lines of the assailants, under a shower of javelins and arrows, into the burning pile, rescued the King, and when he had brought him to a place of safety, he says: "Remain here awhile, for although you are alone to-day, you shall not be so to-morrow, for three men shall join you in this place, and afterwards three hundred shall come to you, and on the third day you shall be King over the whole of Ossory." After this occurred we may suppose what is described by anticipation in cap. 43, that Colman gave many towns (villas) in which St. Canice erected monasteries and churches. The chief ones amongst these were Cill Cainnech, now Kilkenny, and Aghaboe, or *Agerbourn* in the Queen's County, the lands of which are well known as amongst the richest pastures in Ireland.

Aghaboe was during his lifetime the sanctuary most closely connected with the name of St. Canice. It was his treasure-house of graces, the favourite school in which through winter frost, through rain and storm, through summer sunshine, generation after generation of his spiritual children lived and prayed, and at last laid them down and died. Bright with dew, and enamelled with the sweetest flowers, the sunny dells, the stately trees, and rich pastures of Aghaboe formed a striking contrast to the desolate grandeur and more ascetic surroundings of Iona and its sister isles. Iona and Aghaboe, however, although so distant

and so dissimilar, were bound together by the golden link of a very intimate communion of saints. It is related that St. Columba and his monks were on one occasion overtaken by a violent tempest; every wave threatened instant death. The monks cried out to their abbot to pray to God for protection, but he replied that the holy abbot Canice, alone could save them in this danger. At the very moment St. Canice, in his monastery of Aghaboe, heard by revelation the voice of Columba speaking to his heart. Starting up from the repast of which he was partaking with his religious brethren at the hour of none, he rushed to the church, exclaiming: "This is no time for food, when Columba's ship is struggling with the waves." Having entered the oratory, he prayed for some time in silence with tears. The Lord heard his prayer, the tempest instantly ceased, and the sea became quite calm. St. Columba, seeing in spirit Canice hastening to the oratory, cried out, "Canice, I know that God hath heard thy prayer; it is well for us that thou hast run with one sandal to the altar"—for in his haste Canice had dropped one of his sandals. The prayers of both saints co-operated in this miracle, observes St. Adamnan; an example of the blessings which God grants through the communion of saints. So Columba said to his brethren, "God has bestowed on Canice the gift of calming every tempest." And St. Canice was invoked in the early Irish Church as the special patron of the faithful against the storms of the sea. An incident in the life of St. Canice proves the survival of Druidism in parts of Ireland up to his time. Another incident gives an account of a barbarous custom that appears to have been then very prevalent.

In the life of our saint,¹ it is related that when Canice came to the west of Leinster he found a great assemblage of people with Cormac, the son of Diarmaid, chief of Hy Bairrche. "Then a little boy, was led forth by the people to a cruel death called *Giallcherd*. It consisted in this—the spears of the military were fixed upright in the ground, and the hostage of those who violated their engagement was seized and flung upon them. The name of this

¹ Cap. 38.

cruel amusement, "the Gillacherd or foreign art," betrays its origin. When St. Canice perceived the horrible act which was about to be perpetrated, he prayed to have the boy set free. His entreaties were unheeded, and the innocent youth was pitched high into the air so as to fall back on the spears which were held erect to receive him. Through the prayers of St. Canice, the boy escaped the bristling points, and was saved. Terrified by his extreme danger his eyes became awry, and the name Leabdeare, or crooked eye, was affixed to his name Dolne—Dolne Leabdeare. He became a disciple of St. Canice, and afterwards founded a church, around which grew up a town, which was called Killdolne Leabdeare. About fifty years after the death of St. Canice, Cuimin of Connor commemorated it in an Irish verse, of which the following is a translation:—

"Canice of the mortifications loved
To be in a bleak woody desert,
Where there were none to attend on him
But only the wild deer."

As was the case with other Irish saints, there was a legend that the deer became so tame in the saint's presence that he could, whilst engaged in study, rest his book or manuscript on their antlers.

The favourite retreat of St. Canice was a solitary spot in a marshy bog called Lough-cree, situated between Roscrea and Borris-in-Ossory. There the saint erected a cell, and thither he loved to retire, in order to enjoy the sweets of silent meditation in the study of Sacred Scriptures. It became, in later times, a favourite resort for pilgrims, and it was popularly known as *Monahincha*, or "*Insula Viventium*." On this island Canice more than once passed the whole time of Lent, keeping a rigorous fast for forty days. There also he completed a beautiful copy of the Latin Gospels, adding a cantena or commentary which was highly prized throughout the Irish Church. This precious manuscript, called *Class-Canneche*, was still extant in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and is, according to Cardinal Moran, one of those ancient copies of the Gospels now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

At Aghaboe it was that our venerable abbot spent the evening of his life in prayer and penance, in the government of his monastery, the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and in spiritual conferences with the holy personages by whom he was surrounded. St. Brendan of Birr, St. Mochaomog of Liath (now Leemokeevogue), near Thurles, the holy community of Saigher, and St. Fintan of Clonenagh (Mountrath), resided within easy distance of the last earthly domicile of St. Canice at Aghaboe. The society of such holy men must have been to St. Canice a source of the sweetest consolation, a foretaste of the delights of Paradise. And when, after the labours of spring, the heats of summer, and the toil of that luxuriant harvest, our saint was summoned in this season of autumn, at the advanced age of eighty-four, to meet the Master of the vineyard, it was from the hand of his loved friend and neighbour, the fervent Fintan of the "Ivy Meadow," that he received, for the last time, that Bread of Life which was to be to him the seed of a glorious immortality. And so, after imparting his blessing to the assembled brethren, and exhorting them to perseverance in prayer and penance, he passed to his heavenly reward at Aghaboe, on the 11th October, about the year 599.

MEMORIALS OF ST. CANICE

The relics of St. Canice, after having escaped the ravages of the Northmen, were enshrined in the church of the monastery of Aghaboe, in 1052. The shrine and relics of our saint were, however, ruthlessly burned, in 1346, by Diarmid MacGillapatrik, Prince of Ossory. Clyn's graphic notice of this outrage is as follows:—"Item, on Friday, the 13th of May, Diarmid MacGillapatrik, the one-eyed, ever noted for treachery and treasons, making light of perjury, and aided by O'Carroll, burned the town of Aghaboe; and venting his parricidal rage against the cemetery, the church and shrine of that most holy man, St. Canice, the abbot, consumed them, together with the bones and relics, by a most cruel fire."¹

In the National Museum, Kildare-street, is preserved a

¹ Pages 32, 33.

small ancient bronze, representing in relief the figure of an ecclesiastic, bearing in his left hand a book, and in the right a short episcopal staff or *cambutta*. St. Canice was of small stature, and was dubbed by his enemies, *Parvulus baculatus*; that is, "the little man with the staff." "This antique bronze was found in the church-yard of Aghaboe; it would seem, from the rivet-holes remaining, to have been a portion of the ornamental work of an ancient shrine. Perhaps it is the sole remaining vestige which has survived 'the most cruel fire' of the one-eyed MacGillapattrick."² The bronze representation or figure is considered by Mr. Westwood and other eminent palæographers to form one of the three earliest known of the short pastoral staff used by Irish prelates. The grandest surviving monument of our saint is St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, which has witnessed so many vicissitudes in Irish history, and whose own history, architecture and antiquities have been so splendidly illustrated by two liberal and learned Protestants, Messrs. Prim and Graves. The Catholic deanery and parochial church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, and the beautiful church of Aghadoe, are also very creditable and well-kept temples, in which the old devotion of Ossory to her patron and protector is preserved and fostered, and his festival kept with great solemnity every year.

ST. CANICE'S WELL

The Archives of the Corporation of Kilkenny preserve among their most valuable deeds and charters the original grant made by Bishop Geoffrey, of Ossory, about the year 1244, to the Friars Preachers of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, of a supply of water from St. Canice's well for the use of the religious of the monastery. To the stipulation is added, that the circumference of the water-pipe at the well should not be larger than that of the bishop's ring; and at the end, where it enters the monastery, it should be only of such a size that it could be stopped by a man's little finger. A *facsimile* of this interesting concession has been printed by Gilbert in *The Irish National MSS.* series, vol. ii., n. lxxii.

² *Hist. of St. Canice's Cathedral*, Prim & Graves, page 19.

It still retains a considerable portion of the bishop's seal. A ring of copper is attached to the seal to mark the size of the bishop's ring.

The Dominican Bishop Hugh who governed the diocese from 1258 to 1260, granted to his religious brethren of the Black Abbey, the custody of St. Canice's Holy Well, which was much frequented by pilgrims and by the citizens. Lynch writes that many persons in his day continued to visit it through piety or in search of health; and he also attests that many miraculous cures were every day effected by using this water and invoking the aid of St. Canice. There is also a beautiful tradition to the effect that any native of the "faire citie" by the Nore who drinks of the waters before leaving home for the foreign land will surely live to return to his native shore.

"For it is a tender story, and an old tradition hoary,
That in battle dread or gory, or upon the ocean's breast,
He will ne'er meet death, or never die by cold or burning
fever,
Till the old land, tho' he leaves her—he shall see—this is
the spell
Which unto the peasant's thinking, comes by simply drinking,
If his faith be all unshrinking, from St. Kenny's Holy Well."

The holy friendship between SS. Canice and Columba is proved and perpetuated in Ossory by the fact of having six old parishes placed under the patronage of St. Columbkille, Scanlan, King of Ossory, in gratitude to St. Columba, for having liberated him from the cruel treatment and imprisonment to which, as a hostage, he was subjected at the hands of Aedh MacAinmire, King of Ireland, fixed an impost of one sgrebal, that is, of three pence, on each hearth of his principality, from Bladma to the sea, which was to be paid every year to the community of St. Columba, at Durrow, in Osraidhe.

"My kin and tribes to thee shall pay
Tho' numberless they were as grass,
A sgrebal from each hearth that lies,
From Bladma's summit to the sea."¹

St. Columba, on his part, gave his blessing to Scanlan,

! *Ambra Coluimcille,*

his descendants and subjects, as we also read in the *Ambra* :—

“ My blessing rest on Osraidhe’s sons,
And on her daughter’s sage and bright ;
My blessing on her soil and sea,
For Osraidhe’s King obeys my word.”¹

N. MURPHY, P.P.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL INSTITUTE OF LOUVAIN

WE have been asked by the Right Rev. Mgr. Mercier, of the University of Louvain, to submit to the gracious consideration of the Irish bishops the claims of the new “Philosophical Institute,” with the direction of which he has been charged by our Holy Father Leo XIII. He also expressed a desire that we should bring his institution, through the medium of the I. E. RECORD, under the notice of the clergy of Ireland. He is particularly anxious to secure for it some distinguished Irish students, whether clerical or lay ; and, with that object in view, he communicated to us a short account of the origin and aim of the important establishment over which he is placed.

In his marvellous zeal for the enlightenment and salvation of all classes and grades of society, Pope Leo XIII., in the year 1884, after previous consultation with the Belgian bishops and the authorities of the University of Louvain, sent for Mgr. Mercier, and explained to him the idea that he had conceived to meet the wants of the present time in the matter of philosophical teaching. The following was the substance of the Holy Father’s commission.

Scientists incline too often towards positivism, agnosticism, and similar errors, because they have no philosophical training. They confine themselves too exclusively to observation and experiment, without having gone through the necessary preliminaries, or bestowed sufficient thought

¹ O’Mahony’s *Keating*, p. 458.

Lecq Patriciana, Rev. J. F. Shearman, No. XII,

on the intellectual process which leads unerringly to truth. They have so far discarded the technical terms of the science which was so laboriously and successfully built up in the days of St. Thomas, that they are now actually ignorant of their meaning. Of the solution of the whole body of philosophical problems given by Catholic teachers they know scarcely anything. They have a native distrust of professional Catholic scientists whom they regard merely as advocates or special pleaders for their creed, and whose interest in scientific progress must, as they imagine, necessarily be limited and directed by the results which from the outset are sought to be attained. This special difficulty of the present time has been admirably presented by Mgr. Mercier himself in an address which he delivered at the Catholic Congress in Mechlin in 1891. Speaking of the causes which have led to the present attitude of hostility on the part of non-Catholic scientists, he says :—

“ Une seconde cause, dont l'influence est plus générale, c'est cette *idée préconçue* que le savant catholique est un soldat au service de sa foi religieuse, et que la science ne peut être, entre ses mains, qu'une arme pour la défense de son *credo*. Il semble, aux yeux d'un grand nombre, que le savant catholique soit toujours sous le coup d'une excommunication qui le menace ou enlacé dans des dogmes qui le gênent, et que, pour rester fidèle à sa foi, il doive renoncer à l'amour désintéressé et à la culture libre de la science. De là la défiance qui l'accueille : une publication qui émane d'une institution catholique—les institutions protestantes sont jugées plus favorablement, sans doute parce qu'elles ont donné par leur révolte contre l'autorité religieuse des preuves d'indépendance —est traitée comme un plaidoyer *pro domo*, comme une thèse d'apologétique à laquelle on refuse a priori les honneurs d'un examen impartial et objectif.”

Catholic philosophers, on the other hand, deal generally with theological questions more than with scientific ones ; and so it happens that their language is misunderstood, or rather not heard at all, by men of science. When they come to treat of scientific questions they are too often on the defensive, too timid in their attacks, too seldom able to carry the warfare into the ranks of their enemies. They are too much given to collecting the results already obtained, and endeavouring to reconcile them with their

speculative convictions. Too few amongst them break new ground or add anything to the general stock of knowledge. And yet this is what the present generation prizes more than anything else. The synthetic and comprehensive view of science has given way, in a great measure, to minute observation and almost infinite analysis. Special rather than general laws engage the attention of the most earnest workers. Mgr. Mercier lays particular stress on this phase of the question :—

“ Pour beaucoup d’entre nous, la science consiste surtout à *apprendre*, à collectionner les résultats déjà acquis, et à tenter de les *synthétiser* sous la direction de la Foi ou de la métaphysique spiritualiste. La science contemporaine n’a plus ces visées comprehensives, ces allures synthétiques ; elle est avant tout une science d’observations partielles, minutieuses, une science *d’analyse*. Notre siècle a conçu une défiance extrême pour les conclusions générales et les constructions d’ensemble ; les nouveaux moyens d’investigation mis à sa disposition ont accru sans mesure son pouvoir de décomposer, et fait naître un désir intense de repren dre l’examen des choses par l’observation patiente de leurs éléments. Nous, au contraire, sous l’influence de notre éducation théologique qui part de principes immuables pour en déduire des conclusions, par respect pour une tradition dont nous avons l’honneur de garde le dépôt, par crainte peut-être de certaines surprises de l’inconnu ou de hardiesses téméraires, nous sommes restés avant tout des hommes *de synthèse*.

“ De cette différence de point de vue dans la façon de considérer la science, résulte cette conséquence, qui les catholiques se résignent trop facilement au rôle secondaire *d’adeptes* de la science et que trop peu parmi eux ont l’ambition de travailler, comme le disait si bien naguère notre vénéré Président dans son discours inaugural à l’Université, à ce que l’on a nommé *la science à faire* ; trop peu visent à rassembler et à façonner les matériaux qui doivent servir à former dans l’avenir la synthèse rajeunie de la science et de la philosophie chrétienne. Sans doute cette synthèse finale s’harmonisera avec les dogmes de notre Credo et avec les principes fondamentaux de la sagesse chrétienne, mais ne attendant que cette harmonie éclate dans tout son jour, les objections que l’incrédulité soulève la voilent aux yeux du grand nombre, et parce que les nôtres ne sont pas toujours là pour y opposer avec la compétence et l’autorité voulue la réponse directe et immédiate qu’elles réclament, les doutes surgissent et les convictions s’ébranlent ; les matériaux sont groupés, rangés classés sans nous et trop souvent contre nous, et l’incrédulité accapare à son profit le prestige scientifique que ne devrait servir qu’à la propagation de la vérité.”

There is thus a general clashing of interests, which to a great extent arises more from misunderstanding and want of knowledge than from any other cause. The Holy Father's aim was to find out a remedy for this unfortunate situation, equally harmful to the Church and to science. He, therefore, entrusted Mgr. Mercier with the important charge of founding an institute where science and philosophy could be combined, and where the teachings of St. Thomas, and the advancement of the physical sciences could be promoted together. To this noble purpose the Holy Father contributed about six thousand pounds. Several generous Belgian Catholics supplemented this generous gift, and enabled Mgr. Mercier to erect a large and handsome pile of buildings, specially suited to the purpose for which they are destined. It contains a spacious library, a chemical laboratory, a hall for experimental psychology, and a fine suite of lecture-rooms, with all the most recent appliances ; besides apartments for the professors, and a suitable residence for the president.

A special staff of professors was prepared for that great work since 1885. There are now five of them specially attached to the institute. Each of them had to take his degree, first, in Thomistic philosophy ; and, secondly, in a special department of science, either in physical and mathematical sciences, or in chemistry, or in biology, or in social economy, or in historical and political sciences. In addition to them, the ordinary professors of the Catholic University are called in to fill the chairs still wanting in the Institute. All the professors must be members of the pre-existing faculties of the University. In that capacity¹ they share in the life and proceedings of the various faculties to which they belong ; but, at the same time, they form a body by themselves. They have a permanent dean in the person of the rector, who is *ex-officio* a member of the Rectorial Council. The institute is not merely an appendage of the University ; it is an integral part of it, and has been repeatedly so declared by the Holy Father. So great is the interest which the Pope takes in the success of the Institute,

¹ See *Tablet*, September 15th, page 408.

that he has himself composed two elegant Latin inscriptions, destined to be placed in some conspicuous part of the exterior of the building.

The students are either laymen or ecclesiastics. There is a special house of residence for ecclesiastical students. It is called the Seminary of Leo XIII. The whole course of studies lasts four years. The degrees which the Institute is empowered to confer are those of Bachelorship, Licentiate, and Doctorate in Philosophy; and after a fourth year, for some specially prominent students, the degree of "Agrége de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie."

The energy and determination with which Leo XIII. has followed up the cherished project, are worthy of the great character of the Pontiff. Already in 1880, he had written to the late Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, exhorting him in conjunction with the other Belgian bishops, to erect a chair of Thomistic Philosophy in their great University:—

"Nihilominus tamen, perspecta conditione temporum, Nos omnino censemus, nunc esse acrius ac vigilantius elaborandum quam antea in imbuenda penitus juventute largioribus iisdemque sinceris atque incorruptis philosophiae fontibus. Eamque ob causam tibi, dilecte fili Noster, auctores, sumus, ut Nostra cum ceteris episcopis Belgicis consilia communices, rogataque singulorum sententia, perficias ut in Universitate studiorum Lovaniensi schola singularis, data opera, instituatur Thomae Aquinati auditoribus interpretando. Id tibi impense suademus tum propter communis salutis studium, tum maxime quia periculis permovemur, quibus Belgicam juventutem videmus oppositam. Etenim effrenata illa, quae in Belgio dominatur, cogitandi scribendique libertas pessimarum opinionum portenta peperit; atque in ipsis scholis publicis non pauci sunt, qui christianos spiritus in adolescentium animis extinguere, et initia causasque impietatis serere audacissime moliantur. Tuque, dilecte fili Noster, qui nefarias istas improborum hominum artes cominus intueris, facile intelligis, quam multi, doctrinis praesertim Naturalistarum et Materialistarum decepti, ad perniciem quotidie devocentur. Quare contra pravarum opinionum auctores oportet in Universitate Lovaniensi munire adolescentes sanae philosophiae armis, et patribus familias christianis institutionem liberorum praestare ab omnibus erroribus tutam ac defensam. Cujus rei major etiam necessitas cernitur, si consideretur, posse complures ex Academiae subselliis ad honores aliquando assurgere, ad munera publica,

ad ipsa gubernacula civitate; neque eos posse meus tueri populorum salutem, et communitatis bono efficacius consulere, quam si ad rempublicam accesserint, insidente penitusque in animis inculpta christiana philosophia."

Following still further on the same lines, the Holy Father writes again, in 1888, to Cardinal Goosens, who had meantime become Primate of Belgium and Archbishop of Mechlin. Congratulating him and the other Belgian bishops on the success of their first effort, the Holy Father continues :—

"Verumtamen quemadmodum haec Nos bene posita initia delectant, sic reliqua sapienter et accurate perficienda censemus. Neque dubitamus quin ipse, Venerabilis Frater, ceterique Belgarum episcopi, Nobiscum plane consentiatis; siquidem novistis, Thomae Aquinatis doctrinam tum quidem fructus allaturum plene cumulateque perfectos, si largius atque enucleatius tractetur, cunctis ejus partibus, disputando, investigando, comprehensis: quae partes unum velut corpus efficiunt, sed unus omnes assequi complectique in docendo non potest.

"Itaque utile esse atque expedire magnopere videtur, ejus disciplinae augeri magisteria, ex quibus scilicet inter se ratione nexis atque ordine colligatus institutum doctrinae thomisticae tradendae seorsim existat. Magna haec esset eademque singularis laus, unde accessionem gloriae caperet non mediocre nobile istud optimorum studiorum Lovaniense domicilium. In quo sane saluberrimarum doctrinarum opes, velut in magno quodam emporio, sibi large paratas reperirent non solum clerici sed etiam laici, ita ut vis quaedam, salutis publicae conservatrix, ex Lovaniensi studiorum Universitate in civitatem totam manaret."

Again, in 1889, he follows with another letter to Cardinal Goosens, to congratulate him on having entrusted the direction of the new Institute to his beloved son, Desiré Mercier, in whom he expresses his fullest confidence :—

"Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Per alias litteras idibus julii anno superiore datas Nostram tibi sententiam explicavimus de philosophiae studiis in illustri Athenaeo Lovaniensi amplificandis. Equidem necessum, nedum opportunum, esse ducimus ea recte et ordine dispertita sic tradi alumni, ut complexa quidquid veterum sapientia tulit et sedula recentiorum adjecit industria large copioseque eos sint paritura fructus, qui religioni pariter et civili societati proficiant. Qua vero ratione et ope ea res expediri commodius et perfici possit

perpensis etiam difficultatibus quas praecavere oportet, id tibi non ita pridem significari curavimus per dilectum filium Nostrum Cardinalem a publicis negotiis Administrum. Jamvero libenter comperimus te aliosque Belgarum Episcopos non modum propensam huic consilio Nostro, prout et ceteris ostendisse voluntatem, sed etiam rei gerendae initia fecisse. Novimus scilicet renuntiatum fuisse praesidem Instituti philosophiae superioris dilectum filium Desideratum Mercier, Urbanum Antistitem, virum multa doctrinae, philosophiae praesertim, laude praestantem ejusque provehendae studiosissimum, eidemque curam novi operis rite ordinandi apteque constituendi fuisse demandatam. Collatum huic munus ultro confirmamus auctoritate Nostra, ac certa spe nitimur fore ut ille favore ac praesidio fultus Belgarum Antistitem et Rectoribus Athenaei protinus et impigre salutari huic operi manus admoveat, nec ulli parcat vigiliae aut labori donec nobile inceptum feliciter videat absolutum. Huic operi aggrediendo, pro tenui largiendi facultate, quae Nobis suppetit in hisce rerum angustiis, centum addiximus et quinquaginta millia argenteorum francicorum, prout jam tibi Nostro nomine nunciatum fuit. Quo munere testari voluimus cum favorem, pro magnum Lyceum Lovaniense prosequimur, tum patriam caritatem qua Belgarum populum, complectimur, cujus haeret adhuc animo Nostro suavissima nec ulla temporis vi delenda recordatio. Profecto haud ignoramus sumptibus longe amplioribus opus esse ad institutum perficiendum, quod Athenaei Lovaniensis dignitati congruat et scopum quo spectat prorsus attingat. Sed enim Nobis spem facit, opes collatum iri incepto pares, cum actiosa pietas sacrorum Antistitem, tum perspecta liberalitas fidelium Belgarum, quae luculenter enituit quoties religionis tutelae et incrementis vel publico bono prospiciendam fuit."

In 1892, he writes again, this time to the rector of the new establishment, Mgr. Mercier himself:—

"Dilecte Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Tam gratum Nobis extitit quam quod gratissimum literarum tuarum officium. Nam quum Nobis nihil antiquius sit quam ut Clerus solida scientia non minus quam virtute floreat, non potest Nobis non placere vehementer consilium a te initum tuisque litteris explicatum. Siquidem perutile atque opportunissimum fore intelleximus Belgicis Dioecesium seminarium philosophicum quod condere Lovanii moliris, Instituto Superiori philosophiae thomisticae adjungendum. Hoc autem novo praesidio cum stabili ejusdem Instituti firmitati commode prospectum erit, tum nobilis palaestra patefiet Belgicis juvenibus qui in sortem Domini vocati sunt, iis praesertim qui celeri praestantes ingenio optimam faciunt expectationem sui. Sacris enim disciplinis quibus eos imbui oportet cumulum adjicient pleniorae scientiae philosophicae

instructu, quo destitui nequeunt qui contra religiones hostes tenentur catholicam veritatem tueri. Qua ex causa haud ambigimus quin, si egregium hoc inceptum perfeceris, cum de patria tua tum de religione optime sis meriturus, multamque adepturus laudem penes cordatos piosque viros, praesertim sacros Antistites qui in Belgica ditione sunt tuique beneficii maximos fructus percipient. Itaque te etiam atque etiam hortamur ut eo quo spectas progredi contendas alacriter et divitem in misera Deum rogamus et quaesumus ut operi tuo propitius faveat ac prosperos det successus. Hujus autem divinae benignitatis auspicem esse cupimus Apostolicam Benedictionem quam paternae caritatis testem tibi peramanter impertimus."

And finally, on the 7th of March of the present year, he writes to Cardinal Goosens, approving the whole work, and the constitutions and regulations of the new Institute, defining the position in the university of its rector and professors, and confirming for ever their privileges and independence as distinct from the other professors of the university :—

"Itaque volumus ut hoc *Institutum superius Philosophiae Thomisticae* adstructumque Seminarium sic habeatur, non tanquam Universitatis quiddam adscititium, sed immo uti pars quaedam ad eiusdem pertinens integritatem, atque eum locum obtineat, quem et pontificia eius origo et gravitas ipsa disciplinae omnino exposcunt. Quapropter eius Praeses in Consilium rectorale, ut aiunt, admittatur, eisdem quibus Decani Facultatem iuribus, Magistri autem in aliquam adlegantur ex Facultatibus Universitatis, quae iam sunt, paribusque ac collegae iuribus et privilegiis eodemque Episcoporum patrocinio utantur. Quoniam vero huic Instituto peculiaris etiam est finis et suae quaedam propriae distinctaeque rationes, idcirco oportere ducimus ut Magistri suos etiam seorsum habeant coetus, Praeside moderante. Potestatem autem eisdem et ius facimus ut decernant de philosophiae gradibus, baccalaureatu, licentia, laurea, deque superiore gradu cooptationis in Scholam S. Thomae tribuendis, accedente tamen Rectoris Universitatis comprobatione. Quae omnia et singula iubemus rata et firma consistere, neve in posterum iniussu Nostro vel successorum, de iis quidquam immutari. Mandamus praeterea ut leges et praescripta tum Institut, tum a dnexi Seminarii opportune ad Nos, per sacrum Consilium studiis regundis, probanda, confirmanda deferantur. Minime autem dubitamus quin Athenaeum Lovaniense, cuius in nos atque in Apostolicam Sedem obsequium multa eaque egregia argumenta testantur, eidem Instituto, Nobis vel maxime accepto, opinione qua coepit et animo suffragari insistat. Utrâque vero ex parte observantia et

concordia, qua quidem stabiliendis educendisque rebus nihil est aptius, idemque publici boni studium ita certent optamus, ut in dies utrique decus augeatur et laborum honestissimorum ubertas. Sed in hoc ipso prudentiâ operaque vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, plurimum nos posse confidere iampridem perspectum certumque habemus: quos enim res ipsa perstudiosos nacta est ad exoriendum fautores, eis profecto ad prospere consistendum patronis erit optimis laetatura. Hoc denique restat pientissimum votum, ut conditum Institutum Doctor ipse Angelicus, cuius nomine et tutela insigniter gaudet, benignâ in omne tempus gratia respiciat, sapientia et virtute sua illustret: quo praestite, communia consilia, opera, spes, perinde ecclesiae et civitati succedant feliciter."

At the end of a short communication addressed to us by Mgr. Mercier, in which the information contained above was embodied, the rector concludes:—"We hope the Irish people who were always in the first rank of the nations for their devotion to learning and to the Holy See, and among whom many able and promising young men are to be found, will be neither the least nor the last to share the advantages of the Institute of Louvain."

This short but friendly appeal we may leave to speak for itself. It is altogether unnecessary for us to lay stress on the special claims of Louvain to our grateful and sympathetic support. Its great university deserves well of Ireland and of the Catholic Church. Some of the most sacred memories of our ecclesiastical history are associated with its schools, and are part of its merit and its glory. In its historic halls many of our martyred prelates won the scholastic laurels which for them were but emblems and presages of the more lasting wreaths which they were to acquire at the cost of life and blood. It was there that the illustrious Dermot O'Hurley obtained his degrees in arts, and taught philosophy for five years. There also his brother in faith and martyrdom, Richard Creagh, is inscribed in the roll of graduates. There again, the Jesuit fathers and martyrs, Nicholas Comerford, William Bathe, and James Archer, obtained their degrees in philosophy and theology. To Louvain our persecuted friars were welcomed, when to remain at home in Ireland would have been certain death. The Irish Dominicans, Gregory and Henry Joyce, founded

there a convent of their order in 1656. The Irish Carmelites had taken refuge there long before, and had got charge of the College of St. Placidius. But it was there particularly that our Irish Franciscans found a refuge and a home, under the protection of Philip III. of Spain. The foundation-stone of their convent, dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, was laid in 1616, by Princes Albert and Isabella. In its humble cells, some of the best work that was ever done for Ireland was conceived and carried out. It was there that John Colgan compiled his invaluable *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. It was there that Hugh Ward wrote his famous work, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, and that his colleague and contemporary, Patrick Fleming, compiled his *Collectanea Sacra*, and taught philosophy and theology before setting out for Prague to receive his martyr's crown at the hands of the heretics of Saxony. It was from Louvain that Brother Michael O'Cleary started on the noble errand that resulted in *The Annals of the Four Masters*. Many of our exiled Irish gentry sought there the education and culture which was denied them in their native land, and in their undying fidelity to the Catholic faith, spent a considerable part of their rescued fortunes in establishing burses and scholarships for the education of their persecuted countrymen. More than one of the latter upheld the credit of Irish intellectual capacity in its halls of philosophy and theology, both as students and professors. In later times also many important favours have been conferred on the clergy of Ireland, and on Maynooth in particular by the authorities of Louvain and of the Belgian Government.

But independent of such considerations as these, the Institute of Louvain offers advantages and attractions worthy of attention. The Holy Father intended that the Institute should be not only for Belgium, but for the Catholic world; not national, but international.

Unfortunately, we have not in this country a single institution of higher Catholic education, in which either layman or cleric can get a complete all-round course of instruction in such branches as are taught in this

establishment; and especially have we none in which the atmosphere of university and Catholic life is breathed, that bracing atmosphere in which not alone the mind but the heart and character are formed under the thousand influences that go to make a thorough Catholic, conscious of his security in the possession of truth, and capable not only of defending the faith that is in him, but of proving and showing clearly that all other is groundless and deceptive. Whilst we still wait and struggle for our rights in this matter. Louvain proffers us the advantage of its institute and asks us, through Mgr. Mercier to submit its claims to the gracious consideration of bishops and clergy. We do so with pleasure, and we are sure that any request coming from such a quarter will receive the attention it deserves.

J. F. HOGAN,
Editor I. E. R.

Liturgical Notes

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY

It is now generally admitted that the Rosary owes its present form to the great St. Dominic, who, according to a pious and well-founded tradition, received it from our Blessed Lady herself. Always since the time of St. Dominic a popular devotion amongst the faithful, it has again and again received the fullest and most cordial approval from the successors of St. Peter, while the innumerable miracles, as well in the natural as in the supernatural order, which the faith of the people have attributed to this beautiful and powerful devotion, have likewise received recognition at the hands of many Supreme Pontiffs. But of all the Popes who have sat in the Chair of St. Peter from the days of St. Dominic until our own, no one has spoken more highly

of the Rosary, no one has been more indefatigable in season and out of season, in inculcating this devotion, and in endeavouring to impress on Catholics the advantages to be derived from practising it, than the present occupant of the Holy See, our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. In testimony of his zeal in this holy cause, we have but to appeal to the consecration by him of the month of October to the Rosary, and to the numerous Encyclicals on the Rosary which have emanated from his pen. With unflagging zeal and unfailing regularity he exhorts the faithful as each succeeding October comes round to renewed fervour in the practice of this devotion. The latest of these exhortations we publish in our present number; and it will be seen that this, like all that preceded it, breathes the tenderest devotion and the firmest confidence in her on whom Leo XIII. has conferred the title of "Queen of the Most Holy Rosary."

We are well aware that our readers do not need any exhortation from us to induce them to practise the devotion of the Rosary, or if they be priests, to strenuously recommend the practice of it to those under their care. The love for this devotion, and the confidence in the intercession of our Blessed Lady, which have been ever entertained by Irish priests, and by the Irish people, would render it presumptuous on our part even to emphasize for their benefit the teaching of our Holy Father regarding the frequent and fervent recitation of the Rosary. There is one important point, however, in connection with the Rosary—or rather one important form of the devotion of the Rosary—on which without appearing to be presumptuous, we may speak, and on which we have long been waiting for an opportunity of speaking. We refer to the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary, which for some unaccountable reason does not seem to be duly appreciated amongst us. There is hardly another—if there be even *one* other—confraternity in the Church so enriched with indulgences and other spiritual gifts as is this confraternity; and there is hardly another the erection and direction of which are more simple, or of which the exercises can be more conveniently practised, or the rules more easily observed by people in the world. With

the hope, therefore, of inducing priests to establish this confraternity, and thereby giving their people an opportunity of participating in the vast spiritual treasures which are thrown open to its members, we will state as briefly as may be what is necessary for the valid erection of the confraternity, and for valid membership of it.

According to some writers the Confraternity of the Rosary dates back to the time of St. Dominic himself, and in proof of this they state that one was founded at Valence in France in 1221, the year of the saint's death.¹ But it was not until the latter half of the fifteenth century that this confraternity became popular. During that period the children of St. Dominic took care to have a confraternity of the Rosary connected with each of the numerous churches of which they then had charge. Among the confraternities of this name then established the most famous was one established in Cologne in the year 1475, by Jacob Springer, Prior of the Dominican Convent in that city.² About this time too the Holy See began to bestow on this confraternity the privileges which succeeding Popes have so increased and extended. Sixtus IV., Leo X., Clement VII., Pius V., Sixtus V., and many other Popes, are mentioned as having conferred new favours and confirmed those already bestowed.³

1. A priest about to erect a confraternity of the Rosary must first of all procure from his bishop, *in writing*, permission to erect this particular confraternity. In the case of a new, or of a little-known confraternity, it is necessary for the priest to submit to the bishop for his approval the statutes of the confraternity; but the Confraternity of the Rosary is now so ancient, and so well known, that this formality may, we think, be dispensed with. The permission *in writing* to establish the confraternity must come from the bishop himself; the permission or approval of a vicar-general is not sufficient unless he has received special delegation for this purpose from the bishop. And in this case he must make mention in his letter granting the

¹ Beringer, *Indulgences*, &c., tom. ii, partic 2, sect. 4, p. 179.

² Esser, *Rosenkrantz*, p. 289.

³ Beringer, *loc. cit.*

required permission of the fact that he has received special delegation.¹ *Sede vacante* a vicar capitular cannot, unless in virtue of special powers granted by the Holy See, give valid permission for the erection of a confraternity.² Further on we will give a specimen of a convenient form in which request for the permission of the bishop to erect the confraternity may be couched.

2. Having received the *written* permission of the bishop the parish priest or rector of the church in connection with which the confraternity is to be established will forward a copy³ of the bishop's letter to the General of the Dominicans accompanied by a request that he will authorize the erection of the confraternity. For it must be borne in mind that, even in countries under the care of Propaganda, bishops have not power to so erect confraternities of the Rosary that they will enjoy the peculiar privileges of this confraternity. All other confraternities they have power to erect and to enrich with their special indulgences and privileges, but the Confraternity of the Rosary belongs so exclusively to the Order of St. Dominic, that no one but the General of the Order is empowered to impart to new erections the privileges peculiar to this confraternity.

D. O'LOAN.

(To be continued.)

¹ "An vicarii generales possint valide dare consensum pro erectionibus Confraternitatum SSmi. Rosarii ex speciali Episcopi delegatione? Resp. Affirmative, facta mentione specialis delegatione." (S. C. Ind., Aug. 2, 1888.)

² Beringer, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

³ The original, together with the diploma from the General of the Dominicans, must be placed in the archives of the church.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII., ON THE ROSARY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHI-
EPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HARENTES

DE ROSARIO MARIAE

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHI-
EPISCOPIS, ET EPISCOPIS, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Jucunda semper expectatione erectaque spe Octobrem mensem conspicimus redeuntem; qui, hortatione et praescripto Nostro dicatus Virgini Beatissimae, non paucos iam annos concordi per catholicas gentes et vivida ROSARII floret pietate. Quae nos ad hortandum moverit causa, non semel ediximus. Nam calamitosa Ecclesiae civitatumque tempora quum praesentissimum Dei auxilium omnino deposcerent, hoc nimirum Matre eius deprecatrice implorandum esse censuimus, eoque praecipue supplicandi ritu contendendum, cuius virtutem christianus populus numquam sibi non saluberrimam sensit. Idenimvero sensit et ipsa marialis Rosarii origine, tum in fide sancta a nefariis tutanda incursibus hominum haereticorum, tum in consentanea virtutum laude, quae per saeculum corrupti exempli relevanda erat et sustinenda: idque perenni sensit privatim et publice beneficiorum cursu, quorum memoria praeclaris etiam institutis et monumentis ubique est consecrata. Similiter in aetatem nostram, multiplice rerum discrimine laborantem, fructus inde salutare provenisse commemorando laetamur: attamen circumspectientes, Venerabiles Fratres, videtis ipsi causas adhuc insidere partimque ingravescere, quamobrem hoc item anno obsecrandae caelestis Reginae ardor, Nostra exhortatione, vestris in gregibus excitetur. Accedit quod, intima in Rosarii natura cogitationem defigentibus, quanto Nobis eius praestantia utilitatesque illustrius apparent, tanto acuitur desiderium et spes, posse adeo commendationem Nostram, ut

eiusdem sacratissimae precis religio, aucta in animis cognitione et amplificata consuetudine, optimis vigeat incrementis. Cuius rei gratia non ea quidem revocaturi sumus quae superioribus annis varia in eodem genere ratione libuit edisserere: illud potius ad considerandum docendumque occurrit, qua divini consilii excellentia fiat, ut, ope Rosarii, et impetrandi fiducia in animos precantium suavissime influat et materna in homines almae Virginis miseratio summa benignitate ad opitulandum respondeat.

Quod Mariae praesidium orando quaerimus, hoc sane, tamquam in fundamento, in munere nititur conciliandae nobis divinae gratiae, quo ipsa continenter fungitur apud Deum, dignitate et meritis acceptissima, longeque Caelitibus sanctis omnibus potentia antecellens. Hoc vero munus in nullo fortasse orandi modo tam patet expressum quam in Rosario; in quo partes quae fuerunt Virginis ad salutem hominum procurandam sic recurrunt, quasi praesenti effectui explicatae: id quod habet eximium pietatis emolumentum, sive sacris mysteriis ad contemplandum succedentibus, sive precibus ore pio iterandis. Principio coram sunt GAUDII mysteria. Filius enim Dei aeternus sese inclinat ad homines, homo factus; assentiente vero Maria et *concupiente de Spiritu sancto*. Tum Ioannes materno in utero *sanctificatur* charismate insigni, lectisque donis *ad vias Domini parandas* instruitur; haec tamen contingunt ex salutione Mariae, cognatam divino afflatu visentis. In lucem tandem editur Christus, *expectatio gentium*, ex Virgine editur; eiusque ad incunabula pastores et magi, primitiae fidei, pie festinantes, *Infantem inveniunt cum Maria Matre eius*. Qui deinde, ut semet hostiam Deo Patri ritu publico tradat, vult ipse in templum afferri; ministero autem Matris ibi *sistitur Domino*. Eadem, in arcana Pueri amissione, ipsum anxia sollicitudine quaeritat reperitque ingenti gaudio. Neque aliter loquuntur DOLORIS mysteria. In Gethesemani horto, ubi Iesus pavet maeretque ad mortem, et in praetorio, ubi flagris caeditur, spinea corona compungitur, supplicio, multatur, abest ea quidem Maria, talia vero iamdiu habet cognita et perspecta. Quum enim se Deo vel ancillam ad matris officium exhibuit vel totam cum Filio in templo devovit, utroque ex facto iam tum consors cum eo extitit laboriosae pro humano genere expiationis: ex quo etiam, in acerbissimis Filii angoribus et cruciamentis, maxime animo condoluisse dubitandum non est. Ceterum, praesente ipsa et spectante, divinum illud sacrificium erat conficiendum, cui victimam de se generosa aluerat; quod in

eisdem mysteriis postremum flebiliusque obversatur: *stabat iuxta Crucem Iesu Maria Mater eius*, quae tacta in nos caritate immensa ut susciperet filios, Filium ipsa suum ultro obtulit iustitiae divinae, cum eo commoriens corde, doloris gladio transfixa. In mysteriis denique GLOBIAE quae consequuntur, idem magnae Virginis benignissimum munus confirmatur, re ipsa uberius. Gloriam Filii de morte triumphantis in tacita delibat laetitia: sedes autem superas repetentem materno affectu prosequitur; at, caelo digna, detinetur in terris, exorientis Ecclesiae solatrix optima et magistra *quae profundissimam divinae sapientiae, ultra quam credit valeat, penetravit abyssum*.¹ Quoniam vero humanae redemptionis sacramentum non ante perfectum erit quam promissus a Christo Spiritus Sanctus advenerit, ipsam idcirco in memori Cenaculo contemplamur, ubi simul cum Apostolis pro eisque postulans inenarrabili gemitu, eiusdem Paracliti amplitudinem maturat Ecclesiae, supremum Christi donum, thesaurum nullo empore defecturum. Sed cumulo perpetuoque munere causam nostram exoratura est, ad saeculum immortale progressa. Scilicet ex lacrimosa valle in civitatem sanctam Ierusalem evectam suspicimus, choris circumfusus angelicis: colimusque in Sanctorum gloria sublimem, quae stellanti diademae a Filio Deo aucta, apud ipsum sedet regina et domina universorum. Haec omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, in quibus *consilium Dei* proditur, *consilium sapientiae*, *consilium pietatis*,² simulque permagna in merita Virginis Matris, elucent, neminem quidem possunt non iucunde afficere, certa spe iniecta divinae clementiae et miserationis administra Maria consequendae.

Eodem spectat, apte concinens cum mysteriis, precatio vocalis. Antecedit, ut aequum est, dominica oratio ad Patrem caelestem: quo eximiis postulationibus invocato, a solio maiestatis eius vox supplex convertitur ad Mariam; non alia nimirum nisi hac de qua dicimus conciliationis et deprecationis lege, a sancto Bernardino Senensi in hanc sententiam expressa: *Omnis gratia quae huic saeculo communicatur, triplicem habet processum. Nam a Deo in Christum, a Christo in Virginem, a Virgine in nos ordinatissime dispensatur*.³ Quibus veluti gradibus, diversae quidem inter se rationis, positae, in hoc extremo libentius quodam modo longiusque ex instituto Rosarii insistimus, salutatione angelica in decades continuata, quasi ut fidentius ad ceteros

¹ S. Bernardus, de XII. praerogativ. B.M.V. n. 3.

² S. Bernardus, serm in Nativ. B.M.V. n. 6.

³ Serm. VI. in festis B.V.M. de Annunc. a. I. c. 2.

gradus, id est per Christum ad Deum Patrem, nitamur. Sic vero eamdem salutationem toties effundimus ad Mariam, ut manca et debilis precatio nostra necessaria fiducia sustentetur; eam flagitantes ut Deum pro nobis, nostro velut nomine, exoret. Nostris quippe vocibus magna apud illum et gratia et vis accesserit, si precibus Virginis commendentur: quam blanda ipsemet invitatione compellat: *Sonet vox tua in auribus meis; vox enim tua dulcis.*¹ Hanc ipsam ob rem toties redeunt praedicata a nobis quae sunt ei gloriosa nomina ad impetrandum. Eam salutamus. quae gratiam apud Deum invenit, singulariter ab illo plenam gratiam, cuius copia ad universos profunderet; eam cui Dominus quanta maxima fieri possit conjunctione inhaeret, eam, in mulieribus benedictam, quae sola maledictionem sustulit et benedictionem portavit,¹ beatum ventris sui fructum, in quo benedicentur omnes gentes; eam demum Matrem Dei invocamus; ex qua dignitate excelsa quid non pro nobis peccatoribus certissime exposcat, quid non speremus in omni vita et in agone spiritus ultimo?

Huiusmodi precibus mysteriisque qui omni diligentia et fide vacaverit, fieri certe nequit ut non in admirationem rapiatur de divinis in magna Virgine consiliis ad communem gentium salutem; atque alacri gestiet fiducia sese in tutelam eius sinumque recipere, ea fere sancti Bernardi obtestatione: *Memorare, O piissima Virgo Maria, nunquam auditum a saeculo quemquam ad tua currentem praesidia, tua implorantem auxilia, tua petentem suffragia esse derelictum.*

Quae autem est Rosarii virtus ad suadendam orantibus impetrationis fiduciam, eadem pollet ad misericordiam nostri in animo Virginis commovendam. Illud est manifestum quam sibi laetabile accadat, videre nos et audire dum honestissimas petitiones pulcherrimasque laudes rite nectimus in coronam. Quod enim, ita comprecando, debitam Deo reddimus et optamus gloriam; quod nutum voluntatemque eius unice exquirimus perficiendam; quod eius extollimus bonitatem et munificentiam, appellantes Patrem ac munera praestantissima indigni rogantes: hisce mirifice delectatur Maria, vereque in pietate nostra magnificat Dominum. Digna siquidem precatione alloquimur Deum quum oratione dominica alloquimur. Ad ea vero quae in hac expetimus, tam per se recta et composita, tamque congruentia cum christiana fide, spe, caritate, addit pondus commendatio quaedam, Virgini

¹ Cant. ii., 14.² St. Thomas, *op. VIII.*, super salut. angel. n. 8.

quam gratissima. Nam cum voce nostra vox ipsa consociari videtur Iesu Filii; qui eandem orandi formulam conceptis verbis tradidit auctor, praecepitque adhibendam: *Sic ergo vos orabitis.*¹ Nobis igitur talem praeceptionem, Rosarii ritu, observantibus propensiore illa voluntate, ne dubitemus, officium suum, solliciti amoris plenum, impendet; haec autem mystica precum sarta facili ipsa vultu accipiens, bene largo munerum praemio donabit. In quo, ut liberalissimam bonitatem eius certius nobis polliceamur, non mediocris causa est in propria Rosarii ratione, ad recte orandum perapta. Multa quidem et varia, quae hominis est fragilitas, orantem avocare a Deo solent eiusque fidele propositum intervertere: at vero qui rem probe reputet, continuo perspiciet quantum in illo efficacitatis insit, quum ad intendendam mentem et socordiam animi excutiendam, tum ad salutarem de admissis dolorem excitandum educendumque spiritum in caelestia. Quippe ex duobus, ut percognitum est, constat Rosarium, distinctis inter se coniunctisque, meditatione mysteriorum et acta per vocem precatione. Quocirca hoc genus orandi peculiarem quamdam hominis attentionem desiderat: qua nimirum, non solum mentem ad Deum modo aliquo dirigat, verum in rebus considerandis contemplandisque ita versetur, ut etiam documenta capiat melioris vitae omnisque alimenta pietatis. Neque enim iisdem rebus maius quidquam aut admirabilius est, in quibus fidei christianae vertitur summa; quarum lumine ac virtute, veritas et iustitia et pax, novo in terris rerum ordine laetissimisque cum fructibus processerunt. Cum hoc illud cohaeret, quemadmodum eadem res gravissimae cultoribus Rosarii proponantur; eo videlicet modo qui ingeniis vel indoctorum accommodare conveniat. Est enim sic institutum, non quasi proponantur capita fidei doctrinaeque considerata, sed potius veluti usurpanda oculis facta et recolenda: quae iisdem fere atque acciderunt locis, temporibus, personis, oblata, eo magis tenet animos utiliusque permovent. Quod autem haec a tenoris vulgo sunt indita animis et impressa, ideo fit ut, singulis enunciatis mysteriis, quisquis vere est orandi studiosus, nulla prorsus imaginandi contentione, sed obvia cogitatione et affectu per ea discurrat, abundeque sibi imbibat, largiente Maria, rorem gratiae supernae. Alia est praeterea laus quae acceptiora apud ipsam ea sarta faciat et praemio digniora. Quum enim ternum mysteriorum ordinem piâ memoria replicamus, inde testatior a nobis extat gratae erga ipsam affectio voluntatis; ita nimirum profitentibus, nunquam non expleri beneficiorum

¹ Matth. vi. 9.

recordatione, quibus salutem ipsa nostram inexplabili est caritate complexa. Tantarum autem monumenta rerum frequenter in eius conspectu diligenterque celebrata, vix adumbrare cogitando possumus quali beatam ipsius animam usque novae laetitiae voluptate perfundant, et quos in ea sensus exsuscitent providentiae beneficentiaeque maternae. Atque adeo ex iisdem recordationibus consequitur, ut imploratio nostra vehementiorem quemdam ardorem concipiat et vim induat obsecrandi: sic plane, ut quot singulatim revolvuntur mysteria, totidem subeant obsecrationis argumenta, sane apud Virginem quantopere valitura. Nempe ad te confugimus, sancta Dei Parens: miseros Hevae filios ne despexeris! Te rogamus, Conciliatrix salutis nostrae aequae potens et clemens; te, per suavitatem gaudiorum ex Iesu Filio perceptam, per dolorum eius inexplicabilium communionem, per claritudinem eius gloriae in te redundantem, enixe obsecramus; eia nos, quamvis indignos, audi benigna et exaudi.

Vobis igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, Rosarii marialis praestantiâ, duplici quoque ex parte quam laudavimus, considerata, eo fiat apertius cur non desinat cura Nostra idem inculcare, idem provehere. Caelestibus auxiliis, quod initio monuimus, maiorem quotidie in modum indiget saeculum, praesertim quum late sint multa quibus afflicetur Ecclesia, iuri suo libertatique adversis; multa quae civitatibus christianis prosperitatem et pacem funditus labefactent. Iamvero ad ea demerenda auxilia spem Nos plurimam in Rosario habere sitam, rursus affirmateque profiteamur. Utinam sanctae huic pietatis pristinus ubique honor, secundum vota, reddatur; haec in urbibus et villis, in familiis et officinis, apud primores et infimes, admetur et colatur, non secus ac preclara christianae professionis tessera, optimumque praesidium divinae propitiandae clementiae. Quod quidem in dies impensius urgeant omnes oportet, quando impiorum vesana perversitas nihil iam non urget machinando et audendo ut divini Numinis iram lacegat iustaeque animadversionis trahat pondus in patriam. Inter ceteras enim causas, hoc dolent Nobiscum boni omnes, in sinu ipso gentium catholicarum nimium esse multos, qui contumeliis religioni quocumque modo illatis iaentur, ipsique, incredibili quadam licentia quilibet evulgandi, in id videantur incumbere ut sanctissimas eius res exploratamque de Virginis patrocinio fiduciam in contemptionem et ludibrium multitudinis vocent. Proximis hisce mensibus, ne Christi quidem IESV Servatoris personae augustissimae temperatum est. Quam rapere

in illicebnas scenae, iam passim contaminatae flagitiis, minime puduit, eandemque referre propriâ deminutam naturae divinae maiestate; qua detracta, redemptionem ipsam humani generis tolli necesse est. Neque puduit velle a sempiterna infamia hominem eripere, sceleris reum perfidiaeque summa post hominum memoriam immanitate detestabilis, proditorem Christi. Ad haec, per Italiae urbes vel patrata vel patranda, indignatio universae commota est, acriter deplorantium sacerrimum ius religionis violatum, in eâque gente violatum, oppressum, quae de catholico nomine in primis meritoque gloriatur. Tum vigilis Episcoporum sollicitudo, perinde ac oportebat, uxarsit: qui expostulationes acquissimas ad eos detulerunt quibus sanctum esse debet patriae religionis tueri dignitatem, et greges suos non modo de gravitate periculi admonuerunt, sed etiam hortati sunt ut nefarium dedecus Auctori amantissimo salutis nostrae singularibus religionis officiis compensarent. Nobis certe omnino probata est bonorum alacritas, multis modis egregie declarata, valuitque ad leniendam aegritudinem ea de re intime acceptam. Per hanc vero alloquendi opportunitatem, supremi Nostri muneris vocem iam nequimus premere; atque cum eis ipsis Episcoporum et fidelium expostulationibus Nostras coniungimus quam gravissime. Eodemque apostolici pectoris studio quo sacrilegum facinus conquerimur et execramur, cohortationem ad christianas gentes, nominatim ad Italos, vehementer intendimus, ut religionem avitam, quae locupletissima hereditas est, inviolate custodiant, strenue vindicent, honeste pieque factis ne intermittant augere. Itaque, hac etiam de causa, continua octobri mense certet optamus singulorum et sodalitatum industria in honore habendo magnae Dei Matri, Adiutrici potenti christianae rei, Reginae caelesti gloriosissimae. Nos vero munera indulgentiae sacrae, in hoc ipso antea concessa, maxima voluntate confirmamus.

Deus autem, Venerabiles Fratres, qui nobis *talem Mediatricem benignissima miseratione providit*,¹ quique *otum nos habere voluit per Mariam*,² ejusdem suffragio et gratia, faveat communibus votis, cumulet spes; accedente benedictionis Apostolicae auspicio, quam vobis ipsis et vestro cuiusque Clero populoque peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII. Septembris anno MDCCCXCIV, Pontificatus Nostri decimo septimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

¹ S. Bernardus, de XII. praerogativ. B. M. V. n. 2.

² Id. serm. in Nat B. M. V. n. 7.

Notices of Books

A RETREAT: consisting of Thirty-three Discourses with Meditations for the use of the Clergy, Religious, and others. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns and Oates; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS admirable work supplies a great and long-felt want, and deserves to be cordially received by the numerous readers for whom it is intended. Available either as a book of devotion, or as a text-book on the most effective method of conducting a Spiritual Retreat, it will prove a valuable accession to our parochial libraries, and will be found to contain many useful hints, not only for religious who have to go through the exercises of a Retreat without a conductor, but also for priests who undertake to preach Retreats to others. The discourses, as the author informs us in his preface, regard the human soul in its relations with its Creator and Redeemer, and, for the most part, do not depend for their application on obligations arising from vows or any particular state of life; yet a perusal of the contents will show that the subjects treated are those usually put before ecclesiastics during their annual Retreat, and hence the work under review must possess especial attractions and advantages for them.

After an introductory chapter on the nature and purpose of a Spiritual Retreat, the author proceeds to examine the fundamental truths of the origin, the essence, and the immortality of the soul. Then follow three meditations on God and His relations with intellectual creatures, leading up naturally to a dissertation on grace, by which man becomes a partaker of the Divine Nature. Sin, in all its bearings, is next considered, and side by side with sin the great over-mastering thoughts by which its commission is rendered terrible—on death, judgment, and hell. Man, however, has not been left in his unregenerate state; and the Incarnation is the Divine plan for raising him up, and uniting him once more to God. “The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us;” and the mystery of His life and sufferings inculcates the lesson of modelling our conduct on His. Nor are efficient aids wanting to enable us to lead the life of the Spirit, and realize this union with God. The religious state, with its sacred obligations and manifold supernatural helps, is a means to perfection; prayer, the Blessed Sacrament, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, apply

the merits of Christ to the soul, and strengthen it in the grace and friendship of God; fidelity to duty, the observance of charity, punctuality in certain pious practices and forms of devotion, ensure perseverance; and perseverance to the end is followed by heaven as a reward. These thoughts indicate sufficiently the clear and logical method in which the author handles his subject. A more complete and consecutive treatment of the mystery of salvation in all its parts, it would be impossible to conceive, or one more admirably suited for the object in view.

But fulness and consecutiveness are not the only merits of the work; Dr. Hedley's reputation as a writer and pulpit orator is sufficient guarantee that originality of thought and elegance of expression mark every page of these discourses. Many subjects, of which the plan of the book necessarily demanded a detailed treatment, are so threadbare from constant handling, that few writers are capable of lending them a novel interest; yet this Dr. Hedley succeeds in doing. Everywhere will be found a freshness of thought and polished beauty of expression that readily impress the memory and render meditation on the subject proposed comparatively easy. When to this is added that these compositions are characterized throughout by a simplicity and devotional feeling, not always met with unhappily even in modern books on piety, we have said enough to secure a large circulation for the work among the readers of the I. E. RECORD. J. J. C.

EPITOME SYNODORUM, SEU EXCERPTA PRACTICA EX DECRETIS
CONCILIORUM PROVINCIALIUM WESTMONASTERIENSIIUM.
London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

THE title-page of this work does not tell us who is its author, nor does any preface or introduction tell us what is its object. It bears, however, the *Nihil Obstat* of a highly respectable "Censor," and the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop of Southwark. Hence we suppose that it contains a faithful reproduction, as far as it goes, of the decrees and recommendations of four Provincial Councils of Westminster, and that the extracts are considered useful and practical.

Those regulations which apply to Matrimony, to Extreme Unction, to the payment of Cathedral rectors, to missionary rectors, to seminaries, and priests' houses, will be found here in a convenient compendium; and as the work has episcopal authority, it may safely be recommended.

J. F. H.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

NOVEMBER, 1894

THE CENTENARY OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

THE custom of holding centennial festivities is at present confined to no particular country, and the advantages that invariably attend such celebrations more than justify the widespread interest attaching to them. They bring together distinguished men who otherwise could never meet, and present opportunities for an interchange of views on the experiences of a lifetime. Scholars of eminent abilities are invited to be present, and questions of national, or perhaps international importance find ample room for discussion. Solemn religious functions are performed, eloquent sermons preached, instructive lectures delivered, musical and literary entertainments presented to the guests ; and all this exercises a spiritualizing and refining influence not easily available at any other time. But public interest, on such occasions, centres chiefly in the history, character, and aims of the institution whose hundredth anniversary is being celebrated. One of the great objects of such solemnities is to recall the past with its struggles, its losses, and its gains ; to concentrate attention on the present, with a view to test the adequacy of existing resources for the demands made upon them ; and to forecast the difficulties of the future, and provide the necessary means of encountering them with a prospect of success. Seeing these and similar advantages attend on the celebration of centennial festivals, we are not surprised that their advent is looked forward to

with interest, and their remembrance cherished with feelings of gratitude and pride.

If these statements be true of celebrations of this nature generally, there are special reasons why they should be realized on the occasion of the centenary of Maynooth College, which—as our readers are aware—is to be celebrated during the coming year. The *alumni* of Maynooth are not confined to any particular diocese, or any particular ecclesiastical province, but are to be met with in every parish in Ireland. Nay, having gone far beyond the limits of their native country, they are found bearing the responsibilities of the ministry in the busy cities of England and Scotland, in the great centres of American trade, in the wild and sparsely-populated districts of Australian pastoral life. But, be they at home or abroad, there is one feeling that never deserts them, that finds expression in eloquent words and generous actions whenever a fitting opportunity presents itself, namely, an unquenchable love for the *Alma Mater* under whose fostering care they grew from youth to manhood, and learned the sacred sciences by which they are made useful servants of the Church. When the *past alumni* of Maynooth, therefore, assemble on the occasion of the centenary within the College walls, they will embody interests co-extensive with the world, and their minds, sharpened by the experience of years, will bring to the discussion of home problems a clearness of perception and an impartiality of judgment which are certain to be productive of much salutary fruit. And, in return for the advantages they will be sure to impart, they will have no small pleasure to receive. The Maynooth of to-day is vastly different from the Maynooth of twenty or thirty years ago. The guests, on the occasion of the centenary, will behold grounds laid out with the studied taste of an Italian garden; corridors adorned with choice works of art; libraries well-stored with the richest treasures of, at least, theological learning; a chapel already approaching completion, in which beauty of form and chasteness of colouring combine to produce effects inspiring in their artistic grace, and subduing in their devotional influence on the soul. And, apart from the material

features of the institution, a series of religious and intellectual exercises will be provided, which will prove that there is no stagnation in the life of the College, but that in most departments of ecclesiastical culture she is well abreast of the age.

At the time at which Maynooth College was founded, Irish ecclesiastics, denied education in their own country, were obliged, often at the risk of their lives, to seek in the colleges and universities of the Continent the knowledge requisite for the discharge of the pastoral office. Following in the footsteps of the early missionary saints of Ireland, they travelled along the Rhine, and by the banks of the Douro and the Tiber, seeking the instruction they could not obtain at home. Everywhere they went they were hospitably received. Louvain, Salamanca, Valladolid, Paris, Rome, opened their gates to the wandering refugees; while their own countrymen, who had become prominent in the courts and armies of Europe, proved their benefactors, and founded burses for their education. When their ecclesiastical studies were completed abroad, these youthful volunteers in the service of a down-trodden Church turned homewards to become the victims of a system of espionage and persecution during the remainder of their lives, and oftentimes to submit to the ordeal of martyrdom itself. Such, however, was the only means left for the preservation of the ancient faith in the hearts of our people; and hence the heroic priesthood of Ireland joyfully embraced their sufferings for the sake of the Divine Master in whose sacred cause they laboured.

But with the last decade of the eighteenth century new ideas began to come into vogue. The great democratic upheaval on the Continent of Europe; the far-reaching consequences of the volunteer movement at home; the prevalence of what were commonly known as "French principles," and the danger of their being imported into this country by ecclesiastics educated abroad—these combined influences moved the Legislature of Ireland to regard Catholics with more consideration than hitherto, and forced them to the conclusion that toleration is preferable to repression, and unshackled education at home a wiser policy than a

foreign training which embodied elements that, as some thought, might easily prove subversive of the safety of the State. While on this account the Government of the country was not unwilling to listen to overtures on the question of establishing some system of ecclesiastical education in Ireland, the bishops of the country, on the other hand, were prepared to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for advancing the same project. During the progress of the Revolution in France, many ecclesiastical colleges on the Continent were closed ; and, in consequence, there was extreme danger that recruits for missionary work in Ireland should soon disappear altogether. Both sides entertained apprehensions, well-founded or otherwise ; and, hence, when Dr. Troy, acting on the part of his brethren of the hierarchy, approached the Earl of Westmoreland, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with a memorial petitioning for permission to establish and endow a national college for the education of ecclesiastics, he was listened to with a willing ear. This was early in 1794. During the course of that year a lengthened correspondence passed between Burke and Grattan on the subject, and the great political philosopher threw himself into the project with all the well-known enthusiasm of his Celtic nature. Convinced of the necessity of dealing with the subject in the most cautious manner, he urged Dr. Hussey, then Chaplain to the Spanish Embassy in London, and one of the most successful diplomatists of his time, to proceed to Dublin at once, and assist in forwarding the scheme. With the accession of Lord Fitzwilliam to power, in the spring of 1795, the prospect seemed to brighten, for in his mind the policy of Catholic education was only a portion of the larger measure of Catholic Emancipation. In this, however, the country was doomed to a bitter disappointment. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled a few months subsequently to his accession to power, and with him disappeared for more than thirty years the hopes of securing an adequate measure of rights for the Catholics of Ireland. But the scheme of Catholic education remained.

Lord Camden assumed the reins of power on the

removal of Lord Fitzwilliam, and at once expressed his determination to push forward the project of establishing an ecclesiastical college for the education of the Irish priesthood. Accordingly, on the 24th of April following, the Irish Government introduced a bill designed to make provision "for the better education of persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion." On the 13th of May the measure passed the House of Lords without change, and on the 5th of June following received the royal assent and became law. In virtue of this "Act of Incorporation," as it was called, a body of trustees was appointed, consisting of the then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the then Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, "six Roman Catholic laymen, the four Roman Catholic Archbishops, and seven other Roman Catholic ecclesiastics;" and was empowered "to receive subscriptions and donations, and to purchase and acquire lands not exceeding the value of £1,000 per annum, and to erect and maintain the necessary buildings." The Act further granted to the trustees visitatorial rights, the power to appoint a president and staff of professors, and allocated to them the sum of £8,000 annually towards the establishment and maintenance of the College. On the 25th of June following, Dr. Hussey, who had taken so active a part in the negotiations from the beginning, was appointed first president; and on the 27th of the same month, a vice-president and six professors were nominated to the staff. Of these, Dr. Darrè and Dr. Delort, who were entrusted respectively with the chairs of mental and physical science, were distinguished French ecclesiastics; while Dr. Power, Dr. Ahern, and Dr. Clancy, to whom were confided the vice-presidency and the departments of theology and Sacred Scripture, were Irish priests who had hitherto been engaged at educational work on the Continent. The other members of the staff were, without difficulty, secured at home.

One of the most important questions to be decided by the promoters of the new institution, was the selection of an appropriate site. Many prominent statesmen advocated a scheme according to which the Catholic establishment

should be affiliated to Trinity College, having its buildings and grounds, if not a portion of, at least, in proximity to the Elizabethan foundation. But Dr. Hussey, in his correspondence with Burke, and with other statesmen who were interested in the success of the Government policy, showed that such an arrangement could never work satisfactorily, since the training suitable for Catholic ecclesiastics, demanding as it does a stricter discipline, a closer application to study, a greater estrangement from the allurements of social life, than may be permissible to students intended for secular pursuits, or offices in other churches, should be entirely different from that which was deemed sufficient in the Dublin University. The question was finally discussed at a meeting of the trustees, held on the 28th of July, in the Lord Chancellor's chambers of the Irish House of Peers. We learn from one of Dr. Troy's letters, that a variety of proposals was before the meeting ; but, finally, an offer from the Duke of Leinster, who was desirous that the College should be established on his own estate, was accepted, and Maynooth was selected for the site.

From many points of view the choice was highly commendable. Though the surrounding country, as the etymology of the word sufficiently indicates, was low-lying and marshy, yet its remoteness from the turmoil of city life enhanced its value as a site for an ecclesiastical college. In addition to this, the place was sacred and historic ground. Above the lands offered to the trustees, arose in stately grandeur the venerable keep of the Geraldines, which in ages past had sustained many a protracted siege in defence of the liberties of Ireland ; while hard by stood the tower of what was once the abbey of St. Mary, in which the priests of an earlier age had been trained, and which had continued to flourish under the fostering care of the Fitzgeralds, until, like so many similar institutions, it was destroyed by Henry VIII., and its treasures confiscated to the crown. A place hallowed by so many venerable associations was not unsuited for an ecclesiastical college. Accordingly, the trustees, accepting the proposal of the Duke of Leinster, purchased a house and fifty-four acres of land on a lease of lives renewable for ever. The

property thus secured was subsequently enlarged by an additional twenty acres on the abolition of the lay college in 1817.

But the foundation of the College, important though the event is from an historical point of view, will not evoke such interesting reminiscences, on the occasion of the centenary, as other features in the life of the institution. When the gates of the establishment were thrown open to students, in the autumn of 1795, only fifty presented themselves for admission; and so wretched was the accommodation, that many of these were compelled to find lodging in the adjacent village. In the years 1797 and 1798, however, when the wings that at present flank the front central building were completed, the number rapidly increased; and in 1799 the College records show the respectable total of one hundred and fifty resident students on the rolls. As years advanced the financial condition of the College improved, and the number of occupants grew in proportion. In 1808 the English House of Commons voted the sum of £12,610, which included £5,000 for building purposes. From 1809 to 1813 the annual allowance was £8,972, and this was increased in the latter year to £9,673, Irish currency, the figure at which it remained until 1845. In this year Sir Robert Peel's Government passed an Act which increased the annual grant to £26,000, allowed £30,000 for the erection of new buildings, and empowered the trustees to acquire lands to the value of £3,000, in addition to those already belonging to the College, and to hold them, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain. In this condition the finances of the College remained until the year 1871.

Until 1845 there existed only two hundred free places, exclusive of private foundations; but, in virtue of Sir Robert Peel's Act, the number of free places was increased to five hundred, while two hundred and fifty students were to receive £20 a-year each, to defray the expenses incidental to College life. While these provisions continued, the establishment, as might naturally be expected, was in a most prosperous condition, the number of students being rarely less than that provided for by law. The disestablishment of

the Protestant Church in Ireland, and the consequent withdrawal of the annual Parliamentary grant from Maynooth, are matters of recent history, and therefore known to all our readers. At the time it was generally believed that the College could not continue to exist under the new conditions; but beyond a retrenchment of its monetary resources the institution was not unfavourably affected by the change. It will be gratifying to those who knew Maynooth in the noon-tide of its opulence to learn, that never, during the hundred years of its chequered history, was the number of students within its walls so large as at present. During the twenty-five years that the College enjoyed the increased Parliamentary grant, the students on the rolls rarely exceeded five hundred, whereas at present, in spite of slender resources and an enlarged expenditure, no fewer than six hundred and twenty names of students in actual residence stand recorded on the College books.

But increase of numbers may not be the most reliable criterion of the success of an ecclesiastical college; the world will demand achievements of a moral or an intellectual character in the men it has given to the Church. Has Maynooth such a record to show after its centenary of years? The visitors to the College during the approaching festivities will find a conclusive answer to this question in the portraits on the College walls. As yet only a moiety of the bishops that have been educated at Maynooth have had their portraits painted for presentation to the College, and yet the spacious cloisters are well-nigh completely furnished. Representatives of the hierarchy in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia are there, in addition to many who have ruled over the Church at home; and the monuments of zeal and piety that remain wherever they have laboured are the most eloquent testimony of their worth. Nor are evidences of valuable intellectual work achieved by the past *alumni* of Maynooth difficult to discover. It is expected that, when the centenary celebration comes round, the College library will be supplied, by way of donation or otherwise, with the works of all the authors who have been educated at Maynooth; and if this expectation be realized, as we

confidently hope it will be, the accession to this important portion of the establishment will be very considerable. Not to mention living writers—with whose works our readers are intimately acquainted—we need only refer to such names as Dr. M'Hale, Dr. Russell, Dr. Murray, and Dr. O'Reilly, to indicate the intellectual energy that has characterized the College since its foundation. When the history of the institution is given to the world—as it will be during the coming year—it will contain few chapters of deeper interest to the reading public than that which will treat of the success of its *alumni* in almost every department of letters.

But, at present, the question of paramount importance for the country is, whether the College, when she enters on her second century, will be furnished in every department with the necessary resources to enable her to meet the requirements of the age. Is her condition in every way satisfactory? Is her panoply on all sides war-proof? Is she in a position to equip her students, ere they enter the spiritual and intellectual arena of the twentieth century, with indispensable weapons for the defence of truth and the conquest of error? In replying to these questions we shall rigidly confine ourselves to the expression of views entertained by men who are thoroughly conversant with the condition of the College and the needs of our time.

In virtue of a resolution passed by the Episcopal Board in June last, a Committee for the arrangement and carrying out of the centenary celebrations was formed, consisting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, the present and past members of the College staff, and two priests from each diocese in the country, to be nominated by their respective bishops. The first general meeting for the transaction of business was held in the College on the 4th of October, and, in the course of the deliberations, there was a free interchange of opinion among the delegates as to the most suitable manner of celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the College. Among the questions discussed was one which dealt with the desirability of establishing some permanent memorial of the approaching event, and a few of the

observations made on the occasion cannot fail to interest our readers. In our capacity of Secretary to the Committee we feel justified in giving them to the public.

It may be a matter of surprise to many, as it certainly was to not a few present at the meeting, to learn that the students of the College have at present to contribute from their own personal resources, towards the support of the institution, a sum varying from eight to ten thousand pounds a-year. Last year the exact sum was eight thousand four hundred, while this year it will not fall much short of ten thousand pounds. When it is remembered that vocations to the priesthood are confined for the most part to the sons of farmers and shopkeepers, it will be manifest that this state of things is far from satisfactory, and that from a financial point of view at least the condition of the College admits of considerable improvement.

Again, it cannot be denied that recent developments in many fields of science have completely changed the nature of the Church's warfare. The enemies to be encountered at present are no longer the Nestorians and the Eutychians, the Gnostics and the Iconoclasts. The vanguard of the Church's opposition at the present day, are men who either deny the historical-authority and inspiration of Scripture, or base their objections on biological, or geological, or psychological phenomena; and how are these to be met, with their own weapons and on their own ground, except ample provision be made for the training of ecclesiastics on broader principles than those that underlie our existing educational system. On this account a general feeling prevailed among the delegates that Maynooth College, even with its present numerous staff, cannot be deemed fully equipped for the duties it has to discharge until some further provision be made to meet the developments of modern scientific thought.

Moreover, the magnificent College Chapel, in which it is hoped so to enshrine the faith and generosity of our people that the students ordained within its walls may go forth with minds full of sublime and spiritual ideas, yet remains unfinished; and the delegates were unanimous in the view that

no more suitable time could be appointed for its completion than the centenary year of the College.

But how are these vast projects to be accomplished? The steps to be ultimately taken will be determined in due course by those to whom such matters properly belong. Meantime we feel justified in laying before our readers the pressing wants of the institution, in the hope that our remarks may not be altogether without fruit. Knowledge is seldom inoperative, and in the present instance it ought to be productive of excellent results.

It has been decided that the College Centenary shall be celebrated on the 25th of June next and the two days immediately following. The celebration will be of a character partly social, partly intellectual, and partly religious. A distinguished prelate and past member of the College staff, is to be invited to preach the centenary sermon; another distinguished prelate, who is also a past member of the staff, has already promised a lecture on the history of the College; while his Eminence the Lord Cardinal, and his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, both of whom were for many years intimately associated with the institution, will take prominent parts in the function. There will be a Centenary Ode by the most distinguished Catholic poet of the age, and a series of scientific papers by the most illustrious representative of Catholic learning throughout the world. During those days the College will throw open its gates to as many of its past students as its spacious halls can accommodate as well as to prominent supporters of Catholic interests at home and abroad. The occasion will be one to enlist the warmest sympathy of our country; and when the Centenary festivities will have concluded, we trust that the achievements of Maynooth College and the pre-eminence she has won as the *Alma Mater* of the Irish priesthood may be the theme of every tongue.

J. J. CLANCY,

Hon. Sec. to Centenary Committee.

FATHER SEBASTIAN KNEIPP AND HIS WATER CURE

A VISIT TO WÖRISHOFEN IN THE SUMMER OF 1894

I. FIRST IMPRESSIONS

WÖRISHOFEN, a little village in Bavaria, about thirty miles south-west of Augsburg, has become famous, during the last few years, for its parish priest, Father Sebastian Kneipp, and his Water Cure. In early life, when pursuing his studies at Munich, Pfarrer Kneipp got into a state of very feeble health, and was, in fact, given over by the doctors, as a victim of consumption. While in this condition, he came across a little book on the cold water cure then in vogue. He tried the system on himself, and in the course of two years, he became a strong and healthy man. He naturally recommended to others the treatment to which he owed his own life ; his name spread abroad ; people came from a distance to consult him ; and thus in the course of a long life, he was led to develop gradually a system of cold water treatment, which is quite unique in its character, and which has made his name widely known throughout the world.

The number of patients who now come to Wörishofen, to consult Pfarrer Kneipp, and to follow the cure under his directions, amounts to somewhere about thirteen thousand a year. The great majority of these patients are Germans and Austrians : but many come, too, from other parts of Europe—from France, England, Italy, Poland,—and even from America, Australia, and the East. They remain here for various periods, from three or four weeks, to eighteen or twenty months. The great majority go away improved in health, and a large number altogether cured ; many come back again, to confirm the good effects they have already derived from the treatment ; and a general belief prevails amongst them that Pfarrer Kneipp has discovered a new and valuable secret in the art of healing.

Nothing is more surprising, at first sight, than the great variety of maladies which are submitted to the treat-

ment of Pfarrer Kneipp. The most common are nervous affections, rheumatism, gout, and indigestion; but there are also many cases of asthma, bronchitis, consumption, and the various forms of catarrh. Fat people come here to get thin, and thin people come to get fat; the lame, the blind, and the deaf, are seen on every side; and not a few cases meet the eye, of the horrible disfiguration known under the name of lupus. Wörishofen is, in fact, a veritable museum of diseases; and on that account alone, if on no other, it must be exceedingly interesting to a medical man. It is worthy of note, also, that a large number of the cases that come to Wörishofen, have been already treated by eminent doctors in the different capitals of Europe, and have been given up by them as incurable.

In the early days of the "Cure," the treatment was administered by the worthy Pfarrer himself, in the kitchen of the parochial house. But as the influx of visitors increased, it became necessary to train in other hands, and to build regular bath houses. These bath houses are of the simplest construction; and as each patient is only a minute or two under treatment, three or four skilled men can administer the system to several hundred persons in the course of a few hours.

Of late years, also, the Pfarrer has found it necessary to associate with himself three professional doctors, to assist him in his work. By this means, every patient is placed in a position to have competent professional assistance; while, at the same time, he has the special advice and general superintendence of the Pfarrer himself. The method of procedure is as follows.

Each visitor, on his arrival, goes to the Kneipp-bureau in the Kurhaus, and there a little book is given to him, in which his name is inscribed, and which serves as a passport to the whole system of treatment. In this book he finds printed information telling him how he is to proceed during the time of his cure. He is advised to present himself, in the first instance, to one of the doctors associated with Pfarrer Kneipp, and to explain his malady to him as he would to an ordinary doctor. The

doctor examines him carefully, and writes down, on a blank page of the little book, a short statement of his case. The visitor next appears before the Pfarrer in his consulting room, and hands in his book. The doctor whom he had previously consulted is present, and briefly explains the case from a medical point of view. The Pfarrer asks such questions as he may deem needful, and then prescribes aloud the particular forms of cold water treatment to be adopted. This prescription is written down, by his secretary, on another blank page of the patient's book; the book is then handed back to the patient, and the interview is over.

So complete is this organisation, and so perfect the order established, that a consultation with the Pfarrer is often over in less than a minute, and seldom exceeds two or three minutes. All the various forms in which cold water is applied are represented by letters of the alphabet; and thus a few mystic letters, written down by the secretary in the patient's book, will often contain a complete prescription for a fortnight to come. The reader will understand the necessity for this great economy of time, when he remembers that, in the summer months, the Pfarrer often sees and prescribes for more than three hundred patients a day.

A word on the cost of this singular and interesting treatment. The patient may have a private consultation with the Pfarrer, or he may go with the crowd: he may present himself, so to say, in camera, or in open court. In a private consultation, the only persons present will be the Pfarrer, his secretary, the assistant doctor, generally three or four other doctors who wish to study the system, and perhaps a couple of priests who are admitted by special favour. For such a consultation, the fee is three shillings, which the visitor pays when he gets his passport at the bureau. He also pays three shillings on each subsequent consultation, that is to say, about once a fortnight during his stay. If, however, he is content to go with the crowd, and to present himself in open court, he pays two shillings on the occasion of getting his passport, and no other fee whatever during the time of his treatment. Thus, those persons who cannot afford to pay, are received practically

free of charge; and those who wish for the luxury of a private consultation, can have it on very easy terms.

All patients are advised to consult a professional doctor, but no one is obliged to do it; each one, on getting his book and paying the preliminary fee, is at liberty to present himself at once to the Pfarrer. Those who consult a doctor pay two shillings for each visit. The baths themselves cost three halfpence or twopence halfpenny each, according to the accommodation, attendance included.

II. THE TREATMENT

The leading idea of Pfarrer Kneipp is not so much to attack each particular disease by a special remedy, but rather to strengthen the body generally, and thus enable it to combat disease by its own natural powers. His favourite principle is, that if the blood is healthy, and the circulation good, the whole body will be healthy, and fit to withstand and to overcome disease. On this basis his system is built up. He insists on the necessity of a simple wholesome diet, to supply the needful nourishment to the blood; and he regards the use of cold water skilfully applied, as the best means to promote a good circulation, and to carry away the noxious humours of the body.

The most familiar form in which cold water is applied, in the Kneipp system, is the jet, or Guss, as it is called at Wörishofen. In this form, the water is allowed to flow over the body, from an india-rubber tube about an inch in diameter, pretty much as it flows from the spout of a watering can when the rose is removed. Indeed, a common watering can was the instrument used for many years, in the administration of the system, and is still regarded as the most typical symbol of the Pfarrer's cure. There are many kinds of Guss. Thus, for example, there is the Knie-Guss, in which the water is made to flow from the knee downwards; the Schenkel-Guss, in which the water flows from the waist downwards; the Ober-Guss in which the water flows from the waist upwards, the body being bent forward so as to bring the shoulders down towards the ground; the Rücken-Guss, in which the water is poured

over the shoulders and back, the patient standing upright; the Voll-Guss, in which the water is poured over the whole body; and so forth.

In all these cases, the water is discharged in a gentle stream, without pressure. But there is one form of Guss, called the Blitz-Guss, or Lightning jet, in which the water is projected, under great pressure, from a brass nozzle, about half an inch in diameter, and is made to play over the whole body with considerable force. This is the strongest of all forms of Guss, and is only given to persons who are in fairly good health, and who have been, so to say, trained up to it by some days' experience of the milder forms. The first effect of the Blitz-Guss is somewhat startling, and a little courage is required to bear the shock and the cold; but when the reaction sets in, immediately after, the refreshing and invigorating effect is at one surprising and delightful.

The various kinds of Guss are combined together in many different ways, according to the condition of the patient and the nature of his disease; and the combinations prescribed, in each case, are varied from time to time. But, however they may be combined, the main object of all is the same: to stimulate the nervous system, to promote a healthy circulation of the blood, and to carry off the evil humours of the body.

In the administration of the Guss, the following are the most important points to be attended to. (1) The water should be as cold as possible; in winter it would be desirable, says the Pfarrer, to mix a little snow with it. (2) Before taking the Guss, the body should be thoroughly warm; the warmer the body beforehand, the greater is the advantage derived from the bath. (3) The Guss should last only a very short time, varying according to circumstances, and hardly ever exceeding a minute. The chief exceptions to this rule are the Voll-Guss, which lasts a minute and a half, and the Blitz-Guss, which lasts three to four minutes. (4) The body is not to be dried after the Guss; but the patient is to dress as quickly as possible, and then walk about until he is dry and warm.

Besides the jet or Guss of cold water, Pfarrer Kneipp uses an ordinary bath, in which the body is immersed in cold water to a little above the waist. This he calls a Half Bath, and it is one of his most favourite remedies. He also employs, in special cases, cold water bandages, which are of various kinds. Sometimes they are purely local; sometimes they are applied to half the body; sometimes to the whole. Each of these bandages has its own particular function to fulfil: to open the pores of skin, to promote perspiration, to subdue feverish symptom, or to carry away noxious humours. In some cases, the water is mixed with salt, or vinegar; in others, the bandages are steeped in a decoction of hay flowers (Heublumen), or of the cones and fresh growth of pines and firs, or of some other vegetable product.

Medicine, in the ordinary sense of the word, has little or no share in the system of Pfarrer Kneipp. But he has an extraordinary knowledge of the herbs and plants that grow in the neighbourhood of Wörishofen; and he has invented various preparations and decoctions of these, and has proved their efficacy by long experience. These preparations he recommends, under certain circumstances, to his patients; but the greater part of his immense following never hear of medicine, even in this simple form.

Walking barefoot is one of the most singular and picturesque adjuncts of the Kneipp cure. The Pfarrer considers this practice as eminently fitted to make the body hardy, and to fortify it against disease; besides being a specific remedy for cold feet, headache, sore throat, loss of voice, and many other common ailments. It is, indeed, the constant refrain of all his counsels. He recommends it to young and old, healthy and infirm. To the young he says, Walk barefoot, to make your limbs hardy which have to carry you all through life, from the cradle to the grave; to the old, Walk barefoot, to strengthen your limbs which have been enfeebled by the effeminate habits of the age; to the healthy, Walk barefoot, that you may keep the health you have got; to the infirm, Walk barefoot, that you may recover the health you have lost.

Accordingly a large part of the people of Wörishofen, including both the native population and the visitors, go about their ordinary business absolutely barefooted. A larger proportion, however, while discarding the use of stockings, wear sandals to protect their feet from the stony roads. Only a comparatively small number, who have failed to catch the spirit of the place, make themselves remarkable by going about in the boots and stockings of ordinary civilized life.

This practice of walking barefoot, or wearing only sandals, so far from being found inconvenient, becomes, after a little experience, a positive luxury. The feet, released from their close prison house, enjoy an unwonted freedom; they revel in the bright sunshine and the fresh air; they cast off, by a natural process, all corns and other evil excrescences begotten in the days of their thralldom; and, when the time comes for leaving Wörishofen, they return with reluctance to the irksome restraint of shoes and stockings.

But the Pfarrer is not content with getting his patients to walk barefoot; he makes them, for a certain time every day, walk barefoot in wet grass, or in a shallow river, or in fresh fallen snow. This practice he prescribes to all his patients without distinction; and there is hardly any feature in his system of which he speaks with greater confidence. He is especially emphatic on the efficacy of walking barefoot in snow. A girl came to him one day, he tells us, who had lost her voice through illness. It was in December, and the ground was covered with fresh fallen snow. He told her to take off her shoes and stockings, and go out into the garden, and walk about for a little while. She looked at him with astonishment, but did as she was told. In a few minutes, he heard her calling out to him from the garden, to say that her voice had come back.

III. FOOD AND CLOTHING

As regards food, Pfarrer Kneipp insists on a simple, wholesome, nourishing diet. He allows the use of meat, but favours the adoption of a larger proportion of vegetable food than is common in northern Europe. He thinks that

no one should exceed three meals a day, except those who are engaged at hard labour in the open field ; and he is strenuously opposed to the practice of eating and drinking between meals. Wine, spirits, spices, and all kinds of stimulants, he absolutely condemns. He is eloquent in his denunciation of tea and coffee, to which he ascribes, in large measure, the nervous diseases so common in the present generation. According to him, tea and coffee are not only directly injurious to the nerves, but they prevent the proper digestion of other food ; thus checking the process of nutrition, and leaving the body a prey to all forms of disease.

To meet the general desire that seems to exist for some such drink as tea or coffee, Pfarrer Kneipp has invented, with the aid of a chemist from Munich, a beverage, which goes under the name of Malz-Kaffee, and which is in general use at Wörishofen. It is made from barley, the grains being first roasted and then ground to powder. It has a singular resemblance to coffee, both in appearance and in flavour ; and though it certainly wants the fine aroma of the best coffee one gets in France, it is rather more agreeable than the coffee usually served in England and Ireland.

There is also a special kind of bread made at Wörishofen, under the directions of the Pfarrer, and known as Kneipp'sches Brod. It is made of flour obtained from the mixture of several kinds of grain, chiefly wheat and rye, without any separation of the bran, which according to the Pfarrer possesses great nutritive value. In colour it is a very dark brown, and for eating it is tough ; but it is not disagreeable when you get accustomed to it. With this bread a kind of soup is made which is called by the Pfarrer Kraft-Suppe, or Strengthening Soup, and which is taken with apparent relish by many of his patients.

In the matter of clothing, Pfarrer Kneipp teaches that while the dress we wear should be as warm as the climate requires, it should be always loosely made, so as to allow free access of air to all parts of the body. This is necessary in order to promote the easy escape of vapours from the surface of the body, and the free admission of oxygen to the pores of the skin,—a process which he calls breathing

through the skin, and which he regards as hardly of less importance to health than the process of breathing through the lungs.

He allows the use of woollen clothes, but he maintains, in opposition to the views of many doctors, that they should never be allowed to come into contact with the skin. Flannel vests and drawers, so much recommended of late, have, he says, a weakening effect on the body, and leave it an easy victim, sooner or later, to rheumatism and such like diseases. Instead of flannel, he advises the use of strong coarse linen, which by its gentle friction stimulates the action of the skin, and by its porous nature allows the free escape of the vapours of the body. Linen, too, is of its nature, he says, cleaner than flannel, and is more easily kept clean by washing. The effect of this teaching is seen in the shops of Wörishofen, and of many other German towns, where Kneipp linen and Kneipp shirts, of gray colour, and of coarse texture, are largely exposed for sale, and look very tempting in the hot summer days.

IV. CURES EFFECTED

The reader will probably be interested to learn something about the cures effected at Wörishofen. No regular account of these cures has hitherto been preserved, but, quite recently, an office has been opened in which it is proposed to keep a carefully compiled record of the diseases treated and the cures effected. For this purpose, printed forms are furnished on application to all patients, who are invited to enter, under suitable headings, a full account of their case; setting forth the nature of the disease from which they have been suffering, the length of time for which it has lasted, the period of their stay at Wörishofen, the treatment there adopted, the result of the treatment, and other circumstances of interest or importance from a medical point of view. Above all, they are requested to obtain, from a professional medical man, a written statement of their condition previous to the treatment at Wörishofen, and to enter this statement under a special heading provided for the purpose.

Thus, after some years, the medical profession will be

placed in a position to estimate, from authentic records, the success or failure of the Kneipp Cure. For the present, we must be content with such an account of the cures effected as may be gleaned from the published works and discourses of Pfarrer Kneipp himself. Such an account cannot, of course, carry with it the same weight as the regular systematic record which it is now proposed to keep. But it represents, at least, the honest convictions of one who, though he cannot be regarded as an impartial judge, has had for many years the fullest opportunity of verifying the facts to which he bears witness. With this preliminary remark, I now proceed to give a few instances of cures, taken chiefly from a work entitled *So Sollt ihr Leben, So Shall you Live*, which was first published by Pfarrer Kneipp in the year 1889, and of which the twentieth edition, now before me, was issued during the present year.

A man came to him, he says, about thirty-six years of age, and explained his case as follows: "My arms and feet are full of rheumatism. I am often quite unable to walk; sometimes I have to stay in bed for weeks together. I have generally a great difficulty in breathing, often so great that I feel as if I were going to be suffocated. I lead a simple life, and drink but little. My professional calling keeps me chained to an office desk."

The treatment in this case was very simple. Every morning a Schenkel-Guss, and two hours later, an Ober-Guss; in the afternoon, a Rücken-Guss; and in the evening, walking barefoot in cold water. At the end of fourteen days, the patient was perfectly well. The rapidity of his cure, says the Pfarrer, was due to the fact that his bodily organs were all sound, and his disease was only the result of his sedentary mode of life. He was naturally strong, and able to bear a strong treatment. Had he been weaker, a milder treatment would have been necessary, and the cure would have been slower.¹

A woman, forty-two years old, said to him:—"For the past two years, I have been suffering from catarrh and

¹ *So Sollt ihr Leben*, pp. 297-8.

rheumatism. Sometimes the catarrh gets better, but if I go near a window, it comes back. If I leave my sitting room, and go about the house, I get pains in all my joints, and am forced to sit down and rest. By direction of my physician, I have wrapped myself up in wool, sometimes three or four folds thick; since that time, the rheumatism has spread over my whole body; before that, it was only in the shoulders. I have no respite from my pains, day or night." The poor woman, adds the Pfarrer, looked indeed the picture of suffering.

In this case, the chief object of the treatment was to make the body strong and hardy, and to produce, at the same time, a gentle and uniform perspiration. The remedy prescribed was cold water washing, and various forms of Guss, changed from time to time. After eight weeks of this treatment, the patient was well, and able to return to her ordinary duties.¹

A lady had a swollen foot, and the swelling extended upwards to the knee. For a year and a half she had suffered intense pain. She had tried many remedies, and gone to several watering places; but her condition had steadily got worse, and she was now obliged to use a crutch. Moreover, she began to feel pains of the same kind in the other foot. The doctors considered she was suffering both from rheumatism and gout. This lady was put under a treatment, which included bandages of hay flowers (*Heublumen Wickel*) various forms of Guss, and cold baths; and in four weeks she was restored to health.²

A master-smith, thirty-one years of age, came to the Pfarrer, and reported his case thus:—"I have pains in all my body, and the whole night long I cannot sleep. Sometimes my knees are swollen, sometimes my shoulders. I have rarely any appetite. For four years I have suffered in this way, and my pains have so increased that I am unable to work, and can do nothing to support my family. The doctors have prescribed many things, but I have got no relief."

¹ *Ib*, pp. 295-6.

² *Ib*, pp. 293-4.

Here the treatment was chiefly Ober-Guss and Schenkel-Guss, with a Half Bath for half a minute, every day. After a week, the treatment was made stronger, and the duration of the Half Bath was somewhat extended. At the end of fourteen days, the swellings had disappeared, the rheumatic pains were gone, appetite and sleep had come back, and the smith was able to return to his work.¹

The treatment seems to be not less efficacious in diseases of the lungs, and in consumption, than it is in cases of rheumatism and gout. A man of thirty-two years of age told his story thus:—"I had severe inflammation of the lungs, two years ago. Since that time I have never been without a cough, I have continual catarrh, and often great pains in the right side. The doctor said it was Emphysema of the lungs, and that it would go away of itself, with time. But instead of that, it has got worse; my strength is failing; and if I attempt even light work, I get into a profuse perspiration. The medicines which I have taken have produced no effect." After six weeks of treatment at Wörishofen, this patient was perfectly restored to health.²

A young girl, nineteen years of age, explained her case as follows. "Three sisters of mine have died of consumption, and I fear that I too am destined to be a victim to it. I have no cough, but I am often so weak that I can hardly do any work. My spirits are very low; I have rarely any appetite; and I can bear no strong food." The treatment, in this case, which included walking daily in cold water, lasted for three weeks. At the end of that time, the condition of the girl was altogether changed. She had recovered her appetite and her strength; she had a pleasure in life, and a desire for work; and all suspicion of consumption had disappeared.³

Here are two instances of the cure of asthma, of which Pfarrer Kneipp gave an account in a lecture at which I was present. A priest came here, he said, who had been suffering from asthma for twelve years. Scarcely a day passed that he had not an acute attack. So great was his difficulty of

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 241-2.

² *Ib.*, pp. 265-5

³ *Ib.*, pp. 262-3.

breathing, in some of these attacks, that it seemed as if each breath he drew would be his last. He remained here three months under treatment, and went away perfectly cured; and he has never since had a return of the disease. Another patient, also a priest, had frequent attacks of asthma; but the disease, in his case, was of recent standing. He went away cured, at the end of four weeks.

Very numerous are the cases, recorded by Pfarrer Kneipp, of the efficacy of his system in disorders of the stomach. Of these I have selected the following two, which may be regarded as typical. A patient said to him:—"I am very ill, and have already had three doctors. One of them said I was suffering from my liver; another said that my heart was at fault; and the third could not say where the mischief was. I have a good appetite, but as soon as I have eaten, I begin to feel pains in my stomach; after that, comes a beating of my heart. My hands and feet are always cold; and every week I am falling away in flesh and in strength. I am a master cabinet-maker, and for the last two years I have been unable to follow my business."

This patient was treated for fourteen days with Knie-Guss in the morning, and Ober-Guss in the afternoon. Three times a week he had poultices of hay flowers applied to his stomach, and he drank every day a decoction of juniper berries. Later on he had a Half Bath every second day, and he walked barefoot, once a day, in cold water. At the end of four weeks, he was well, and only needed for the maintenance of health, to take a Half Bath from time to time, and to continue the decoction of juniper berries.¹

Another patient told his story thus:—"For nine or ten years I have been afflicted with constant pains in the stomach, more or less intense. I have, besides, for a long time, a cough in the morning, accompanied by much expectoration, which is often mixed with blood. My nerves are very weak; every little trifle excites me; and my sleep is greatly broken." The treatment, in this case, was nearly the same as in the former. In four weeks the patient was

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 265-6.

perfectly well; but was advised to continue, for some time, the use of juniper berries, and to take a Half Bath once or twice a week.¹

These examples, which are only a few chosen out of many, will give the reader some idea of the wide range of diseases, brought under the treatment of Pfarrer Kneipp. They may not be sufficient to bring home conviction to the minds of scientific men; but they show, at least, the claims that are made on behalf of this new system of water cure, and the grounds on which Wörishofen has won for itself the foremost place in the world as a resort for the sick and infirm. Before leaving this branch of my subject, I should wish to add the testimony of a celebrated Paris doctor, who is reported to have said: "I do not know the system, and therefore I can offer no opinion about it; but I know that several of my patients have gone to Wörishofen, and that none of them has come back worse than he went, while many have come back better."

V. LITERATURE OF THE KNEIPP CURE

Though Pfarrer Kneipp is personally the most disinterested of men, he is nevertheless keenly alive to the importance and value of his system, and very desirous that it should become widely known and adopted. He feels assured that he has discovered an important secret of Nature, hitherto unknown, or at least disregarded. He believes that this secret is capable not only of restoring health and strength to many sufferers, but of improving gradually the physical condition of the human race; and he desires accordingly to publish his discovery to the whole world.

With this end in view, he has found time, amidst his multitudinous engagements, to issue from the press, besides some fugitive pamphlets, two important works, on the subject of his cure. One of these is called *Meine Wasser Kur, My Water Cure*; the other, already referred to, is intitled *So Sollt ihr Lehen, So Shall you Live*. The former has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe,

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 287-8.

and is probably the most widely circulated book of our time, certainly the most widely circulated book treating of medical questions. It gives a very full account of his system, and the application of his treatment to various diseases.

The second work has a wider scope than the first, and is addressed alike to the healthy and the sick. It consists of two parts. The first part lays down the general conditions of health, and the means of preserving it; dealing with such subjects as food and drink, clothing and fresh air, and the physical training of the young. The second part contains a detailed account of many cases of disease which have been treated by the author, with the treatment adopted, and the result attained, in each case.

These works are very interesting reading. They are written in a clear, vigorous, simple style; they show great powers of observation, as well as great experience in dealing with disease; and they are full of sound practical precepts, useful alike to old and young. But even more attractive than his books are the popular lectures, now given by the Pfarrer, every afternoon, at Wörishofen, during the summer months. Soon after four o'clock, a stream of people may be seen pouring out of the village, and wending their way to a great wooden shed which stands on an elevated plateau just on the verge of the open country. This shed was erected, in the first instance, to afford an opportunity to the patients of taking exercise, in wet weather, before and after the cold water applications. But it was afterwards found convenient to use it as a kind of *al fresco* lecture hall; and, with this end in view, it was considerably enlarged and provided with a rustic pulpit.

By half-past four, every spot within earshot of the pulpit is occupied. The audience, numbering some five or six hundred people, is curiously mixed: nobles and peasants, farmers and shopkeepers, old and young, men and women: some talking, some knitting, some reading books or newspapers; all eagerly waiting for the arrival of the great Master, in whose skill and knowledge they have unbounded confidence. At five o'clock he appears, surrounded by a small knot of doctors, priests, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. He is

always greeted with applause, which has become, however, so much a matter of course as hardly to attract his attention ; and before the applause has ceased, he has already mounted his pulpit, and is ready to begin his discourse.

The subject matter of these lectures covers the whole ground of the Kneipp treatment in health and disease. But each lecture is something complete in itself, and can be easily understood without reference to what has gone before or what is destined to come after. One day the lecturer deals with food, another with drink, another with clothing. Then he takes up the various diseases to which he has applied his system : one day asthma ; another, blood poisoning ; another, gout and rheumatism ; another, affections of the lungs ; another, disorders of the stomach. In each case, he gives a graphic account of the symptoms as set forth by the patients, then describes in detail the remedies prescribed, and lastly states the result attained. On other occasions, he turns to the various features of his system, and explains the different kinds of Guss, the swathing in wet linen cloths, the poultices of hay-flowers, the numerous decoctions of herbs and plants.

In all this, he never fails to fix the attention of his audience, by his power of picturesque narrative and lively illustration, his command of simple homely language, and above all by the earnest spirit of conviction which animates all that he says. He is eminently practical, but never commonplace, and never dull. He does not aim at eloquence, but when occasion offers he is often eloquent without intending it. He has both humour and pathos at his command ; and he can stir his audience to mirth, or move them to tears, at his will. In general, the spirit of humour prevails ; and yet, while his words sparkle on the surface, and laughter is rippling around, you cannot help feeling that there is an under current of sound judgment, practical common sense, and sympathy with human suffering, which pervades and dominates the whole discourse.

Pfarrer Kneipp has been lately induced, by the pressure of many friends, to give public lectures in some of the principal capitals of Europe, on the nature and efficacy of

his Cure. In this way, he has visited Vienna, Rome, Berlin, Cologne, and other cities, and has everywhere been heard with eager and respectful attention. These lectures, together with the fame of the cures he has effected, have arrested public attention, and have led to much discussion amongst medical men. As usual, in such matters, there is great diversity of opinion. Some are in favour of the treatment, some are against it; some say there is nothing new in it, while others say there is nothing true in it; others again, as if holding the scales of justice more impartially, will admit that there is some originality in the system, and some truth in it, but they maintain that what is new is not true, and what is true is not new.

Everywhere throughout Germany, one sees evidence of the ardour with which this controversy is carried on. The booksellers' shops are crowded with pamphlets on the burning question of the Kneipp Cure. I have glanced over some of these pamphlets. On the one hand, it is alleged that the worthy Pfarrer of Wörishofen is not up to the level of the present day, in his knowledge of medical science; that he overlooks the important part which bacteria play in the modern theory of disease; that his ideas about the humours of the body represent the views of forty years ago, which are now abandoned by the medical schools and the universities. But we are told, on the other hand, by the followers of Pfarrer Kneipp, that he is not quite so ignorant of modern theories as his opponents have alleged; that if the universities were all so wrong, forty years ago, they are perhaps not quite infallible at the present day; that, after all, the practical test of medical skill is to cure disease, and that Pfarrer Kneipp is curing from day to day, a greater number of bad cases of disease than any professional medical man in Europe.

It is not for me to pronounce an opinion on the merits of this controversy. That is a task which I leave to those who are more thoroughly conversant with the facts, and who are equipped, at the same time, with the professional knowledge necessary to give weight to their judgment. But I would venture to remark that the main question of public

interest, in the matter, is not whether Pfarrer Kneipp is scientifically correct in all the details of his theory, but whether he is successful in the treatment of disease. The sick and infirm do not generally care very much about the theories of science, but they like to be cured. And they would rather be cured by a man who is unfamiliar with bacteria, and who holds, perhaps, some heterodox opinions about the humours of the human body, than pine away and die under the most advanced scientific treatment of a university professor. If the alleged cures have been effected by the Kneipp treatment, and if, moreover, they have been effected in cases pronounced incurable by eminent representatives of the medical profession, then surely the treatment has strong claims to be regarded as successful. It is a secondary question—though, no doubt, a question of great interest and importance—by what theory the cures are to be explained and accounted for.

As far as Pfarrer Kneipp is concerned, he allows every facility for the study and investigation of his system. He invites medical men to come to Wörishofen, and judge of it for themselves. When they come, he receives them with the utmost courtesy and cordiality; he allows them to be present in his consulting room; to observe each patient as he tells his story; to hear the remedies prescribed; and to see the treatment carried out. Many doctors have taken advantage of the opportunities thus afforded them; and not a few, after having spent some months at Wörishofen, have returned to their own country, and there set up a Kneipp Institute for the benefit of their patients. In this way about a hundred such institutions have been already established in various parts of Europe. In America, a Kneipp Institute, on a scale of great magnitude, has recently been opened at Milwaukee, and is now in full operation.

Early in the present year, a meeting was held, at Wörishofen, of medical men, from different countries of Europe, who have adopted the Kneipp treatment. At this meeting, an association was formed under the name of the International Union of Kneipp Physicians. It was agreed to publish an official journal, twice a month, representing

the association, and called *Central Blatt für das Kneipp'sche Heilverfahren*. The first number of this journal appeared on the seventh of April, and it has been published regularly down to the present time.

The object of the journal, as stated in the prospectus, is threefold. First, to provide a medium for scientific discussion, and interchange of views, between members of the Union. Secondly, to furnish to the reading public an authentic account of the progress and development of the Kneipp system. And thirdly, to afford to the opponents of the system an opportunity of bringing forward their objections, and of having them discussed in a dispassionate and scientific manner.¹ Incidentally the *Central Blatt* gives reports, from time to time, of the successful use of the Kneipp system in the treatment of various diseases. These reports are written, for the most part, by professional medical men, who have had personal experience of the cases with which they deal.

VI. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Whatever may be the ultimate judgment of medical science on the efficacy of the Kneipp system, it is impossible not to feel an interest in the personality of a man of humble origin, and simple life, who has made so great an impression on his own generation. I propose, therefore, to conclude this paper with a few biographical notes on Pfarrer Kneipp's career.

He was born in the year 1821, in that district of Bavaria which is locally known by the name of Swabia, and in which by far the greater part of his life has been spent. His father was a weaver, and he himself was taught the art of weaving, in his early years. But he passed a great deal of his time in the open air, tending sheep, and working in the fields; and being inured from childhood to a frugal and laborious life, he grew up a hardy and vigorous youth.

At the age of eighteen, he conceived a great desire to be a priest. But he had not the education that was necessary

¹ See *Central Blatt*, No. 1, p. 1.

for admission to an ecclesiastical seminary, nor had he the means to pay the required pension, if he obtained admission. Nothing daunted by these impediments, he fondly clung to the idea; and after many trials and disappointments, he at length found a good priest who took him into his house and prepared him for the seminary, and then helped him to pay his pension there.

After some years of study in the seminary, his health gave way. He became so weak, that, as he tells us, he was hardly able to dress himself, in the morning, when he got up; he was unable to study, and unfit for all his duties; and two eminent physicians, who attended him, declared his case to be hopeless. This was in 1847, when he was twenty-six years of age. Just at this time, when all other remedies had failed, he chanced to come across a book on the cold water cure. He read it with avidity, and at once began to practise the system himself. For some time, there was no visible improvement; but feeling that this was his last remaining chance of life, he determined to persevere; and at the end of two years he was perfectly restored to health.

In the year 1852, he was ordained a priest. Since that time, he has led an active, laborious, life; fulfilling with zeal and energy all the duties of his sacred office, and devoting his leisure time to the development of his water cure. About thirteen years ago, he was appointed Parish Priest of Wörishofen, and he became at once, to the people of that village, in the highest sense, a parish providence; healing the sick, relieving the distressed, and administering daily to all the aids and the consolations of religion.

After a life of incessant labour, he is now, at the age of seventy-three years, a model of manly strength and power. Built on a large scale, he stands a little under six feet, with an erect figure and a commanding presence. His head is "silvered o'er with age," but shows no sign of physical or mental weakness. The general expression of his face betokens high intellectual gifts, controlled by judgment and common sense. His eyes are keen, observant, penetrating; somewhat overshadowed by large bushy eyebrows, but lighted up now and then, with gleams of playful humour

His voice is powerful and well modulated ; and it possesses that soft and winning quality which reaches not only the ear but the heart. He tells us that he has never found a church so large that he could not easily fill it ; and, within the last three years, he has more than once addressed an audience of over five thousand people, for two hours at a time, without fatigue.

The amount of work he gets through in the day, is almost incredible. He rises at four o'clock, and goes at once to the church, where he says Mass. Then, after a slight collation, consisting of Malz-Kaffee and dry bread, he devotes himself to his spiritual duties, until eight o'clock. A few minutes after eight, he appears in his consulting room, where he sits until eleven. During that time, he sees from a hundred to a hundred and fifty patients, listens to each one's tale, and gives to each one a prescription special to himself. At a quarter past eleven, he dines with a few friends, and it is wonderful to see the cheerfulness and buoyancy of his spirits, after so laborious a morning. Once or twice, indeed, I have noticed him looking a little fagged as he came in to dinner. But no sooner was he conscious of that feeling than he would say, " I must go and take a bath ; " and in about five minutes, he was back again, radiant with health and vigour.

The moment dinner is over, he is besieged by visitors who, on various pleas, beg for a special audience, outside the prescribed hours. He rails at them good-humouredly, argues with them, shows them how unreasonable they are, but in the end, so far as I could see, he always hears their story, and prescribes for their maladies. And so, rebuking, arguing, remonstrating, but, at the same time, scattering blessings as he goes, he forces his way through the crowd, and takes a walk through the town, to visit any of his parishioners who may stand in need of his aid.

At two o'clock he is again in his consulting room, and again receives a continuous stream of visitors, waiting patiently until he has cleared off the long roll of his clients, which often mounts up, as I have said, in the summer season, to the enormous total of three hundred a day. This brings him very close to the hour of his Lecture, which is

five o'clock. When the Lecture is over, he takes a light supper, and then a walk through the town, generally winding up with a visit to the Kinder-Asyl, a children's hospital with two hundred beds, which is entirely his own creation, and in which he takes a very special interest.

In consideration of his great services to religion and humanity, Pfarrer Kneipp has lately been raised, by the Holy See, to the dignity of a Roman Prelate; and his new title, Herr Prälat, is now taking the place of the more familiar and affectionate Herr Pfarrer. In the course of this paper, I have adopted the older form, under which he has been already known throughout the world. And, therefore, I feel called on now, at the close, to set forth his higher title in full, praying that Seine Hochwürden Herr Prälat Kneipp may be spared for many years, to continue his beneficent labours in the midst of his loving and devoted flock.

GERALD MOLLOY.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS: CASE OF ERROR IN "NOMEN," OR "COGNOMEN"

INFORMALITIES in matrimonial dispensations frequently cause considerable trouble and anxiety; for the issues involved are usually great, and the consequences of invalid dispensations far-reaching. It may, accordingly, be useful to some readers of the I. E. RECORD, if I give a case which has recently occurred, and if I be allowed to share with them the information I have gathered regarding it.

The case is one in which the impediment of consanguinity prevents marriage from taking place. The causes for asking a dispensation are quite sufficient, one of them being recognised as canonical. A postulation was accordingly drawn up, setting forth the names of the petitioners, their diocese, the impediment for which a dispensation was sought, and the causes. The document was authenticated by the Ordinary, and forwarded to *Propaganda*. But when the dispensation arrived from Rome, it was discovered that an error had crept into the postulation, and that the

dispensation was granted to "Joannes Smith," and not as required to "Michael Smith." It therefore became a practical question: Was the dispensation valid: How was the error to be rectified?

It may appear at first sight that after all there was no substantial error—the dispensation was clearly set forth—the causes were true; one at least was an acknowledged canonical one, and the persons to whom the dispensation was granted sufficiently identified in the circumstances: the error, inadvertently committed, of writing down "Joannes" for "Michael," was clearly accidental.

On the other hand, adverting to general principles, it may strike one that not only law and custom, but also the wish and practice of the Congregations issuing dispensations—*stylus curiae*—should be observed, and it may be that amongst the requirements for the validity of a dispensation, the correct setting down of the *nomen* and *cognomen* may be found. Besides the dispensation being one *in foro externo*, the document ought to be evidence of itself, not requiring any collateral proof that John Smith meant Michael Smith.

The question cannot, however, be settled on general principles: there must be an appeal to authorities, and these will be found to differ considerably. The first authority I take down is Gury¹:—

"Error in nomine, vel cognomine oratorum, probabilius validitati dispensationis non officit, modo constet de *corpore*, id est de impedimento et causa."

Bangen² adopts the opinion of Gury; and Caillaud³ has substantially the same view. Daelman,⁴ after citing Corradus for the opposite view, writes:—

"Verum hanc ejus opinio est contra communem Doctorum sententiam, et contra jus commune, juxta quod, dum erratur in solo nomine, non vitiatur rescriptum quia error ille dumtaxat est accidentalis."

It is putting the matter strongly to say that the view which maintains that error in the name vitiates the dispen-

¹ Ball Ed., vol. ii., n. 875, 4.

² Tit. ii, page 202.

³ Page 164.

⁴ Obs. Vlt., page 421.

sation, is not only not upheld by law, but that it is actually opposed to law—*contra jus commune*. Both Gury and Daelman derive their doctrine from Sanchez,¹ to whom they refer. The words of Sanchez are :—

"Caeterum absque dubio dicendum est, non vitiare dispensationem, quamvis in nomine erratum sit, quia error nominis proprii, quando constat de corpore, non vitiat rescriptum."

This too, is a strong statement of opinion: *absque dubio tenendum est*. Sanchez deduces his doctrine from Lib. iv. *de test.*, where it is stated that a mistake in the *name* of the legatee does not cause the legacy to lapse, provided there be no mistake as to the person intended. Likewise, Sanchez infers, in the case of all rescripts. One misses in this reasoning any reference to what may be, or may become, the requirements of the *stylus curiac*. De Justis¹ is of the same opinion, and reasons in like manner. Avanzini,² rightly concluding from a rescript of the Congregation of the Council, 31 July, 1869, based on Lib. iv. *de test.*, that an error in the name of a legatee does not affect the legacy, provided there be no doubt about the person intended, discusses, in a note, the question under consideration, and says :—

"Ad praecavendas fraudes praxis invaluit in Apostolica Dataria, ut error nominis dicatur vitiare Rescriptum. Non auderem tamen dicere generali ratione ejusmodi errores nullum reddere Rescriptum."

Then he points out that it is one thing to apply *de novo*, as if the dispensation were invalid. It is quite a different thing to apply, because the dispensation *is* invalid. He adds that the Dataria does not undertake to decide questions of the kind; but, if a decision be required, the matter is referred to the S. C. of the Council.

The most recent author⁴ on Matrimony I have seen, says the question is a disputed one, and inclines to the same view as Avanzini, whose arguments he reproduces.

It would appear then that Gury had respectable authorities

¹ Lib. viii., *Disp.* xxi., n. 37.

² i. iv., n. 54.

³ *Acta S. Sedis*, v., page 27, note 1.

⁴ Gasparri, *Tractatus Canonice De Matrimonio*, tom. i. cap. iv. note 1.

on his side ; but whether he was justified in saying his was the common and the more probable opinion, is a question one can more easily answer when the authorities on the other side have been weighed. There are several well-known handbooks of Theology and Canon Law in which this question is not discussed, such as Van-der-Velden, Kenrick, Könings, Lehmkühl, Aertyns, Santi. The names, no doubt, all say, are to be expressed when dispensation is sought from a public impediment ; but if an error in the name should creep in, as in the case under consideration, what then ? Corradus is an authority to which all refer as holding that the dispensation is invalid, *ex stylo curiae*. I cannot give his words, as I have not got the book. Reiffenstuel¹ is explicit and satisfactory :—

“Licet error in nomine vel pronomine de jure non vitiet rescriptum textu claro I. Si in nomine c. de Test. . . . ac propterea Sanchez de matrim. lib. viii. D. xxi. n. 27 ; Justis, cap. iv. n. 54, et plures alii volunt id etiam procedere quoad errorem nominis, vel cognominis oratorum in dispensatione matrimoniali, tamen teste Corrado lib. vii. cap. v. nn. 3 et seqq. allegante testimonium omnium curialium (quibus utique credendum) de hodierno stylo et praxi, contrarium servatur, et consequenter ab executoribus observandum est, cum stylus curiae stet loco legis.”

Schmalzgrueber² reasons in similar terms. He quotes Sanchez and De Justis, arguing from Cap. iv. *de test.*, as given above ; but he adds :—

“Et hoc verum est, spectato jure commune ; verum de stylo, et praxi curiae Romanae id non procedit, sed per hujusmodi errorem nominis dispensatio vitiatur.”

Those authors then admit that the common law does not annul a rescript in which an error occurs in the *nomen* or *cognomen*, but the *stylus curiae* does, as it manifestly may do. Quite a host of authors follow on the same lines.

But we have an express statement from *Propaganda*:—³

“Sed jam se convertit Instructio ad ea quae praeter causas in literis supplicibus pro dispensatione obtinenda, de jure, vel consuetudine aut stylo curiae exprimenda sunt, ita ut si etiam

¹ Tom. v., App. n. 210.

² iv., xvi. 155.

³ Instruc., 9th May, 1877.

ignoranter taceatur veritas, aut narretur falsitas, dispensatio nulla efficiatur. Haec autem sunt.

"1. Nomen et cognomen oratorum, utrumque distincte, ac nitide, ac sine ulla litterarum abbreviatione scribendum."

In this Instruction the requirements of the *stylus curiae* are treated equally with those of common law and custom, and amongst those requirements mentioned for the validity of a dispensation in *foro externo*, are enumerated expressly the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the petitioners, so that even inadvertant suppression (*subreptio—si ignoranter taceatur veritas*) renders the dispensation invalid.

Yet the *Nouvelle Rev. Theol.*,¹ commenting on this Instruction, does not state that where an error in either *nomen* or *cognomen* occurs the dispensation is invalid, but only puts the matter tentatively by asking: Does it not seem that the opinion of Gury and others must be abandoned? And such an eminent and cautious authority as Feije² gives both views; but regarding the one now under discussion, he says:—

"Plerique vero docent errorem vitiare etiamsi de persona constet, idque non quidem ex jure communi, sed ex stylo curiae; his faveri videntur supradicta Indulta, et certo favet cit. Instr. S.C. de P.F., a 1 77."

Some recent authors state their views unmistakably on this question. Giovine³ has no doubt that the dispensation in question is invalid, and does not hesitate to say so in clear terms: *indubitantur affirmamus*; and Zitelli⁴ says: *praxis invaluit, ut error hic dicatur rescriptum vitiare*.

It is not easy, therefore, to see how Gury's opinion may have been at any time considered the more probable and common one; and the tendency and preponderance of opinion at the present time, as well as the documents of Roman congregations, notably those of *Propaganda*, appear to point in the opposite direction.

But whatever may be said of the speculative question, the course to be adopted, in case of such an error, is clear: it is, to write *de novo*⁵ for the dispensation, putting at a corner of the fresh postulation the number of the dispensation already

¹ Tom. x., p. 37, n. 2.

² *De Imped. et Dipens. Mat.*, ed. 4^{ta}, p. 713.

³ Tom. ii., page 6.

⁴ *De Disp. Matr.*, page 71.

⁵ *Idem*.

received, *v.g.* Prot., n. 654, and adding at the foot that a dispensation has been received in the case, but that an error crept into the postulation by writing "Johannes Smith" for "Michael Smith." Then the dispensation, or rather a document, *Perinde valere*, will arrive in due course, giving the ordinary or his delegate power to execute the original Rescript—*ac si in eo nullus error virepserit*. Telegrams asking correction, even of one word, will not be received by the Roman Congregations.¹

The law and the custom and the requirements of the *stylus curiae* are to be observed, not only when asking a dispensation from Propaganda, but also when asking it from a bishop as delegate of the Holy See; so that, in writing to any delegated authority for a dispensation *in foro externo*, the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the petitioners are to be clearly written down; and if an error occurs in either one or the other—provided, of course, it is not an error of a letter or syllable, as Bernardus for Bernardinus—a petition must be framed *de novo*, giving the names correctly.

J. CROWE.

THE ALBIGENSES

OF the many heresies that arose in the Western Church during the Middle Ages, none was so mysterious in origin, steady in progress, widely disseminated, dangerous in effect, and tenacious of existence, as the Albigensian. Unlike all other errors of the period, this, for full two hundred years, maintained itself, despite saintly preaching, public disputation, conciliar decree, papal ban, imperial proscription, repeated crusades—in short, all known and hitherto effective means of repression: striking, now in secret, now in the open, at the very root of Christian doctrine and Christian morality, and necessitating for final extirpation new methods of procedure that have entailed no stinted measure of unmerited obloquy on the Church. Viewed in broad outline—for in a sketch like the present

¹ *Feijé*, page 691.

much detail has to be omitted¹—the data respecting the rise, operation and continuance of the sect exemplify, to restrict ourselves to two comprehensive aspects, the baleful activity of secret societies, on one hand; and, on the other, the evils that accrue to private and public life from the neglect of those entrusted with the spiritual direction of the people.

The Albigeuse was a territory embracing the Languedoc counties, of which Albi, on the Tarn, and Carcassonne, on the Aude, were respective chief towns: comprising the modern departments of Tarn and Aude. The mediæval adherents of Western Manicheism were at first identified by description. In process of time, owing to various causes, divers names (some of which we shall have occasion to explain) were employed to designate them in different localities. About the middle of the twelfth century, the sectaries attained perfection in number and organization within the area just described; whence, by normal linguistic usage, the term *Albigenses* came to be applied by prolepsis as a generic appellation.

To adequately understand the doctrine and rise of the Albigenses, the fundamental tenets and some salient points of the history of the Manichees have to be premised. Manicheism chiefly turned upon the origin of evil. A being of infinite goodness, God could not have created what was bad. An evil spirit must accordingly have originated evil. These two principles, in nature opposite and mutually hostile, were authors, the one of the soul, the other of the body. Amongst the consequences of this distinction was rejection of the Old Testament (as ascribing creation of all things to God); of the Incarnation (Christ, Son of the good God, could assume nought but a phantom body); of the sacraments (especially of matrimony, which perpetuated union of soul and body); finally, of the use of flesh and whatever comes therefrom, such as milk.

Of these practices, some were sought to be justified by

¹ *E.g.*, the preaching of St. Bernard in Aquitaine and Languedoc. According to a thesis lately propounded (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, liv. 1., Jan. 1894), the Albigensian was not the heresy combated by the saint. With this I hope to deal in due time.

the example of the Church, wherein many embraced continence, and denied themselves certain articles of diet. But the difference is obvious between abstaining through motives of perfection, and abstinence because of inherent evil in the things avoided. Furthermore, to elevate continence at the expense of matrimony, is at once to arraign the Creator, and give free rein to the passions in allowing them no licit outlet. The natural sequence ensued : they who denied themselves wedlock allowed themselves everything beside. The secret impurities of the Manichees excited, perhaps, more detestation than their sacrilegious abuse of the Eucharist.

Secondly, Manicheism, in imitation of the Church, was organized as a hierarchy ; with the radical divergence, that it was constituted a secret society. A noted characteristic was their dissimulation ; one of the maxims of the sect has been preserved by St. Augustine—*Swear, forswear, but the secret betray not—jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli*. Hence, the better to win proselytes, they engaged in all Catholic devotions, even to partaking of Communion under both species, despite their professed objection to wine, and their dictum that Christ had no actual body and blood. Finally, to enhance their vaunted virtue, they held that sacraments were void of effect in the hands of sinful ministers. He who has lost the Holy Ghost, this was the reason alleged, cannot confer His grace.

Passing over the early history of the Manichees down to their suppression in the Western Roman Empire, we find them, mainly owing to remoteness from the seat of government, surviving in Armenia, under the name of Paulicians (so called either from a leader, Paul, or their known predilection for the Apostle). In 752, Constantine V. had them transported in considerable numbers to Thrace. Those left behind maintained themselves with varying fortune against the Byzantine Emperors, until 871, when their leader, Carbeas, was slain. In his time, Basil the Macedonian sent to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. During his stay, the envoy, Paul the Sicilian, became acquainted with the religious system of the Paulicians. He likewise learned

that they had resolved to send preachers to corrupt the newly-converted Bulgarians. To frustrate the design, he wrote an extant account of the Paulicians, addressed to the Archbishop of Bulgaria. Whether imported directly from Armenia, or, what seems more likely, from adjacent Thrace, certain it is the heresy struck deep root, and flourished in Bulgaria to the first quarter of the twelfth century. Hence arose the titles *Bulgarians* and *Bogomoli* (*pitied by God*) to designate the local Paulicians.

We have now to outline the tenets and observances of the Aibigenses. Some held an absolute dualism (two original essences and two corresponding creations); others, a relative (in which the evil principle was a spirit fallen away from God). Both schools (if the term can be applied to fanatics professing drivel of the kind) deduced the visible world not from the good God, but from the bad essence, the author of the Old Testament, the prince of this world. Proofs of dualism they affected to find in Scripture passages relative to opposition between flesh and spirit, world and God; in the words (John viii. 44) that the devil stood not in truth, and was the father of lies; lastly, in the partial perfection, and partial corruption of the natural faculties.

The prince of darkness, they continued, led a third of the heavenly spirits to their fall. Thereby they came into material bodies, and were brought to sin, which likewise arose from matter. The liberation of these imprisoned spirits being necessary, it was effected by Christ, the son of God, who came on earth in a heavenly body; passed through the ear of Mary, an angel in female shape; underwent apparent death after apparent suffering; then returned to heaven. Here again, such are the whimsical vagaries of error, some refused to admit a historical, but acknowledged an ideal Christ, who was never in the world, save spiritually, namely, in the body of St. Paul.

The Creation, Incarnation, Resurrection and personal immortality were all rejected as folly. The last end was to be reunion of the freed souls with the bodies and guardian spirits left behind in heaven, with both of which they had been created and united. With regard to the Trinity, the

Son was subordinate to the Father; the Holy Ghost (called the Chief Spirit), to the Son. For all this, they appealed chiefly to apocryphal writings of Isaiah and St. John. In place of miracles, which were denied, reference was made to the numerous conversions to the sect.

Abstinence from the evil matter and, consequently, from possession of worldly goods; from war and killing; from the use of animal food; and, in a special manner, from marriage (the perpetuation of the incarceration of souls)—such in substance was the Albigensian code. Like the Manichean, however, the morality was purely external. Moreover, the precepts bound only the *Perfect*, the highest class who had received the *Consolation*, or Spiritual Baptism. To this ceremony, in opposition to infant and water baptism, was ascribed liberation from the power of matter and Satan. It was conferred after three days' fast and penitence by imposition of hands, and recital of the Lord's Prayer. The *Perfect* wore a distinctive cincture, and were thence denominated *Clothed* (*Vestiti*). They were expected to eat nothing but fish and fruit, and to live, apart from their families, in voluntary poverty.

Of such, however, the number was by comparison very restricted: the bulk was composed of *Believers*. These lived in the world, and were free to marry, possess property and engage in war. They were bound to supply the needs of the *Perfect*; receive the *Consolation* before death; and meanwhile, if need be, the *Preparation* (hereinafter described). Their lives thus passed unchecked by any effective moral restraint; all was atoned for by the *Consolation* at the end. Of the sick who recovered after this initiation, some, lest they should sin again, chose, or were forced, to starve; others took poison; more suffered martyrdom by revealing themselves and being put to death. Thus the sect had confessors and martyrs.

In the third place were the *Beginners*; otherwise called *Hearers*, or *Catechumens*: the last two names being clearly taken from the Church. Naturally, the superiors were selected from the *Perfect*. They formed a hierarchy corresponding to that of the Manichees. There was a bishop,

with two vicars (the *filius major*, who regularly succeeded, and the *filius minor*) and twelve deacons. He was itinerant within an assigned district, preaching and imparting the *Preparation* and *Consolation*. A Council of *Masters*, seventy-two in number, likewise existed. We even find amongst them a pope and (as was to be expected) an anti-pope.

All rights and practices of the Church, the Sacraments in particular, were stigmatized as frauds and lies. Baptism and Penance were replaced by the *Consolation*. Meanwhile, the *Preparation* was administered monthly to believers who were public delinquents. Grievous sinners, namely, made particular; the less guilty, general, confession to the bishop. The absolution formula was preceded by placing the New Testament on the head of the penitent, and pronouncing the *Pater Noster*.

With respect to the Eucharist, the words of Institution, according to them, either referred to Christ's own body, or were used in figure (*is = signifies*); John vi. 64 ("the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life") denoted that the true body of Christ was His word. Whoever took food as a member of Christ, had it changed into the body and blood of Christ. Accordingly, at their meals, they blessed the *Bread of Holy Prayer* by reciting Our Father, and distributed it to those of their belief who were present.

Service was held in any safe place: without vestments, pictures, or crucifix. It began with a lection from the New Testament; then followed a sermon, terminated with a blessing; thereafter came benison of bread (but not of wine) by the *Pater Noster*; lastly, a second benediction. Of the bread, those present each received portion, whereof some was consumed, the rest carried home. The better to serve concealment, Sundays and holidays were observed by attendance (where absence might be noticed) at the Catholic services. Pentecost was their anniversary.

To combat the Church with her own alleged weapons, lying, dissimulation and deception were an integral item of conduct. Under outward austerity, abominations were practised in secret. With untiring zeal, and all the more

confident from being known to each other by occult signs and pass-words, they disseminated their tenets: attending fairs, joining in religious and secular festivities, and introducing themselves, often at risk of life, into Catholic families. One of the most potent methods of propaganda was to discredit the clergy by pointing to their lax lives, and thereby insinuating, with fatal effect, that the system of which they were exponents was a device of the evil one.

In addition, they were mutually hospitable; relieved their poor and tended their sick. They likewise reared gratuitously the children of reduced respectable parents, and sent promising youths to the University of Paris; a course which tends to explain how they gained over considerable part of the nobility of Southern France. In the words of Innocent III., more guileful and more dangerous than the Saracens, they became a menace to all order, all Christianity; a pest, in short, of human society.

That the tissue of errors here outlined was developed from Manicheism, we have, apart from the identity of the fundamental principles of both, conclusive internal evidence in two of the names. Greek and geography were not so diffused at the time in the West as to allow us to assign any but a traditional origin to *Cathari* (*καθαροί*, *pure*) and *Bulgarians*. Were it even otherwise, *Pipples* (gluttons) and *Tesserants* (weavers)—respectively used in Flanders and France—seem decisive respecting the popular disposition to bestow designations of distinction on the sectaries.¹ Nor is direct evidence wanting. An ancient Latin author, quoted by Bossuet,² states that when the heresy of the Bulgarians began to multiply in Lombardy, they had as bishop one Mark, who had received his Order in Bulgaria. But there came from Constantinople to Lombardy another pope, named Nicetas, who impugned the Order of Bulgaria (*i.e.*, called Mark an anti-pope). Thence, the author

¹ In an essay of a dull diffuseness rare in French periodicals (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1874), an alternative hypothesis is propounded, namely, that the heresy was indigenous in France! Some of the other conclusions are equally original and valuable; for instance, the Albigensian was a higher spirituality than the Catholic; Raymond of Toulouse, a hero.

² *Hist. Var.*, etc., secc. 24-5, from Vignier's *Recueil*.

continues, it spread to the other provinces, where it was in great vogue, notably in Languedoc, Toulouse, and Gascony. Whence, in addition to Bulgarians, they were named Albigenses. Furthermore, Matthew of Paris, in his History of Henry III. of England, mentions that in 1223 the Albigensian heretics made them a pope on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, who, being invited by the bishop of the sect at Carcassonne, shortly after took up his residence near that town.

In Italy, they were called Patarenes, from Patarea, a place in the Milanese. The equivalence of Paterenes and Albigenses is attested by remarkable proof. When, to culminate his crimes against the Church, Philip the Fair of France caused Boniface VIII. to be seized (in his eighty-fourth year, Sept. 7, 1303) at Anagni—Dante's scathing denunciation¹ will recur to mind—by his agent, William of Nogaret (whose grandfather was convicted as an Albigenser), the heroic old pontiff, whose self-possession never failed him, declared that he was ready to suffer everything for the freedom of the Church, even condemnation through Patarenes.

From Italy, as we have seen, the virus was diffused into France. *Dux femina facti*. In 1017, an Italian woman settled at Orleans, and succeeded in perverting some among the more learned of the clergy.² Two of these (*heu! pro pudor*, the chronicler interjects) became the most active propagators. For five years they worked covertly. Detected at last, and questioned in a Council held at Orleans, in 1022,

¹ Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l'aceto e'l fele,
E tra nuovi ladroni esser anciso.
Veggio 'l nuovo Pilato si crudele,
Che cio nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
O Signor mio, quando saro io lieto
A veder la vendetta, che nascosa
Fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo segreto?

(*Purg. xx.*, 86–99.)

² "Qui videbantur doctiores in clericorum ordine." Glaber Radulp. *Hist. iii.* 8 (Bouquet, *Recueil des Hist. des Gaulles*, x. 35).

they denied the Creation, Trinity, Incarnation, Passion, Burial, and Resurrection; rejected Baptism, Eucharist and Invocation of Saints; regarded good works as superfluous, and sensuality as innocuous. They had, it was proved, initiation by imposition of hands, and held nocturnal assemblies, whereat indiscriminate sexual intercourse took place. Thereupon, thirteen of the heretics, including ten Regular Canons, proving obstinate, were, after long inquiry, condemned and burned. One priest and one nun recanted.

In 1018, Manichees arose in Aquitaine, seducing the people, denying Baptism and the power of the Cross, abstaining from meats like monks, making a show of chastity, but practising every kind of debauchery among themselves.¹ To check their progress, a synod was held at Charoux, by the reigning Duke in 1027. About 1022 they were found in Toulouse.

To come to Northern France, in 1025, the Bishop of Cambrai discovered heretics arrived from Italy at Arras. Of their errors, which were formulated under seventeen heads, it will suffice to mention rejection of Baptism, Eucharist, Penance, Orders, and Matrimony. In a synod, the bishop convinced them and got them to retract. He then wrote to the Bishop of Liège, exhorting him to check the spread of the heresy in that diocese. At Chalons, about the middle of the century, Manichees were detected going among the country-people, condemning marriage and the use of flesh meat. A peasant named Lothaire went through the outlying parts on the Marne, destroying crucifixes, and finally committed suicide to ensure salvation. A synod at Rheims, in 1049, excommunicated the sectaries and all who should employ or protect them.

In West Germany, Cathari made their appearance in Swabia, in 1052. Many of them were consigned to the gallows by the Emperor, Henry III. Owing, doubtless, to these vigorous measures, the sect is lost sight of during the remainder of the century. With what ceaseless activity they worked in that interval, the sequel will show. During the

¹ "Castitatem simulantes, sed inter seipsos luxuriam omnem exercentes." Ademan. Caban., Chron. (Bouquet, *ut sup.* x. 154).

first half of the twelfth century they suddenly reappeared, organized in alarming numbers, in the east and south of France, especially Aquitaine, Gascony, and Languedoc. Henceforth the Albigese became the focus. Accordingly a synod at Rheims (1148) forbade maintenance and protection of the numerous heretics through Gascony and Provence. Another, at Tours (1163), directed the clergy of the provinces infested by Albigenses to inhibit intercourse with them, and invoked Catholic rulers to visit them with imprisonment and confiscation. Soon after (1165), Cathari were unmasked at Lombers, a town near Toulouse, and condemned in a council held at the same place (of which more anon).¹

Whether owing to remissness or opposition, these measures utterly failed of effect. As if to emphasize the fact, two years later, the Albigenian Pope, Nicetas (a Greek, judging from the name), held a council at St. Felix, in the last-named neighbourhood, where he consecrated bishops (by the *Consolation*), and appointed persons to define the limits of their dioceses. Thenceforward the Albigenses acted as a public body. The third Lateran Council (1179) anathematized (can. 27) the heretics named Cathari, Publicans, Patarenes, or otherwise, who spread their error publicly in Gascony, the Albigese, and elsewhere. Those defending, receiving, keeping them in house or land, or trading with them, were included in the sentence. Meanwhile the localities named were the theatre of extreme disorders. Robber-bands marched in military array, plundering the country, burning churches, violating females, trampling the Host, and murdering the inhabitants. The nobility who were gained over enrolled the marauders under their banners, and threatened the Catholics with fire and sword. Events having proved that the menace was not likely to remain idle, the Papal Legate, Henry, formerly Abbot of Clairvaux, created cardinal in the last Council, led a crusade (1180) against Roger II., Viscount of Carcassonne

¹ For the manner in which they were dealt with on their first (and last) appearance in England (1166), see Lingard, *H. E.*, ii. 113-114. For disproof of the ignorant or malicious statement of Milman (*Hist. Lat. Chris.*, v. 390), in reference to their punishment, that "fires were kindled, and heretics burned in Oxford," see Hoveden, *Rolls* ed. lvi.

and Beziers, by whom the Bishop of Albi had been captured and retained prisoner. Many, in consequence, made outward submission; but, with the duplicity of the sect, relapsed after departure of the expedition; nay more, they penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, where seven thousand of them were slain by the royal forces at Bourges (1183).

The spread of the evil during the ensuing decade appears in the severity of the enactments¹ made by Lucius III., with assent of Frederick I. of Germany (1184), against Cathari, Patarenes, and others named. A clergyman or religious notoriously convicted was, failing public abjuration and due satisfaction, to be degraded and handed up to the secular power—a decree of sinister import, as denoting the extent of the gangrene; a layman, in the same circumstances, was to be punished by the secular judge, according to his offence. Suspects were to clear themselves at the bishop's command, under the same penalty; the relapsed to be given over to the secular authorities without further hearing, and their goods confiscated to Church uses. The excommunication was to be published on the chief festivals; archbishops and bishops failing or dilatory therein were to be suspended for three years. The archbishop or bishop was once or twice a year to visit, in person, or by the archdeacon or other fit persons, the parish in which heretics were reported to dwell, and cause two or three of good credit, or, if need be, the whole neighbourhood, to swear to reveal heretics, those who frequented secret meetings, or differed in life from the common. Such were to be cited before the visitors; and if they did not clear themselves, or if they had relapsed after purgation, to be punished at the bishop's discretion; their refusal to swear to be tantamount to conviction of heresy. All earls, barons, governors, and prefects of cities were to make oath, on pain of deprivation, anathema, and confiscation, to aid the Church authorities.

Administered with normal diligence, the foregoing could scarce fail to prove an effective barrier; but the ever-increasing number of nobles and towns that fell away in Southern France amply demonstrate that the enactments

¹ Decretal V., *Ad abolendam*, 7, vii. *de hereticis*.

were in great part suffered to remain a dead letter. With the advent of a new Pope (1198), the prospect changed. Deeply versed in theology and canon law, virtuous, zealous, prudent, intimately acquainted with prevalent abuses, Innocent III. laboured with conspicuous success to reform. In addition, what was almost of equal necessity, his training and experience in the Curia made him a match for the tortuous diplomacy of the time. Such was the Pontiff that arose to initiate and direct the measures that resulted in extirpating the heresy. A mind less observant might have discerned that the struggle was become one of life and death; to have turned the contest to the triumph of the Church remains the enduring encomium of Innocent. Immediately after his accession he directed his energies to that end. The local clergy, both bishops and priests, had fallen into disrepute, and were consequently useless in the present circumstances. Accordingly, two Papal Legates were sent into the disturbed districts. They were instructed to win back the heretics, first, by reasoning; failing this, by excommunication; in cases of contumacy, to call on the secular power to inflict confiscation and banishment. The following year Innocent had to contend with the same foes on Italian soil, where they suddenly appeared, and murdered the Papal Governor at Viterbo.

Again, in 1200, he sent a fresh delegation—a cardinal and two Cistercians. They remained until 1208. But all their conferences, disputations, sermons, even the zeal of Bishop Diego of Osma and his companion, St. Dominic (both joined the delegates in 1208), and the austere manner of life of the five workers effected no appreciable result. The reigning Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI., deceived them by frequent interviews, thereby gaining time, during which he levelled churches and cloisters, and persecuted the Catholics. His treachery culminated in the assassination of one of the legates, Peter of Castelnau, in 1208. Thereupon Innocent placed him under anathema, and called on the suzerain, the French King, to make war on him. But the Tolosan, with characteristic craft, extricated himself from the peril. He made oath to make plenary satisfaction,

and was accordingly absolved by the new Legate, in June, 1209. Delaying, however, to fulfil the conditions, and reminded in vain by the Pope of his obligation, he was once more excommunicated and his territory laid under interdict, in a synod convened at Avignon, by Papal order, in the September of that year. Again the Count appealed to the Pontiff, and again was successful. The time was extended and negotiations were protracted for two years, when, at length, having secured the aid of his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon, Raymond threw off the mask, and set Innocent at defiance (1211).

But astuteness had overreached itself. Whilst the Count was procrastinating, the Pope sent a crusade, under the famous Simon de Montfort (who had returned from the Holy Land), and humbled the heretics of Carcassonne and Beziers (1209). The rupture consequently found him fully prepared. The Papal ban was finally fulminated, and another crusade, under the same great captain, poured into Tolosan territory. Raymond was defeated; his Aragonese ally slain; Toulouse captured. Unfortunately, the bulk of the force were Brabanters. These banditti, suffice it to say, were, with their patrons, condemned by the third Council of Lateran, in the same canon (27) as the Cathari. Their goods were to be confiscated; their persons enslaved; their extirpators to rank as Crusaders. They spared not, the canon says, either churches or monasteries, widows or orphans, age or sex. True to their character, in the present campaign they inflicted atrocities alike on friends and foes. *Tros Tyriusve* was their principle. Innocent, as was to be expected, did not fail to reprobate their excesses in severe terms. He did more: with a generosity that was lost upon Raymond, when the Synod of Montpellier granted part of the conquered fief to the victor (1215), the Pontiff refused his sanction, referring the matter to the approaching Council of Lateran; adjudged her goods to his wife; the remaining patrimony to his son.

The fourth Council of Lateran¹ (1215) renewed² the enact-

¹ For the Irish bishops present, see *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1216.

² V. c. *Excommunicamus*, 13, vii. *de hereticis*.

ments of Lucius III. against the Albigenses. After the death of Innocent (1216), the war was renewed by Raymond. But the issue, though it might be delayed, had been placed beyond jeopardy by the far-reaching foresight of the pontiff in committing the French kings to the struggle. De Montfort lost, retook, and again lost Toulouse. In the third siege, he fell heroically before the walls of the city (1217). Raymond died of apoplexy (1222) and was succeeded by his son, the seventh of the name, who received back part of the patrimony, including the capital.

On his accession (1223), Louis VIII. was called on by Honorius III. to prosecute the war. Terrified thereat, Raymond submitted to the Pope in a synod at Montpellier (1224). But, failing to execute the terms, he was excommunicated by the legate in a synod at Paris (1226), and Louis led the crusade with success until his death the same year. At request of Gregory IX., operations were continued under the minority of St. Louis; and finally, Raymond, through mediation of the legate, made his submission (1228). Amongst the conditions were to banish the heretics and restore ruined churches. But the most noteworthy was to establish a foundation for Theology, Decretals, Arts, and Grammar in his capital. Thus arose the university of Toulouse, which was incorporated by Gregory in 1233. The Albigease was ceded to Louis, who, to regulate its church affairs, immediately issued an edict¹ whereof four of the ten clauses (II.-V.) relate to the suppression of the heresy. In 1229, a Toulouse synod formulated the Inquisition. The Count (who attended with the papal legate) promulgated the decree within his territory, in 1233. Herewith the Albigenses disappear from general history, to figure in the records of the Inquisition.

In 1178, Henry II. of England and Louis VII. of France sent a cardinal, two archbishops, two bishops, and an abbot to Toulouse, with a commission to convert or convict the

¹ Well known as making first mention (Art. I.) of the Gallican Liberties. But from the purport of the edict, the privileges in question emanated, it is clear, from the civil, not the spiritual, power. The Albigensian Church was granted the secular immunities accorded to the Church within the royal dominions.

heretics. The proceedings¹ revealed fresh facts of startling import. Brought in presence under safe-conduct and questioned on various heads (including two creative essences, validity of sinful sacramental administration, and lawfulness of marriage) on which they were reported to have held erroneously, the sectaries not alone made a Catholic profession, but denied they had ever taught otherwise. The disclaimer was too much for the Count of Toulouse and other persons, cleric and lay, present, who straightaway deposed to the truth of all the charges. Thus ignominiously detected, the heretics refused to retract and were excommunicated.

Here then was an evil without precedent—secret, treacherous, contumacious: obviously not to be overcome by perfunctory discharge of the episcopal duty of repressing heresy. To oppose it with success in detail, the *Ad abolendam* was promulgated, and became the basis of the Inquisition. The Toulouse Synod of 1229, owing probably to their remissness, tacitly exempted bishops, and directed them to put measures substantially the same as those of Lucius III. into effect. In 1233, Gregory IX. delegated the exclusive execution to the newly-founded Order of St. Dominic. With regard to the Inquisition, suffice it that, passing over enactments of kindred nature, had the celebrated Decretal, *Qualiter et quando*,² of Innocent III. relative to *Accusations* been loyally carried out, the guilty had been eliminated without the innocent being involved. How the measure passed from control of the Curia, the limit does not permit to set forth. The result has been a *damnosa hereditas* of misrepresentation and odium.

With respect to the extraordinary vitality of Manicheism through so many ages, it will be sufficient to direct attention to the nine concluding sections (201-9) of Bossuet's *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, where the Patristic application of 1 Tim. iv. 1-5 to the sect is set forth and prosecuted to the time of the Reformers. Of

¹ Hoveden, ii. 156, *sq.*

² V. c. 24, i. *De accusationibus, inquis. et denunt.*

more importance is it to indicate the chief causes assignable to the proportions attained by the Albigenses. These were evil example and neglect of preaching on the part of the clergy.

That the two first adherents in France were of some repute for learning, and that the canons burned at Orleans in 1022, laughed amidst the flames,¹ could scarce fail to be handed down and appealed to in support of the contention that the priesthood was a fraud. Furthermore, of the coercive legislation relative to clerical life, many enactments² were passed during the time the Albigenses were in their zenith. That the data necessitating these decrees were in great part supplied from the area most infected with the heresy, appears from a contemporary relation. When Diego and Dominic met them at Montpellier (1206), the papal legates were determined to resign, having had little or no success in preaching. For, as often as they proposed to preach, the heretics objected to them the evil lives of the clergy; and, thus, unless they were willing to reform the lives of the clergy, they should desist from preaching.³

It is, no doubt, a truism that, although the person executes the office, the official and function are separable in notion; and, thus, the unworthiness of the agent cannot invalidate the commission. But reasoning of the kind is not readily realized by the popular mind. Ignorance prompted by malice usually passes the censure from the man to the mandate. *Facilis decensus*: the lapse is easy and well-nigh inevitable to a seared conscience, and the consequent excesses.

To some extent, as the Albigenses were wont to attend Catholic services, these evils might have been counteracted,

¹ Ademar. Bouquet, *ubi sup.* 164.

² Decretal. III. tit. ii. (*de cohab. clericor. et mulier.*), iv. (*de cler. non resid.*); V. iii. (*de simonia*), xiv.. xxvii.-xxx.

³ "Injunctae sibi legationi prae tudio renuntiare volentes, eo quod nihil aut parum hereticis praedicando proficere potuissent. Quotiescunque enim vellent ipsis hereticis praedicare, objiciebant eis heretici conversationem pessimam clericorum et ita, nisi vellent clericorum vitam corrigere, oporteret eos a praedicatione desistere." Petri Val. Sar. c. iii. (Bouquet, *ubi sup.* 7.)

if not obviated, by public instruction. But to what extent preaching was superseded, appears in two typical instances. In the Council of Lombers (1165), the Bishop of Albi presided, and delegated the Bishop of Lodeve to confute the heretics out of the New Testament, which alone they admitted. This he did, quoting respectively 11, 8, 11, 23, 10, 17, and 6 texts to prove—(a) reception of the Old Testament; (b) necessity of professing faith; (c) baptism; (d) validity of unworthy sacramental administration; (e) marriage; (f) heresy in disobeying the Church; and (g) lawfulness of making oath.¹ The enunciation of these six and eighty testimonies with the connecting commentary must have been a tedious, not to say soporific, process. Passing over this, the instruction, it has to be noted, is as moonshine unto sunshine by comparison, for instance, with that of Bishop Hay. The conclusion will, doubtless, have been anticipated: the articles in question are so demonstrable to the rudest capacity, that, had proof been seasonably brought within vulgar ken, they had never been publicly impugned.

Things, notwithstanding, were suffered to drift in the same dreary direction. Before the Toulouse Commission (1178), the heretics refused to swear on principle, in crass ignorance that they had already sworn in the attesting clause of their profession: "In the truth, which is God, we thus believe, and say this is our faith."²

Would, in fine, that the lessons of the Albigensian heresy had been duly taken to heart! How far it was otherwise, stands out with painful vividness in the convulsions that rent the Church two centuries later.

S'io dico ver, l'effetto nol nasconde.

B. MACCARTHY.

¹ Hoveden, ii. 108, 87.

² Hoveden, ii. 159.

THE IRISH MONASTERIES OF RATISBON

THE corporation of Irish monasteries in Germany that owed its origin to the blessed Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon, is well worthy of attention, not only on account of the great influence it exercised on the religious and artistic history of Germany, but also on account of the rapidity of its development and the extensive proportions which it attained. From the great foundation of St. James at Ratisbon (1090), branches were established in 1136 at Würzburg, in 1142 at Vienna, in 1160 at Memmingen, in 1166 at Constance, in 1172 at Nüremburg, in 1194 at Eichstatt, and at some intermediate or approximate periods at Erfurt in Saxony, at Oels in Silesia, and at Kehlheim in Bavaria. Other smaller foundations were also made; so that when the Abbot of St. James's attended the Council of Lateran, in 1213, and obtained from Pope Innocent III. the acknowledgment of his brotherhood as a religious union or congregation exempt from episcopal control and directly subject to the Holy See, he could count at least fifteen well-established, and flourishing houses, all acknowledging him as their ruler and head. The founder of the original house at Ratisbon, from which all these establishments emanated and grew was Marianus Scotus, an Irish monk, who should be carefully distinguished from his illustrious namesake "Marianus the Chronicler," who died at Mayence in 1082. Both were, we believe, natives of Tyrconnell in Ulster. They were practically contemporaries, and had both emigrated to Germany, each on a mission of his own. The Irish name of Marianus of Ratisbon, was Muiredach MacRobertagh,¹ a name which still flourishes in a modern disguise in the county Donegal. We are indebted to a manuscript composed by an Irish monk of Ratisbon, and happily preserved in the Carthusian monastery of Gaming, in Lower Austria, for the most detailed account of the life of Marianus. In this and other less complete biographies we find the

¹ See paper by the late Bishop Reeves, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., pp. 292, 293.

substance of the following facts relating to the saint.¹ Marianus Scotus, who is described by the chronicler as having been very handsome in appearance and most attractive in his manners,² was carefully instructed whilst still young, in sacred and secular literature. In due course he assumed the monastic habit, and prepared for the expedition which was evidently the ambition of his life. In the year 1067 he left Ireland for ever, accompanied, according to some, by two companions, Joannes and Candidus; and according to others, by seven, viz., Johannes, Candidus, Donatus, Dominus, Mordacus, Isaac, and Magnaldus.³

Their chief object on setting out was to make a pilgrimage to Rome, breaking their journey, as was the custom, at the hospitable monasteries on the way. On this errand, they reached Ratisbon, where they were first received by Otto, the Bishop, who had been formerly a Canon of Bamberg,⁴ and who received them into the Benedictine Order, and gave them the clerical habit of that great brotherhood. After a short sojourn at the monastery of St. Michelsberg, they were allowed by their superiors to proceed on their way. Arriving at Ratisbon for the second time, they met with a friendly reception from Emma, the Abbess of the Convent of Obermünster, who employed Marianus in the transcription of some books. A cell was arranged for him at the Niedermünster, in which he diligently carried on his writing, his companions preparing the parchment for his

¹ See *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., tom. ii., "Vita S. Mariani."

² "Deinde post discessum tantorum virorum, parum ante tempora pii Imperatoris Henrici, de finibus Hiberniae supradictae venit quidem vir Sanctus et simplex Marianus nomine, decore vultu, crine nitenti, et ultra communem valentiam hominum; forma erat speciosus, divinis et humanis literis erat praeditus et eloquentia ita ut Spiritum Sanctum per inhabitantem gratiam in eo esse nemo etiam videns dubitaret."

³ Aventinus, in his great work, *Annalium Boiorum*, lib. viii., says:—"Divus Marianus Scotus, poeta et theologia insignis nullique sui saeculi secundus, cum compluribus suis Joanne et Candido, Clemente, Donato, Murcheridacho, Magnaldo atque Stacio, qui centum vixit annis, in Germaniam venit, &c." The names of all these are also found in the *Necrologium* of St. James, and they are inscribed, each in turn, as "socius" or "ex sociis" Sancti Mariani.

⁴ He is called by some, Bishop of Bamberg. See Lanigan's note in his *Ecccl. History*, vol. iv., p. 3.

use. Before resuming his journey southwards, he resolved to pay a visit to an Irish recluse named Murchertach, who lived the life of a hermit in the immediate neighbourhood. Murchertach¹ had left Ireland long before Marianus, and had now spent many years in the practice of the most austere penances.

On this account, Marianus was deeply impressed when the hermit urged him to submit to the guidance of Heaven as to whether he should continue his journey to Rome, or settle at once and for ever in Germany. He passed the night in considerable anxiety in Murchertach's cell, and in the hours of darkness it was intimated to him that where on the next day he should behold the rising sun, there he should remain and fix his abode. Starting early on the following morning, he entered the Church of St. Peter outside the walls of the city, to implore the blessing of heaven on his journey. On coming forth, he beheld the sun stealing above the distant horizon. "Here, then," he said, "I shall rest, and here shall be my resurrection." His resolution was hailed with joy by the people. Emma,² the

¹ *St. Merchardach und St. Marian und die Anfänge der Schottenklöster zu Regensburg*, von Hugo Graf von Walderdorff. Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins zu Regensburg. Band 34, an. 1879. In after years a chapel was built in memory of this holy man, the demensions and the remains of which are thus described by a learned native archæologist, Count Hugo von Walderdorff: "Die Merchardach's Capelle welche eine eigene absis hat scheint im Grundbaue im 13 Jahrhundert angelegt worden zu sein, während sie im 14 Jahrhundert ein Gothisches Gewölbe erhielt, von welchem jedoch nur mehr vor Säulen in den vier Ecken Zeugniss geben. . . . Hier nun in der Nördlichen Mauer ist der Grabstein St. Merchardach's, dessen Abbildung hieneben steht eingemauert. Derselbe dürfte wohl früh aus dem 13 Jahrhundert stammen. Er ist 6' hoch und 2' breit und zeigt das bild des Heiligen nur in derb eingemeisselten Contouren, die mit schwartzer Masse eingelassen sind. Derselbe erscheint als bärtiger Pilger mit einer Pilgerstabe (cambutta) in der hand und einer Wasserflasche oder Pilgertasche an der Seite, ganz wie uns die alten Irischen Pilger geschildert werden. Seinen Kopf umgibt ein Heiligen-Schein. Oben ist in uncialen engravén.

S. MERCHERTACH."

² She is spoken of in the *Necrologium* of St. James as:—"Domina Emma, Abbatissa monasterii superioris Ord. Sancti Benedicti, quae S. Marianum cum sociis hospitio excepit atque ad Divi Petri consecratum extra muros urbis considerare jussit;" and her successor, "Willa Abbatissa Religiosa in superiori monasterio quae post Hemmam S. Mariano et sociis multa beneficia praestitit."

Abbeſs of Obermunſter, granted him the Church of St. Peter, for the uſe of himſelf and his brethren; and a wealthy citizen of Ratisbon, named Bezelin, built for them, at his own expenſe, a ſmall monaſtery, which the Emperor Henry IV. ſoon after took under his protection, at the ſolicitation of the Abbeſs Hazecha.

The fame of Marianus and the news of his proſperity ſoon reached Ireland, and numbers of his countrymen haſtened to join him.¹ They were chiefly from the province of Ulſter like Marianus himſelf. They became ſo numerous that it was found neceſſary, in 1090, to build another monaſtery to receive them. This was called the monaſtery of St. James, and it became in the courſe of years one of the richeſt eſtabliſhments of the kind in Europe. Of Marianus the founder, little further is recorded except his great ſkill and induſtry as a ſcribe:—

“ Such [ſays his biographer] was the grace of writing which Providence beſtowed on the bleſſed Marianus, that he wrote many lengthy volumes both in the upper and lower monaſteries. For, to tell the truth, without any colouring of language, among all the acts which divine Providence deigned to perform through this wonderful man, I deem this moſt worthy of praiſe and admiration, that the holy man wrote from beginning to end with his own hand the Old and New Teſtament with explanatory comments on the books; and *that* not once or twice, but over and over again, with a view to an eternal reward, all the while clad in ſorry garb and living on ſlender diet. Beſides, he alſo wrote many ſmaller books and manual pſalters for diſtreſſed widows and poor clerics of the city, towards the health of his ſoul, without any proſpect of earthly gain. Furthermore, through the mercy of God, many congregations of the monaſtic order which in faith and charity and imitation of the bleſſed Marianus, have come from the aforeſaid Ireland, and inhabit Bavaria and Franconia, are ſuſtained by the writings of the bleſſed Marianus.”²

¹ “Sed dum clauſtrum idem fuerat initiatum ſic fama volans ejusdem loci per ora hinc inde peregrinorum limina diverſiſſima requirentium, primo ad aquilonates partes Hyberniae unde vir Sanctus oriundus erat parlata fuiſſet multi ex concivibus ſuis qui pueritiam juventutemque ejusdem Deo per omnia dicatam noverant, derelictis rebus carisque propinquis, caduca prae aeternis hilari mente abjicientes; perque tot maria perque tot invia regna Chriſtum virumque Dei Marianum ſunt ſecuti.”

² Paper by Biſhop Reeves in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., page 293; alſo *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., vol. ii., page 367.

In his glosses and commentaries on the sacred text he made use of the writings¹ of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, Arnobius, St. Gregory, Fulgentius, Cassius, Leo, and Alcuin. His death is recorded on the 9th of February, 1038.

There are several manuscripts written by Marianus still extant: but the most important is the Codex in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which, as Dr. Reeves remarks, interests us not only on account of the beauty of his execution, but also as supplying the Irish name of the writer. The existence of this manuscript was revealed to the public only in 1679, when Lambecius published his famous catalogue of the Library of Vienna. It was from this catalogue that Cave, Harris, Lanigan, Oudin, and Zeuss obtained their information.

A more detailed account of the manuscript was given later on by the learned and laborious Father Denis, whom Dr. Reeves describes as "one of those highly cultivated and gifted men whom the dispersion of the old society of the Jesuits threw upon the world, and who in these circumstances was made chief librarian in Vienna in the latter part of the last century." The Codex contains all the epistles of St. Paul, according to the text of the Vulgate, and in the same order in which they are found in our Bibles, except that between the Epistle to the Colossians and those addressed to the Thessalonians, the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodicæans is introduced; not, however, without the marginal observation, "*Laodicensium epistola ab alio, sub nomine Pauli, putatur edita.*" The last folio of the

¹ "Extant Reginoburgii inferiori monasterio, Divini Davidis Hymni, cum commentariis in membranis scriptis, opus Mariani, Ejus præfationem ut fides fiat, subtexto de verbo ad verbum. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MLXXIV., Henrico juvene Imp., Machtylda Abbatisa S. Mariæ, et S. Erhardi Abbateam regente, decem novalis Cycli XI. Anno Indict XII. Marianus Scotus septimo peregrinationis suæ anno collegit modicas istas undas de profundo Sanctorum Patrum pelago, scilicet Hieronymi, Augustini, Cassiodori, Arnobii et de opusculis S. Gregorii: et pro suæ animæ salute, in honorem salvatoris Domini Nostri Jesu Christi et ejus genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariæ et S. Herhardi Confessores scripsit et in unum, librum perstrinxit." (*Annales Boiorum*, page 554).

work concludes with the words which are all written in vermillion :—

IN HONORE INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS
 MARIANUS SCOTTUS SCRIPSIT HUNC
 LIBRUM SUIS FRATRIBUS PEREGRINIS.
 ANIMA EIUS REQUIESCAT IN PACE.
 PROPTER DEUM DEVOTE DICITE. AMEN.

and between the two first lines, over "Marianus Scottus," in the same hand, is written the Irish name of the scribe, *maireadac tróig mac robarcdaig*.

But to return to the monastic foundations of Marianus, we have already seen that the first house established in connection with the Church of Weich St. Peter soon became too small to hold the numbers of Irishmen who flocked to join him in his pious retreat.¹ They accordingly purchased from the Count of Frontenhausen, for the sum of thirty pounds, a piece of ground which was situated at the opposite town gate, now called the Stadt-am-Hof. The ancient chronicle,² which was kept by an Irish monk of St. James's, gives an interesting account of the progress of the new foundation. It tells us that two Irishmen of noble birth, named Isaac and Gervase, were sent, with several other companions, by Domnus, abbot of St. Peter's, to collect funds in Ireland for the building of the new monastery. They were well received by Conchobhar O'Brien, King of Munster, and returned to Ratisbon loaded with rich presents. With the money thus brought from Ireland the site was purchased, and a good part of the new monastery erected. "Now, be it known," writes the chronicler, "that neither before nor since was there a monastery equal to this in the beauty of its towers, columns, and vaultings, erected and completed in so short a time, because the plenteousness of riches and of money bestowed by the king and princes of Ireland was almost unbounded."

¹See *Historische Nachricht von dem im Jahre 1552 demolirten Schottenkloster Weyh St. Peter's zu Regensburg*, von Thomas Ried. Regensburg, 1813.

²This chronicle is published in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., tom. ii., pp. 365-370. Although it is called the Life of Marianus, it is, in reality, a chronicle of the monastery.

Yet, notwithstanding their copiousness, the treasures sent from Ireland were soon exhausted, and Christian, abbot of St. James, a descendant of the great family of the MacCarthys, at the request of his brethren, undertook a journey to Ireland to seek the aid of Donnchadh O'Brien, the brother of Conchobhar, who was now dead. He was most successful in his mission, and was preparing to return with a large supply of gold and valuables when he fell sick and died, and was buried before St. Patrick's altar in the Cathedral of Cashel. His successor, Abbot Gregory,¹ was consecrated in Rome by Pope Adrian IV., and afterwards proceeded to Ireland, where he received the money that had been collected by Christianus, with considerable additions. With this he repaired the church, roofed it with lead, renewed its floor, and added cloisters around it,² devoting the greater portion, however, to investments, which were necessary in order to ensure the future.

Wattenbach reminds us how enterprising and successful the monks were in providing funds to carry out their building projects: ³—

“Whilst the building of the monastery of St. James was in progress, one of the monks pursued his journey, accompanied only by a boy, till he reached Kiev, then the residence of the King of Russia. Here the King and his nobles made him rich presents, so that he loaded several waggons with valuable furs, to the amount of a hundred silver marks; and arrived at home

¹ On the occasion of his interview with Pope Adrian, Gregory was asked about a certain learned Irishman, also named Marianus, who had taught the seven Liberal and other Arts in Paris, and had been the preceptor of Adrian himself. “Marianus is well,” replied Gregory, “and is now living a monk among us at Ratisbon.” “God be praised,” exclaimed the Pope; “I know not in the Catholic Church an abbot who has under him a man as excellent in wisdom, discretion, genius, eloquence, good morals, benevolence, judgment, and other divine gifts as my master, Marianus.”—(*Ratisbon Chronicle*. Translated by Dr. Reeves. *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., page 245.)

² “Hic itaque rebus gestis, clastroque libero facta ac stabilito, felix pater Christianus abbas paternos Hiberniæ fines revisens ita digno honore apud reges et principes terræ ejusdem et intantum erat acceptus quod collatis sibi argentis ducentis marcis laetus ad propria repedarit.”—(*Acta Sanctorum*, loc. cit., page 369.)

³ *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*. in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archäologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. 21-49; translated by Reeves, *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., page 244.

in safety, accompanied by some merchants of Regensburg. For at that time Russia was not so isolated as she is now; and Regensburg in particular kept up a very lively commercial intercourse with Kiev, a city whose splendour Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg, described, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in vivid colours."

It was with such treasures, aided by the privileges and exemptions conferred upon the monastery by emperors and popes, that the foundations were laid of the princely estate with which the famous "Monasterium Scottorum" of Ratisbon was ever afterwards endowed. It soon became the parent house of many flourishing colonies, always retaining authority over them, and exercising it when the occasion required. Paritius, in a work¹ from which both Wattenbach and Reeves have chiefly drawn their information, gives the fullest account which we possess to-day of its history and progress. We give below the list of abbots who ruled it, according to him, from 1070 to 1720.² The most important events of its history were the foundations of new monasteries, which took place from time to time. Before we proceed to deal with these *seriatim*, it may be as well to state briefly the vicissitudes through which St. James's passed.

¹ *Kurtzgefaßte Nachricht von allen in denen Ring-Mauern der Stadt Regensburg gelegenen Reichs-Stiftlern Haupt-Kirchen und Clöstern Catholischer Religion*, von G. H. Paritius, Regensburg, 1723, page 71.

² Marianus Scotus, the founder, 1070-1098; Dominicus, discipulus Marianus, 1098-1121; Dermitus, 1121-1133; Christian, 1133-1164; Domninus, 1164-1172; Georgius, 1172-1204; Johannes, 1205-1212; Matthaeus, 1212-1214; Georgius II., 1214-1223; Jacobus, 1223-1266; Paulinus, 1266-1279; Macrobius, 1279-1290; Matthaeus II., 1290-1293; Mauritius, 1293-1295; Marianus, 1295-1301; Donatus, 1301-1310; Johannes, 1310-1326; Nicholas, 1326-1333; Johannes, 1333-1341; Gilbert, 1341-1348; Nicholaus, 1348-1354; Eugene, 1355-1370; Matthaeus, 1370-1382; Gelatius, 1382-1383; Matthaeus, 1383-1396; Philip I., 1396-1402; Philip II., 1402-1421; Donatus, 1431-1436; Cormac, 1436-1442; Benedict, 1442-1444; Charles, 1444-1446; Maurice, 1447-1452; Thaddeus, 1452-1457; Otto, 1457-1465; Andrew Ruthven, 1523; David Cuming, 1525-1543; Hyeronimus Scotus, 1543-1548; Alexander Bog, 1548-1555; Balthazar Dixon, 1555-1567; Thomas Anderson, 1567-1576; Ninian Winzet, 1576-1592; Alexander Bailie, Maurus Dixon, Placidus Fleming, 1672-1720; Maurus Stuart, and Bernard Baillie. Abbot Placidus Fleming completely renovated the church in 1678.

During the course of its history it received many proofs of paternal solicitude from the Roman Pontiffs. In the year 1120 it received a letter of protection from Pope Callixtus II. Innocent II., Eugene III., and Adrian IV. issued Bulls to its abbots, commending and encouraging their work. Innocent III., on the occasion of the Fourth Council of Lateran, 1213, at the request of the abbot, George II., took the establishment, with all its branches, under the direct protection of the Holy See, and confirmed the Abbot of St. James of Ratisbon as general or president of the whole congregation or union of Irish monasteries.¹ Nor was civil patronage less generous in its assistance to these exiled monks. Cut away from the strife and contention of political life, devoted wholly to the service of God, preaching His word and inculcating His precepts by lives of perfect sanctity, these strangers became universally popular. The fame of their simplicity and zeal reached the courts of the great, as well as the homes of the poor. For all they had the same welcome, the same remedies, the same helpful sympathy. Their charity was unbounded. Their presence was regarded as a blessing to the whole country. Hence donations and legacies came to them fast and abundantly. We get an idea of the extent to which their possessions had accumulated, from a charter of the Emperor Sigismund, granted in 1422, renewing and confirming a previous charter of Frederick II., dated 1212. This latter document mentions, as Bishop Reeves has computed them,¹ "seventy denominations of land, seven mills, ten vineyards, three fisheries, four chapels, eight manses, besides woods, pasturages, and gardens, all belonging to St. James's monastery. The deed is attested by one archbishop, six

¹ Paritius, speaking of the Abbot George II., who ruled from 1213 to 1223, says: "Diesen Prälaten und sein Closter hat Papst Innocentius III., auf dem Concilium Laternanense 1215, in schutz und schirm des Römischen Stuhl's aufgenommen und inmediate unterworfen. Auch ein congregation von allen denen Schottenclöstern in Deutschland, derer damals 15 gewesen, befohlen aufzurichten davon der hiesige Praelat allezeit Praeses und Generalis Visitator sein solle. Diese Congregation oder union hat gedauert bis ins 16 Seculum da die Religion's—veränderung viel von diesen Closter mitgenommen."—(Paritius, *op. cit.*)

² See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., page 246.

bishops, one king, one landgrave, two dukes, one marquis, and two earls.”¹ The record of these various donations was carefully kept in the monastery, as we gather from the

¹ In nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis Fredericus Secundus divina favente Clementia Romanorum Rex, et semper Augustus et rex Siciliae. Si viris Religiosis favoris et munificentiae gratiam impenderimus, temporalium et aeternorum bonorum retributionem indubitantes consecuturos esse speramus. Quapropter notum sit omnibus Christi fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus qualiter Monasterium Scotorum Ratisbon, ante portam occidentalem constructum, nec non et ecclesiam in Weihen Sti Petri vulgo dictum in orientali ejusdem civitatis suburbio, ad idem Monasterium Sancti Jacobi Scotorum attinentem, secundum tenorem firmae libertatis Privilegiorum Antecessorum nostrorum Romanorum Imperatorum et Regum Henrici III. Henrici IV. et Clotarii et Frederici, ob honorem et venerationem Beatorum Apostolorum Petri ac Jacobi, rogatu Matthaei abbatis et fratrum ejusdem monasterii atque fratrum Ecclesiae S. Petri supplicatione quae Scotis monasterii Sancti Jacobi subdita esse probatur cum omnibus bonis et possessionibus quas modo habent rationabiliter et quas in posterum specialibus nominibus designabimur aut in futurum justis modis sunt habituri in Muntiburdium defensionis nostrae suscipimus, eo scilicet tenore ut sicut constitutum est ab supradictis imperatoribus, idem monasterium Scti Jacobi et ecclesia S. Petri necnon ea bona sibi attinentia, ac ibidem solummodo Scoti inhabitantes et nulli alii, perpetuam habeant libertatem nec ab aliqua persona magna vel parva graventur, nec quidquam servitii nisi soli Deo et Sanctis ejus reddere cogantur, neque aliqua persona major vel minor in eos aut in bona eorum qualemcumque dominationem habeant, praeter nos et successores nostros Reges vel Imperatores, sed securi maneant absque omni ejectione vel perturbatione, orantes pro se et pro statu Imperii ac totius Ecclesiae salute. Nomina autem possessionum haec sunt. Manspach, Calenberg, Tegernhem, Gundolfingen, cum piscaturis Rewt, Kindinhaus, Gebelschoun, Wernsing, Kneuting cum vineis suis et capella sua, Bochesbruck cum capella sua et decimis, Trewling, Tietelndorff superius et inferius cum silvis et piscaturis, caeterisque appendiciis circumquaque sibi adjacentibus, Markstett, Machtenfeldt, Tessenkual, Oberkof, Molendinum apud Sinsingen, Griestett cum capella, silvis, piscaturis, molendinis, Ansiedel, Dietfurt, Halthaus, Bogelthal, Gundobshausen, Britz cum capella, Lienberch, Graffenberch, Obergundelting, Lachenhausen, Mueldorff, Fingintal, Westenholtz, Molendinum apud Brunn, duo molindinia apud Iaber Essenberch, Perckstett, Hundhaben, Helmbuebel, cum appendiciis suis Hart, Kembnat, Huenberch, Riet, pascualis Stettanhoven, Surchausen, Gierhausen, Kaerrin, Frankhausen, Warrmadsdorff, suo vinea ad pedem pontis Ratisponeus, Menslo, Lewrendorff, Huetenkof, Muenchfref, Caustein, Puelhoven, Calbesing, Schiltorn, Krapenhof, Sneithart, Trukenhoven, Pondorf, Stock. Altauna, Curta apud Pfater, Hagenbuch, Kager, Hertzkonen, Riedling, Coellenbach, Hochdorff, Eych, Heide, Schur, Frielbaum, duo vinea juxta Kinckenperg, Wintzer cum molendino, duo vinea apud Upspureck, et area una apud Pernsenberg et duo mansos in Saze, et sex mansos apud Scotting, Snebhart. Praeterea decernimus ut nulli liceat advocatim eorum concedere, habere, aut dare nisi per nos et nostros successores. Si quis autem, &c. See Hugh Ward, *De Patria Sancti Rumoldi*, p. 296.

fragments that have remained to us. Thus Bertha,¹ "the gentle and artless dove" (*simplex sine felle columba*), daughter of the pious Margrave Leopold, and wife of the Burgrave Henry of Ratisbon, makes over on the monastery two vineyards and seven acres of land in Austria, in return for which she is buried in the chapter-house and never forgotten in the prayers of the monks. Another pious lady, named Linchardis, is equally generous, and is buried near Bertha "in Capitulo nostro." Noblemen like Werner von Laaber, Berthold von Schwartzenburg, Otto von Riedenburg, are especially commemorated in the *Necrologium* for their large donations. Nor should Count Albert de Mitterzil be forgotten, for he was amongst their earliest benefactors, giving them the ground alongside their church on which their monastery was almost entirely constructed. His name² is recorded in the *Necrologium* on the 17th January. Other names equally generous abound on the register.

And yet the vastness of that great estate did not prevent the institution that possessed it from one day falling into decay, and, what is worse, into disrepute. It even possibly helped its downfall, and made its days of decline more unfortunate than they might otherwise have been. We do not refer here to the frequent fires that consumed the material buildings, and compelled the monks to start from the foundations and begin their work anew.³ The final overthrow of the monastery was due to influences not less destructive than fire, but more fatal and far-reaching in their effects. Chief amongst these, as Wattenbach observes,⁴ was the

¹ "Deinde Bertha beatissima, simplex sine felle Columba, rutilans caritatis sidus imperii, beatae memoriae Henrici Ratisbonensis Burgravii uxor sepulturam propriam, vineas duas ac septem aratra in Austria Deo ac Beato Jacobo necnon et peregrinis loci illius fratribus pie destinavit."

² "Albertus de Mitterzil qui primis Scotis agrum suum suburbanum, Ruselint dictum, libere concessit, in quo hoc nostrum monasterium constructum est." Cf. *Verhandlungen des Historisches Vereins für Regensburg* Band 34, Anno 1879, page 227.

³ *Historische Nachricht von dem im Jahre 1552 demolirten Schottenkloster Weigh St. Peter zu Regensburg*, von Thomas Ried, Regensburg, 1813, pages 16-18.

⁴ *Congregation der Schottenkloster in Deutschland*, translated by Reeves in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., page 304.

subjugation of Ireland by the English. The incessant troubles that overwhelmed the mother country ever since the Anglo-Normans landed on our shores, made themselves felt in the Irish religious establishments on the Continent. The firmer and more extensive English domination became in Ireland, the more baneful were its results abroad as well as at home. Few monks went out from Ireland from the fourteenth century onwards. Those that did go were chiefly such as their superiors wanted to get rid of, or who were discontented with the strict rules and severe discipline that prevailed at home. It was not the zeal of the missionary that urged them forward. They sought rather a life of luxury and ease. Hence the duties of religious life are gradually neglected. The new monks are not able to fulfil their task. They fail to become acquainted with the language of the people around them. They cannot preach nor hear confessions. Their conduct leaves much to be desired. The good people whose forefathers lavished riches and wealth on the monks of St. James in the early times, shake their heads in sorrow and almost in shame. The property of the establishment is frittered away and squandered. The buildings fall into ruin. Manuscripts that had been laboriously written out were burnt or cast away. Books were sold or pawned or neglected. Church ornaments and vestments were allowed to become squalid and unfit for use. The monks themselves dwindled in number till they were threatened with extinction. Then it was that the monastery and what remained of the property fell an easy prey to the Scotchmen or "Scoti" of Scotland. They asserted "that these foundations originally belonged to their nation; that the Irish had unjustly thrust themselves in, and for that very reason had brought about the decline of the colonies."¹

¹ Wattenbach, *op. cit.* In reference to the assertion of the Scotchmen, that the Irish had "thrust themselves in," Bishop Reeves observes: "The monstrosity of this assertion is hardly credible. But what can be too bad when Camerarius gravely asserts, and tries to prove, that his Scotland was occasionally called Ireland," (*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. vii., page 310.)

On the 31st of July, 1515, Pope Leo IV. did actually make over the monastery of St. James on the Scotch, and appointed John Thomson superior. Thomson had just then paid a visit to Rome, where he had been a daily guest of the Pope at his dinner-table. This abbot drove out the remnant of Irish monks who still remained, and introduced countrymen of his own from the Abbey of Dunfermline. He was warmly supported by King James of Scotland. In 1653 an Irish Benedictine monk made vigouros efforts to recover possession of the monastery for his countrymen. Several Austrian cardinals supported his claims ; but Pope Innocent X. decided against him. The newcomers were, all the same, not much superior to the degenerate Irishmen whom they replaced. They squandered what remained of the property till, under Abbot Alexander Bog, from 1548 to 1556, there was not a single monk remaining at St. James's. In his time also the old parent monastery of Weyh-St.-Peter was lost, having been burned to the ground on the evening of the 25th of May, 1552, during the progress of the Smalcaldic war. An old Ratisbon chronicler, Leonhard Wildman,¹ thus relates the occurrence :—

“ On Wednesday, in the week of the Holy Cross, they began to destroy the church of Weyh-St.-Peter. In the evening they set it on fire, and burned it to the ground. On the 28th of July I went out, for the first time, by the gate of Weyh-St.-Peter, to see how the dear little monastery had been broken to pieces ; and the scene which this ancient house of God presented made me full sore at heart. Verily, if our forefathers had not built so many chapels, there would not now have been stones enough for the bastions of Prebrunn, and for the Ostengate.”

St. James's had a short return of prosperity under the pontificate of Gregory XIII., who appointed as its abbot Ninian Winzet, a zealous opponent of the movement towards Protestantism. He had been driven out of Scotland on account of his orthodoxy and firmness, and now gathered around him at Ratisbon all the Catholic fugitives from his own country. He immediately set about seizing on the other Scotie monasteries that had been

¹ Ried, *op. cit.*, page 37.

subject to St. James, and was successful in the cases of Erfzfurt and Würzburg. In the others he failed. He was assisted in his intrigues by a remarkable man, named John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, and formerly plenipotentiary of Queen Mary Stuart in London. This ecclesiastic was high in the favour of the Roman Court. He was the author of a work entitled, *De Origine Scotorum*. He was appointed Assistant Bishop and Vicar-General of Rouen, in 1579; and in 1593 he was nominated to the see of Constance. He was, therefore, in a favourable position to press the claims of his countrymen to the scattered monasteries of the "Scoti." He made particularly adroit attempts in reference to the old monasteries of Nuremburg and Vienna, but failed in both. Under the Abbot Placidus Fleming (1672-1720), St. James's again enjoyed comparative prosperity. In 1718 he established there a college for young men of the Scottish nobility. When Paritius wrote his account of it, in 1723, the Scottish monks then at the monastery were—Joseph Falconer, Augustus Morrison, Marian Brochie, Boniface Leslie, Kilian Grant, Placidus Hamilton, Erhard, and Columban Grant. According, however, as religious persecution became less oppressive at home, the necessity for a foreign secular college gradually ceased. A few monks lingered on till 1862, when the old monastery was secularized, or rather when, by an understanding between the Holy See and the Bavarian Government, it was handed over to the Bishop of Ratisbon as partial endowment of the ecclesiastical seminary of the diocese.¹

In that part of the city of Ratisbon now called the "Stadt-am-Hof," on the western bank of the Danube, the old "Schottenkirche," or Church of St. James, still stands. Notwithstanding the number of times it was burnt and restored, there are still many traces around it of its Irish

¹ "Da seit Jahren der Stand der Ordensleute nicht hoher als auf zivei gebracht werden kounte, so wurde das Kloster 1862 durch den Heiligen Stuhl säcularesirt und in Einverstandnesse mit diseim und der K. Bayerischen Staats-regierung an das Bisthum Regensburg als theilweise Dotation des Klerikalseminars übergeben."—(*Verhandlungen des Historisches Vereius für Regensburg*, Band 34, page 221. Article by Hugo Graf von Walderdorff.)

origin. One of its doorways in particular exhibits the genuine characteristics of Celtic art, the interlaced ornamentation and serpentine shapes of crocodiles and monsters which represent the triumph of Christianity over heathenism; the mermaid that symbolizes the distant sea crossed by the missionaries, and the peculiar shape and features, as far as they can still be distinguished, of three monks, whose origin could never be mistaken by anyone acquainted with the ancient carved stonework of Ireland, and their prototypes in the illuminated manuscripts of a still earlier period.

Such was the great monastery of St. James. We have been able to give but a brief sketch of its rise, its decline, and its extinction. Something must still be heard of it, however, as we follow the history of its numerous branches.

J. F. HOGAN.

Liturgical Notes

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY¹—*continued*

IN his reply the General of the Dominicans, in authorizing the erection of the Confraternity, will grant to the Director of the Confraternity the necessary faculties to enable him to enrol members and to bless beads. But as it must often happen, from one cause or another, that the Director himself cannot be always present when persons wish to get

¹ We have great pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to an association recently founded in connection with the Confraternity of the Rosary, and known as the "Rosary Crusade for the Souls in Purgatory." The following extracts from a leaflet issued by this association sufficiently explain its objects, and the conditions of membership, and give all the information necessary for those who may wish to become members:—

"To be a member of the "Rosary Crusade for the Souls in Purgatory," it is necessary—1st, to be a registered member of the Rosary Confraternity; 2nd, to use a chaplet, to which the Dominican and Bridgettine Indulgences have been attached: 3rd, to say the fifteen Mysteries each week, for the deceased members of the Rosary Confraternity, their deceased friends and relations, and for priests and religious, not forgetting the holy souls in

enrolled, or cannot by himself, on particular occasions, discharge all the duties of Director, it will be advisable to request the Father General to grant to the Director powers to appoint another priest as substitute or assistant, who will *eo ipso* have for that occasion all the faculties which the Director himself possesses. This request will be readily granted.

In this petition to the Father General it will be well to inform him who has been designated Director of the Confraternity by the bishop; whether, namely, it be the parish priest or rector of the church, himself or one of the curates attached to the church. And if it be inconvenient to have a member of the Dominican Order present on the day on which the confraternity is to be solemnly erected, it will be necessary also to request the Father General to grant faculties to the petitioner himself or to some other priest whom he will mention to solemnly erect the confraternity. This precaution is necessary, as it is generally to a member of the Dominican Order, selected by the Provincial, that the duty of erecting the confraternity is entrusted by the Father General. A form which may be used in addressing the Father General will also be found further on.

Generally speaking two confraternities having the same name and object cannot be erected in two neighbouring churches which are not separated by a distance of at least three miles, although the two churches may be in distinct parishes. For good reasons a dispensation in this condition can be obtained from the Holy See, and in point of fact a general dispensation in it has been granted in the case of

general. The association has been blessed and approved by his Holiness Pope Leo XIII.

"At present hundreds of Masses are said each year for the members.

"Deceased persons can be registered for the prayers and Masses of our association. Subscription, 1s. yearly.

"For the convenience of members, rosary beads, blessed and indulgenced, are given on the day of enrolment, and when renewing subscription if required; but inasmuch as the association cannot undertake to pay postage, a few extra stamps should be added towards the postal expenses. Members are earnestly invited to become Zelators for this great work for the relief of the holy souls.

"Names and subscriptions to be sent to Superioress, Syon Abbey, Chudleigh, Devon."

several confraternities which the Holy See specially wishes to have widely extended among the faithful. Up to the year 1863, no such dispensation had been granted in favour of the Confraternity of the Rosary; hence previous to that year the condition regarding distance had to be strictly observed when erecting this confraternity. But according to a declaration published on March 5, in the above-mentioned year, by the Very Rev. Father Spada, Procurator-General of the Order of St. Dominic, Pius IX. on the preceding 28th January, gave a verbal or *viva voce* dispensation in this condition. Acting on this dispensation the Father General is in the habit of sanctioning the erection of confraternities of the Rosary in churches separated by a distance of less than three miles from another church in which the confraternity already exists. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention in the petition to the Father General, that the church in which the confraternity is to be erected is not dependant on any other church, and that it is the church of an independent community, and to state how far the church in question is from the nearest church in which a confraternity of the Rosary exists.

3. The next step is to forward to the bishop of the diocese the diploma of erection received from the General of the Dominicans, together with the summary of the indulgences of the confraternity which usually accompanies the diploma. This summary of indulgences must be submitted to the bishop before the indulgences can be promulgated; hence the necessity for this second approval by the bishop of the erection of the confraternity.

4. For the actual erection of the confraternity, the only ceremony prescribed *de rigore*, is the inscription of the names of those who wish to become members in a book or register provided for this purpose. From the nature of the case, however, it is necessary that those who wish to be received into the confraternity should manifest their desire by some external act, and that the person having power to receive them should also, in some way, manifest his consent to their reception. These two conditions are sufficiently fulfilled by those desiring to be received requesting the director, or other

person having power to receive them, to inscribe their names in the register, and by his consenting to do this. Nevertheless, it is not absolutely necessary, in the case of receptions into the Confraternity of the Rosary, that the Director himself, or other priest possessing the same powers as the Director, should actually write the names. In the year 1877 (July 7) the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences, at the request of the Procurator-General of the Order of St. Dominic, declared that Directors of Rosary confraternities might employ one or more persons to write the names of the members, provided the Director himself (or other priest having the same faculties) put his signature to the foot of each page.

5. But though this is all that is necessary for the valid erection of the confraternity, and for valid membership of it, it would be desirable, in order to impress the people, and to excite their desire to share in the advantages of the confraternity, to surround the simple act of inscribing the names by as great religious solemnity as circumstances will permit. Hence, it is usual to solemnly erect the confraternity on a Sunday or feast of obligation, and at such an hour as will render it convenient for the people to assemble in the church. The day and hour selected should be announced to the people sometime beforehand, and all who wish to become members should be exhorted to prepare themselves by a good confession and communion, received, if possible, on the day itself on which the confraternity is to be erected; because, as will be seen,* a plenary indulgence may be gained on the day of reception on the usual conditions of having confessed and communicated. It is also usual for the Dominican Father, or other priest empowered to erect the confraternity, to deliver an instruction to the people before the ceremony of reception begins; and it is hardly necessary to point out that the most suitable subject for this instruction is the confraternity, of which the people are to be exhorted to become members. Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, and such other ceremonies as the resources of the church may admit, or the piety of the Director suggest, should follow the reception of the members.

6. The Director of the confraternity must be appointed by the bishop of the place. If there is only one priest attached to the church in which a confraternity of the Rosary is about to be erected ; and if the bishop, at the request of this priest, grant the necessary permission for the erection of the confraternity without making any mention of a Director, it would seem to follow that he implicitly appoints him¹ Director. But if more than one priest be attached to the church, the rector or priest who communicates with the bishop cannot take it for granted that he is appointed Director, unless the bishop expressly names him for the office. Hence, practically speaking, the bishop should *name* the Director.

As late as 1842,² the Congregation of Indulgences declared that bishops could appoint the Director of a confraternity or sodality only from year to year, so that at the end of each year, either the former Director should be reappointed, or a new one appointed in his place. But this declaration has been considerably modified by more recent legislation.³ A bishop may now appoint a priest Director of a confraternity for the whole period during which he remains attached to the church in which the confraternity is erected. Moreover, he may appoint as Director the parish priest *for the time being* (*parochus pro tempore*), and by this manner of appointment, he not only constitutes the parish priest Director until he is removed from the parish by death or otherwise, but also constitutes his successor in the parish his successor, also in the office of Director. Notwithstanding this concession, a bishop may still appoint as Director a priest other than the parish priest or rector of the church in which the confraternity is established, and he may appoint him for a longer or shorter period, according to his pleasure.

7. When a confraternity of the Rosary is being erected in a church, it is necessary to assign a chapel, or at least an altar, to the confraternity, which is to be styled "the

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, n. 304, ad 1.

² *Decr. Auth.*, n. 304, ad 3.

³ S. C. Indulg. Junii 25, 1887. *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. xx., page 108. Beringer, tom ii., page 20.

chapel" or "the altar of the Holy Rosary." This chapel or altar is not strictly required for the valid erection of the confraternity; but it is required in order that the members may gain all the indulgences of the confraternity. Indeed, deprived of such chapel or altar, they will be deprived of many important indulgences. If there is not a chapel in the church which can be dedicated to the Holy Rosary, and if there is no other altar in the church save the high altar, then this altar will serve the purpose; and the entire chapel will become a "chapel of the Holy Rosary." This, however, does not change the titular or patron of the church, nor in any way modify the commemorations, &c., of the titular or patron in the Mass or in the Divine Office. The selection of the chapel or altar for this purpose must be made by the bishop, or by the parish priest, with the consent of the bishop.

8. Finally, in parishes where, for any reason, it is impossible or inconvenient to establish a confraternity of the Rosary, a priest—either parish priest or curate—can obtain faculties from the General of the Order of St. Dominic, enabling him to receive the faithful into the confraternity, to bless beads, and to give to the members of the confraternity a plenary indulgence at the hour of death. Priests who have received, and who exercise these powers should, from time to time, forward the names of the members they have admitted, to be inscribed in a register of the confraternity kept in a Dominican monastery, or in some secular church in which the confraternity has been canonically erected. Application for the faculties here mentioned may be made direct to the General of the Order in Rome, or, better, through the Provincial of the Order in the country from which the application comes.

9. For valid membership of the Confraternity of the Rosary the one essential condition is, to have one's name inscribed in the register of a canonically-erected confraternity; but to entitle one to share in all the indulgences and privileges of the confraternity, it is necessary to fulfil the conditions to which such indulgences and privileges are attached. In the list of indulgences, the conditions for gaining each one are

given in detail. The members are, however, expected to have beads blessed by a Dominican Father, or other priest having faculties from the General of the Order, and to recite the fifteen decades of the Rosary once during the course of each week. To the devout performance of this exercise, and even to the carrying of properly-indulgenced beads about one, are attached numerous indulgences; but beads blessed by a priest having the ordinary faculties granted by Propaganda do not, it must be borne in mind, entitle the person using them, or carrying them, though he be a member of the confraternity, to these special indulgences. The beads *must* be blessed by a priest having faculties from the General of the Dominican Order. For persons not members of the Confraternity of the Rosary it is necessary, in order to gain the indulgence attached to the recital of the Rosary, to say a third part of the Rosary, that is, five decades, without interruption; but members of this confraternity gain all the numerous indulgences attached to the weekly recital of the fifteen decades, though they interrupt the recital at the end of each decade.¹ A convenient method, therefore, of performing this weekly devotion would be to say two decades each day, and add a third on Sundays, or some other convenient day during the week. But again we beg to remind our readers, that the recital of these fifteen decades each week is not an essential condition of membership of the confraternity; consequently, members neglecting or omitting this exercise deprive themselves merely of the indulgences attached to it—a sufficiently great privation, however—while retaining a full right to all the other indulgences of the confraternity, provided they fulfil the conditions for gaining each.

(To be continued.)

REVALIDATION OF INVALID RECEPTIONS INTO THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

We have more than once stated in these pages, that for valid membership of any recognised confraternity, it is essential that the names of the members be entered in a

¹ Decr., Pius IX., Jan. 22, 1858.

register kept for this purpose, either in the church in which the confraternity has been canonically erected, or in a house of the Religious Order to which the confraternity pertains. We have also stated that to gain the indulgences attached to the wearing of the brown scapular it is necessary to become a member of the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel ; and, consequently, that all who wear the brown scapular should have their names inscribed in the register of a confraternity of this name, or in a register kept in a Carmelite monastery. We have reason to know, however, that this condition of entering the names of those who receive the brown scapular, though essential for gaining the indulgence, is not always fulfilled, and that, as a consequence, many who wear this scapular are deprived of the indulgences. The reason of this neglect is not far to seek, and it is a reason that palliates, though it cannot altogether excuse, the negligence of the older priests ; for the negligence of the younger generation of priests it offers neither excuse nor palliation. The reason is this : from the year 1838 (April 30th), until the year 1887 (March 26th), the inscription in a confraternity register of the names of those who received the brown scapular was not necessary. In the former of these years Gregory XVI. dispensed in this condition, and this dispensation was in force until the latter year, when it was formally withdrawn by Leo XIII. Hence priests who were accustomed to invest their people with the brown scapular previous to the year 1887, and who had never, up to that time, heard of the necessity of inscribing their names, may be somewhat excused for refusing to accept, unless on the clearest evidence, this innovation. But whatever palliation may exist for past neglect of this condition, there can be none for any future neglect of it ; and we would, therefore, strongly impress on our readers that the fulfilment of the condition of having the names of those who received the brown scapular inscribed in a regularly kept register of a Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, or forwarded to a Carmelite monastery is absolutely essential for gaining the indulgences attached to the wearing of this scapular. For past negligence of this condition, and for every other

informality of whatsoever kind that may have occurred in investing persons with the brown scapular provision has been recently made by our Holy Father in the following document.¹ The document is dated June 20th, 1894; consequently all invalid receptions into the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, made before that date, no matter from what causes the invalidity arose, are now valid; and—if this has not been already stated with sufficient clearness—consequently, it is no longer necessary to have inscribed in the register of a confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, or forwarded to a Carmelite monastery, the names of those who received the brown scapular *before* the 20th of last June, and in whose case this condition had not been complied with. The following is the document:—

BEATISSIME PATER,

P. Vicarius Generalis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum ad Sacrorum pedum osculum provolutus exponit non raro contingere ut Christifideles, qui ad Confraternitatem B. M. Virginis de Monte Carmelo admitti postulant, invalide recipiantur sive ob omissam nominum inscriptionem, sive ob aliam causam.

Ne itaque praefati Christifideles gratiis et privilegiis memoratae Confraternitatis concessis priventur, Orator S. V. humiliter supplicat quatenus receptiones ad eandem Confraternitatem, quacunque ex causa, usque ad hanc diem, invalide peractas, benigne sanare dignetur.

Vigore specialium facultatum a Ssmo. Dno. Nostro Leone, P.P., XIII., tributarum S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita petitam sanationem benigne concessit. Contrarius non obstantibus quibuscunque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congreg. die 20 Junii, 1894.

FR. IGNATIUS CARD. PERSICO, *Praefectus.*

✱ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOL, *Secretarius.*

FR. BERNARDINUS A S. VERENA, *Procurator Generalis, C.D.*

¹ For a copy of this document we are indebted to the Very Rev. P. T. Burke, O.D.C., St. Mary's, Morehampton-road, Dublin.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS**QUESTIONS REGARDING INDULGENCES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel very grateful if you kindly enlighten me on the following questions:—

1st. Can the faithful gain the indulgence granted for saying the prayer of St. Joseph during this month by joining mentally with the priest in saying the words?

2nd. Can a weekly penitent who goes to confession on the first day of the week and the last day of the following week gain the indulgences that occur between these two confessions; or should there be only seven days between the confessions in order to gain the indulgences?

3rd. When confession, communion, a visit to a church, and prayers according to the Pope's intention are prescribed for gaining an indulgence on a certain day, say the first Sunday of the month, can a person who goes to confession, and receives communion the day before, fulfil the condition of a visit, and gain this indulgence by going to the church and praying for the Pope's intention on the day the indulgence can be gained—to hear Mass of obligation? Delicate people sometimes go to confession and receive communion on Saturday morning and on vigils, who cannot fast till the community Mass on the following day. Although a person who goes to a church to hear Mass of obligation, and receives Holy Communion at that Mass, and prays for the Pope's intention, fulfils the obligation of communion, a visit, and the prayers, the above case seems to be somewhat different.

4th. When or on what occasion was the plenary indulgence granted on the first Sunday of the month to the faithful of Ireland? It seems to be a special privilege granted to this country.

PAROCHUS.

1. We are of opinion that the reply to our correspondent's first question should be in the affirmative. For when the Holy Father orders an indulgenced prayer to be recited publicly, it would seem to be his intention that all who assist at this public recitation should gain the indulgence; but he never, we think, intends or expects that while the priest reads the prayer aloud all present should also read it or repeat it from memory. All that is intended is that

those present should join with the priest in offering the prayer; and they can join with the priest either by repeating along with him the words of the prayer, or by raising their hearts to God and offering the prayer mentally with him.

2. For gaining plenary indulgences, for which confession and communion are prescribed, weekly confession is required and is sufficient—*qui assolent confiteri semel saltem in hebdomada*, are the words of the Congregation of Indulgences. Our correspondent, then, wants to know what is meant by a week in this context; whether, namely, it means a space of seven consecutive days beginning with the day of confession—whatever day of the week that may be—or, whether it means the week in the ecclesiastical sense which always begins with Sunday and ends with the following Saturday. We think the latter is the true meaning; and from this we infer that, if a person goes to confession on any day of one week, and on any day of the following, he fulfils the condition of weekly confession. Hence in the case proposed by our correspondent, this condition would be fulfilled. This is not our own opinion merely, but the opinion of many eminent authors, among whom may be mentioned Lehmkuhl,¹ and Melata.²

3. To fulfil the condition of confession and communion scribed for gaining a plenary indulgence on a given day, both sacraments may be received on the previous day; or, when there is question of persons who confess every week, communion alone may be received on the previous day, the weekly confession, as we have just seen, being sufficient for the fulfilment of the other part of the condition. It should, however, be borne in mind, that all the other conditions, such as visiting a church, praying for the Pope's intentions, &c., must be fulfilled on the day itself for which the indulgence has been granted.

That communion received on the day preceding that for which the indulgence has been granted suffices for gaining

¹ Vol. ii., n. 539, and note.

² *Manuale de Indulgentiis*, Romae, 1892, pp. 56, 57.

the indulgence, is clear from the following decree of October 6, 1870 :—

“SSmus D. N. Pius P.P. IX. in Audientia habita ab infra-scripta Cardinali Praefecto ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis, die 6 Octobris, 1870, ad removendam omnem dubitandi rationem et ad commodius reddendum confessionis et communionis adimplementum, benigne declarari et decerni mandavit, prout hoc decreto declaratur et decernitur, tum confessionem dumtaxat, tum confessionem et communionem peragi posse die, qui immediate praecedit sequentem pro quo concessa fuerit indulgentia quaelibet non solum ratione festivitatis occurrentis juxta allata decreta, verum etiam quaecunque alia ex causa, vel devotionis, vel pii exercitii, ut solemnitatis, uti esset pro memoratis et ceteris hujusmodi diebus, pro quibus indulgentia cum conditione confessionis et communionis concessa jam fuerit, vel in posterum concedatur.”

This concession does not extend to the indulgence of a Jubilee; to gain this indulgence all the conditions, even that of confession and communion, must be fulfilled within the time over which the Jubilee extends.

4. A plenary indulgence on the first Sunday of each month was granted on the usual conditions to the faithful of the Diocese of Dublin, by Pius VI., on January 12, 1783, at the request, probably, of Dr. Carpenter, then Archbishop of this see. The same indulgence, together with several other special indulgences, previously granted to the faithful of the diocese, as well as of the province of Dublin, was extended to the faithful of the whole country by Gregory XVI., on March 18, 1832, at the request of the archbishops and bishops of the other provinces.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.

THE ASSOCIATION OF PRIESTS-ADORERS

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, WILTON, CORK,
October 10th, 1894.

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the July number of the I. E. RECORD the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, C.C., Mallow, wrote an eloquent article on the Association of Priests-Adorers, of which I am the humble Director-General for Ireland. I am highly pleased with the article and again publicly express my heartfelt thanks to the zealous Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, for his article was read by many priests with great interest and many joined the Association.

Now it appears from a letter written by an English priest, the Rev. Father Smith, Mortomley, near Sheffield, and published in the September number of the I. E. RECORD; that some words of Father Sheehan's article gave rise to doubts as to the existence of a branch of Lay Adorers, connected with the Association of Priests-Adorers and endowed with indulgences. I received a letter from the Rev. Father Sheehan calling upon me as Director-General "to decide this point of controversy." I enclose Father Sheehan's letter, and I would be most thankful to you, Rev. Dear Sir, if you would kindly reproduce it in its full extent, if you have space enough.

"MALLOW, *October 4th, 1894,*

"DEAR FATHER SPIESER,—I presume you have seen in the September number of the I. E. RECORD a letter from Father Smith, impugning some statement that I made in the July RECORD, in the article "Priests-Adorers." As you are more thoroughly conversant with the rules of this world-wide Association than I am, I appeal to you for an opinion on the subject under controversy. The main object of my brief article was to bring under the notice of the Irish priesthood this admirable association of priests, banded together to form a Guard of Honour around our Blessed Lord in the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar. Quite incidentally, I mentioned that some zealous priests had formed in their parishes lay associations with a similar object, affiliated to the central confraternity in Paris, dowered with numerous indulgences, and under the obligation of making occasionally (every month) an hour's adoration before the Holy Sacrament. As far as I can understand Father Smith's letter, he contends that there is no lay-association of the kind; and that it would be quite a mistake to leave pious lay people under the

misapprehension that they could be affiliated to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, or become partakers in its privileges. Would you kindly intervene, as Director of the Association in Ireland, to decide this point of controversy? I am rather sorry that a mere passing allusion to the matter in *my* paper, should have raised an issue which may have the tendency to throw into the background the main purport of my article; namely, the vast importance and grandeur of this work of priestly adoration, which has now been taken up by the priesthood in all countries, and in which prophetic eyes are willing to discern one of those sudden Providential inspirations, which, if accepted, will eventuate in one of those grand religious upheavals that will break up the tepidity and indifference which are characteristic of our times.—I am, Dear Fr. Spieser, yours very sincerely.

“ P. A. SHEEHAN.”

I am deeply indebted to the Rev. Father Smith, and thank him for his great zeal and the interest he takes in our Association, but he evidently was not aware of the real existence of a branch of Lay Adorers, and consequently did not understand the passage of Father Sheehan's article alluding to it. Father Sheehan's intention was to speak especially of the Association of Priests-Adorers.

Now in order to prevent any further doubt or discussion on the subject, it suffices to lay before the eyes of the rev. clergy the rules of the branch, or as it is called in France, the Aggregation of Lay-Adorers. Therefore, Rev. Dear Sir, do please kindly publish the notice on the Lay Aggregation here enclosed.

Thanking you for all your kindness, and hoping that now and then you will give a place of honour to the Most Holy Sacrament in the I. E. RECORD.—I remain, yours most humbly,

CHARLES SPIESER, S.A.M.

LAY AGGREGATION TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

I. ITS NATURE

This Aggregation is a spiritual affiliation to the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament, founded at Paris by the Very Rev. Père Eymard, of venerable memory, in order to permit the faithful to share in his Adorations, his zeal for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ in the divine Sacrament of the Altar, and to participate in the merits, spiritual favours, and indulgences.

II. CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION

Every Catholic, no matter of what age, can be a member of the Aggregation. For that he must (1) promise to spend each

month a continuous hour of Adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle. The day, the hour, and the church are left to the choice or convenience of the members. He can change them each month if he wishes. However, in parishes where the Devotion of the Monthly Exposition is established, the members are invited to make their hour of Adoration on the day when, and in the church where the Most Holy Sacrament is exposed. (2) To have themselves inscribed, surname and christian name are required. (3) To consecrate themselves to the service of the Most Holy Sacrament by the formula indicated farther on, or any other similar formula.

III. INDULGENCES

(1) A Plenary Indulgence can be gained on the day of their admission into the Aggregation, provided they receive the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Communion, and visit during the day a Church of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament or their Parish Church, and there pray awhile for the intentions of our Holy Father the Pope. (2) Every day they can gain a Plenary Indulgence if after Confession and Communion they spend an hour of Adoration during that day before the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle.¹ (3) Seven years and seven quarantines when with a contrite heart they adore during one full hour the Most Holy Sacrament exposed or shut up in the Tabernacle. (4) A Plenary Indulgence on the Feast of the Epiphany and Corpus Christi, if having been at Confession and received Holy Communion they adore devoutly (even for a few minutes) the Most Holy Sacrament in one of the Churches of the Congregation, or in their Parish Church, and pray also for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff. (5) A Plenary Indulgence at the hour of death by invoking the holy name of Jesus.

IV. REMARKS

(1) All these Indulgences are applicable to the souls in Purgatory. (2) None of these Indulgences can be gained if there is no lamp *burning* before the Blessed Sacrament. (3) Besides all the favours and Indulgences mentioned, the Aggregates share also in the merits and good works, not only of their Association, but also in those of all the Fathers and Brothers of the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament, and of all the numerous members of their divers Associations.

N.B.—Persons desirous of becoming members of this Aggregation are requested to communicate with the Director-General.

Address:—Rev. CHARLES SPIESER, S.A.M., St. Joseph's Apostolic College, Wilton, Cork

¹ *Remark*.—Everyone who is in the habit of confessing every fortnight or every week, according to the rules of his diocese, can gain a Plenary Indulgence each time he makes an hour of Adoration on the Communion day.

Documents

LEO XIII. AND SACRED PREACHING

[THE following Circular Letter on Sacred Preaching has been issued by order of his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and addressed to all the Ordinaries of Italy, and to the Superiors of the Religious Orders and Congregations.]

“ His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., who has so much at heart the apostolic ministry of preaching, so necessary, especially in these days, for the right guidance of the Christian people, has learned with much pain that grave abuses, rendering modern preaching either contemptible or barren and unfruitful, have for some time back crept into the manner of announcing the divine word. He, therefore, following in the footsteps of his predecessors,¹ has ordered this holy Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to address themselves to the Ordinaries of Italy, and to the Superiors-General of the Religious Orders, in order to stimulate their vigilance and zeal, that they may, as far as in their power, remedy these disorders and effect their complete removal. In obedience, therefore, to the commands of the Holy Father this Sacred Congregation puts before the eyes of the Most Reverend Ordinaries and Heads of Regular Orders and pious Ecclesiastical Institutions the following rules, that they may with all diligence and zeal look to their observation.

1. And in the first place let them beware of ever entrusting so sacred an office to one not endowed with sincere Christian piety and great love of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without which he would never be more than *aes sonans et cymbalum tinniens*;² and could never have that true zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls which should be the sole end and motive of the preaching of the Gospel. And this Christian piety, so necessary to Christian teachers, should shine also in their external conduct, which should never be in contradiction with

¹ Amongst others, Clement X., Innocent XI., Innocent XII., Benedict XIII., sometimes in Pontifical Acts, sometimes by means of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, or of that of the Bishops and Regulars, issued, according to the wants of the times, wise prescription as to sacred preaching.

² 1 Cor. xxii. 1.

their teaching, nor have any worldly or mundane character, but be always such as to show them to be truly *ministros Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei*; ¹ otherwise, as the Angelic St. Thomas observes, *si doctrina est bona et praedicator malus, ipse est occasio blasphemiae Dei*.² With piety and Christian virtue must also be combined knowledge, since it is manifest and proved by continual experience that sound, well ordered and fruitful preaching would be vainly looked for from those who, unfurnished with solid studies, principally theological, and confiding in their own natural loquacity, should rashly ascend the pulpit with little or no preparation. Such as these in general are only beating the air, and, without perceiving it, bringing the divine word into contempt and derision; hence to them it is clearly said: *Quia tu scientiam repulisti, ego repellam te ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi*.³

2. Wherefore, after, and not before the priest has provided himself with the aforesaid qualifications, the Most Rev. the Ordinaries, and Heads of the Regular Orders, may confide to him the great ministry of the divine word, watching, however, to see that he restricts himself to matter proper for sacred preaching. Such matter is indicated by the Divine Redeemer where He says: *Predicate evangelium*.⁴ *Dicentes eos servare omnia quaecumque mandavi vobis*.⁵ Conformably to which words the Angelic Doctor wrote: *Praedicatores debent illuminare in credendis, dirigere in operandis, vitanda manifestare, et modo comminando, modo exhortando, hominibus praedicare*.⁶ And the Holy Council of Trent: *Annunciantes eis vitia quae eos declinare et virtutes quas sectari oportet ut poenam eternam evadere et coelestem gloriam consequi valeant*.⁷ But this was still more amply explained by the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX. of holy memory in the following words: "Non semetipsos sed Christum crucifixum praedicantes, sanctissima religionis nostrae dogmata et precepta, juxta Catholicae Ecclesiae et Patrum doctrinam, gravi ac splendido orationis genere, populo clare aperteque annunciant, omnesque a flagitiis deterreant, ad pietatem inflamment, quo fideles, Dei verbo salubriter refecti, vitia omnia declinent, virtutes sectentur, atque ita aeternas poenas evadere et coelestem gloriam consequi valeant."⁸ Hence it clearly appears that the Creed and Decalogue,

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 1.

² Comment. in Matt. v.

³ Os. iv. 6.

⁴ Mark xvi. 15.

⁵ Matt. xxxiii. 20.

⁶ *Loco cit.*

⁷ Sess. V., c. 2, *de Reform.*

⁸ Enc., Nov. 9, 1846.

the precepts of the Church and the Sacraments, virtues and vices, the duties proper to different classes of people, the Last Day and such eternal truths should form the ordinary material of sacred oratory.¹

3. But these grave themes are at the present day unworthily neglected by many preachers, who, *quaerentes quae sua sunt, non quae Jesu Christi*² and knowing well that these are not the themes best suited to gain them that popular vogue that they ambition, leave them completely on one side, especially in Lent, and on other solemn occasions: and changing the name as well as the thing described, substitute for the old-fashioned sermons an ambiguous kind of *conferences*, adapted rather to attracting the mind and fancy than to moving the will and reforming the morals. Nor do they reflect that while moral sermons were improving for all, these conferences are generally adapted only to the few; and that even those few, if they were better looked after in their morals; that is to say, if better assisted to become more chaste, more humble, more obedient to the authority of the Church, would by those means alone have had their minds cleared of endless prejudices against the faith, and more disposed to receive the light of truth; because religious errors, especially among Catholic people, generally have their root in the passions of the heart, rather than in the aberrations of the mind, according to what is written, *De corde exeunt cogitationes malae, blasphemiae, &c.*³ Hence on what was said by the Psalmist, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo; non est Deus*,⁴ St. Augustine wisely reflects, *in corde suo, non in mente sua*.

4. It is not, however, intended hereby absolutely to condemn the use of conferences, which may indeed in some cases, when well conducted, be most useful and necessary among the many errors diffused in reference to religion. But it is desired to banish utterly from the pulpit those pompous discourses that treat of arguments more speculative than practical, more civil than religious, more showy than fruitful, which are perhaps adapted to the journalistic arena, and to the academic halls, but are certainly out of place in a sacred edifice. With regard then to conferences that aim at the defence of religion from the attacks of its enemies, they are occasionally necessary; but this argument is of a weight not suited to all shoulders, but only to the most robust. Even the

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

³ Matt. xv., 19.

⁴ Ps. xiii. 1.

best orators must treat it cautiously, for such apologies should only be made in such places, such churches, and to such audiences as really require them, and amongst whom real profit may be hoped for from them, as to which it is manifest the ordinaries are the best judges; they should be so arranged that the demonstration should have its basis deep in the sacred doctrines much more than in human and natural arguments; and they should be framed with such solidity and clearness as to avoid the danger that on certain minds the error should remain more forcibly impressed than the opposite truths, and the objections carry more weight than their refutation. Above all the danger must be carefully guarded against, that the excessive use of conferences may make moral sermons fall into disesteem and disuse, as though they were matters of a secondary order and of less importance than polemics, and, therefore, to be left to vulgar preachers and their audiences; whilst the truth is, that moral preaching is the more necessary to the bulk of the faithful, and no less lofty than polemics, for which reason the most able and distinguished orators, before however select and numerous an audience, should at least occasionally treat it with lively zeal.

5. But if many abuses are noted in the choice of themes, others not less grave are to be deplored in the form of treatment. In reference to which St. Thomas Aquinas teaches truly, that in order to be really *lux mundi*, *tria debet habere praedicator verbi divini*: *primum est stabilitas, ut non deviet a veritate*; *secundum est claritas, ut non doceat cum obscuritate*; *tertium est utilitas ut quaerat Dei laudem et non suam*.¹ But unfortunately the form of many modern sermons is not only far removed from the clearness and evangelical simplicity that ought to characterize them, but involved in nebulous circumlocutions and obtruse matters above the comprehension of the generality of the people, calling to the lips the piteous complaint: *Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis*.² But the worst defect is the frequent want of that sacred impress, that breath of Christian piety, that unction of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of which the evangelic messenger ought always to be able to say of himself: *Sermo meus et predicatio mea non in persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et virtutis*.³ They, on the contrary, resting almost entirely on *persuasibilibus humanae sapientiae verbis*, care little or nothing for the divine word of the Sacred Scripture

¹ *Loco cit.*

² Thren. iv. 4.

³ 1 Cor. ii. 4.

which should be the well-spring of sacred eloquence. “*Hæc propria et singularis scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quæ oratori sacro auctoritatem aduit, apostolicam præbet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert, ille non loquitur in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute, et Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa.*¹ Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt præpostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent, et præcepta divina enunciant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanæ scientiæ et prudentiæ verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinus innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quantumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est utpote quæ igne careat sermonis Dei, eandemque longe abesse ab illa qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animæ ac spiritus.*² Quamquam hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,³ atque res ipsa confirmat præstantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduæ Bibliorum consuetudini piæque meditationi se præcipue debere, grati Deo, affirmarunt.”⁴

6. Here then is the principal fountain of sacred eloquence, the Bible. But these modernized preachers, instead of drawing their eloquence from the fountain of living water, turn, by an intolerable abuse, to the parched cisterns of human wisdom; instead of bringing forward the divinely inspired texts, or those of the holy fathers and the councils, they quote to satiety profane writers, modern and even living authors, authors and words which lend themselves very frequently to most equivocal and dangerous interpretations. It is also a great abuse of sacred eloquence to treat religious subjects solely from the point of view of the interests of this life, and not to speak of the future one; to enumerate the advantages conferred on society by the Christian religion, while passing over the duties enjoined by it; to depict the Divine Redeemer as all charity, and to be silent as to His justice. Hence the little fruit of such preaching, from which the man of the world comes away persuaded that without change of

¹ Thess. i. 5.

² Heb. iv. 12.

³ *De Doctr. Christ.*, iv. 6, 7.

⁴ *Enc. de Studiis Script.*, November 18, 1893.

life, provided he say, "I believe in Jesus Christ," he will be a good Christian.¹

But what matter the fruits to such as these? That is not what they principally seek, but to attract their auditors *prurientes auribus*,² and provided they see the churches full they do not care if souls are left empty. Hence they never speak of sin, never of the Day of Judgment, never of other grave truths which might cause saving sorrow, but they only speak *verba placentia*,³ and this with an eloquence more suited to the tribune than the apostle, more profane than sacred, which earns for them hand-clapping and applause long ago condemned by St. Jerome when he wrote: *docente in ecclesia te, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur; auditorum lacrimae laudes tuae sint*.⁴ Hence it is that all their preaching seems surrounded, whether in the Church or elsewhere, by a certain theatrical atmosphere, which deprives it of all sacred character and all superhuman efficacy. Hence again in the people, and we may say in a portion of the clergy, the decline of taste for the divine word, the scandal of the good and the little or no profit to evil-livers or unbelievers; who, though they sometimes throng in crowds to listen to such *verba placentia*, especially if attracted to it by the sonorous words *progress, country, and modern science*, leave the church the same as they entered it, after having loudly applauded the orator *who knows the right way of preaching*; *mirabantur, sed non convertebantur*.⁵

7. Desirous, then, in conformity with the venerated commands of his Holiness, of applying a remedy to so many and such destestable abuses, this Sacred Congregation addresses itself to all the Most Reverend Bishops and Superiors-General of the Regular Orders, and pious Ecclesiastical Institutions, in order that they may with apostolic firmness oppose themselves to them, and direct all their efforts to their extirpation. Mindful, then, that according to the prescription of the most holy Tridentine Council, *viros idoneos ad huiusmodi praedicationis officium assumere tenentur*,⁶ let them use in this business the greatest diligence and caution. In the case of priests in their dioceses, let them

¹ Card. Bausa, Archbishop of Florence, to his young clergy, 1893.

² 2 Tim. i. 3.

³ Is. xxx. 10.

⁴ *Ad Nepotian*.

⁵ *Ex Aug. in Matt. xix. 25*.

⁶ Sess. V., cap. 2, *De Reform.*

be firm in not entrusting to them so august a ministry without having first tried them, either by examination or in some other suitable manner ; *nisi prius de vita et scientia et moribus probati fuerint*.¹ If it is a question of priests from other dioceses, let them accept none to preach in theirs, especially on the more solemn occasions, unless they present letters from their own Bishops or their own Regular Superiors, vouching for their good conduct and fitness for the office. Let no Superior of Religious of whatsoever Order, Society, or Congregation, permit any of his subjects to preach, still less present him to Ordinaries with their own letters of recommendation, unless they have first thoroughly satisfied themselves both of his moral conduct and of his befitting manner of announcing the divine message. And should Ordinaries, after having accepted some preacher on the faith of recommendations presented by him, see him in the practical exercise of his ministry deviate from the rules and admonitions conveyed in this letter, let them by means of opportune correction recall him promptly to his duty ; but if this do not suffice, let them straightway remove him from such office, applying even the canonical penalties, should the nature of the case require it.

In conclusion, as this Sacred Congregation knows it can count with certainty on the zeal of the Most Reverend Ordinaries and Heads of Religious Orders, it trusts that principally through their instrumentality, this modern fashion of announcing, or rather adulterating the divine word, will be quickly reformed, and that all worldly allurements being finally removed from sacred preaching, it will regain its native and venerated majesty, and its superhuman efficacy, to the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the universal advantage of the Church and of the world.

Rome, from the Segreteria of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, July 31, 1894."

ISIDORE CARD. VERGA, *Prefect*.

LUIGI TROMBETTA, *Pro-Secretary*.

¹ *Loco cit.*

Notices of Books

PRAELECTIONES DOGMATICAE. Quas in Collegio Ditton-Hall habebat Christianus Pesch. Tomus I.

NOT many months have passed since we had the pleasure of notifying to our readers the appearance of a new "Cursus Completus" of Dogmatic Theology, by Father Tepe, S.J. We have now before us the first volume of still another "Cursus Completus" on the same subject by yet another Jesuit theologian, Father Pesch. This exuberance of publication argues a wholesome activity at present prevailing in our schools of theology; and reminds us once again of the marvellous fertility of theological science, which, notwithstanding the world of literature of which it has been already the theme, can still furnish matter for new and important publications. Indeed theology, like the ocean, would seem to be infinite. From Petrus Lombardus to the present day the ablest minds of each succeeding age have drawn upon it; yet that noble science, "ancient but ever new," not only retains undiminished its interest for the human mind, but continues to supply new ground for the exercise of the genius and industry of the latest explorer.

Father Pesch's book will when complete cover the whole course of Dogmatic Theology. The author's design is to give us a text-book which will be sufficiently exhaustive, and at the same time of such proportions as can be compassed by students within a four years' course of two hours' lecture each day.

The first volume, now in our hands, treats of *de Christo Legato Divino, de Ecclesia, de Locis Theologicis*. We do not say that the book contains anything strikingly new, or makes any substantial addition to the information already obtainable on these subjects in current hand-books. Still we can congratulate the author on having given us a good book, and one which argues well for the character of the volumes that are to follow. It is plainly the production of a vigorous and scientific mind well versed in theology. It is enriched with valuable quotations from the fathers, and has the advantage of being written well up to date, including even a quotation from the Papal Encyclical of last year on Sacred Scripture. Every question of importance is raised somewhere, and comes in for at least some discussion. We observe that the author falls in with Franzelin's theory as to the

provisional teaching of the Pope, and is prepared to admit its application in certain cases to Papal Encyclicals of a doctrinal character. The author, too, keeps his eye on the infidel lines across the border, and the latest movements in their ranks are recorded and criticised.

Thus has this book many excellent features; it has also to our minds many serious drawbacks. In the first place it is a serious want in any text-book to be weak and deficient in exposition. A precise and well-defined exposition of Catholic doctrine, its meaning, significance, and the errors opposed to it, ought invariably to precede the formal proof of the doctrine—otherwise our notions must remain jejune or hazy, and our arguments, too often mere beating the air. This volume, too, generally eschews exposition. The author enunciates his proposition, and straightway, without any exposition at all, or with a very paltry one, we are plunged in cold blood into an argument which very often like the doctrine itself is insufficiently developed. Certainly the Magisterium of the Church is amongst the most important questions of the Church Tract. But it is a question which has a history, and which requires to be explained, as against the Protestant doctrine of private judgment. In this book we meet it the first proposition in the treatise *de Ecclesia*, and it is set down there without one word of comment or explanation beyond the mere enunciation of the proposition. So also for the great question of Infallibility; and, indeed, throughout the book we are again and again set to prove doctrines without being clearly informed as to what the nature and significance of these doctrines may be.

Again, this volume has too great an aversion to objections from Scripture. A vast number of these objections are raised by Protestants in this department of theology, and a formal solution of at least the principal of them cannot well be dispensed with. A student of theology must be able to defend Catholic doctrine as well as to prove it. It is certainly an original feature in this volume that, as a rule, it either omits these difficulties, or gives them at most only a cursory consideration. The author may have had peculiar reasons for this mode of procedure, but omissions so substantial as these must largely detract from the suitability of his treatise as a general hand-book.

The section *de Vera Religione*, will, we fear, be considered too jejune by many. The great question of miracles, questions

concerning the nature, possibility, and necessity of revelation, are left to be largely supplied from the philosophical course, and the alleged contradictions in the Gospel narratives of the Resurrection are despatched in a few lines of general observations, in which, with one exception, we are not even told what these alleged contradictions are.

The Church Tract, it is true, lends itself to great variety as to the order of treatment and arrangement of questions. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find any order free from all objections. But we certainly do not approve of the order adopted in this volume. It has the effect of breaking up that unity of treatment which is so desirable in great questions like the Magisterium, the Infallibility, Primacy, &c. For instance, in this volume we find the Primacy of St. Peter at one end, the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff at the other end, of the treatise *de Ecclesia*; and thus we have two questions, which naturally are linked together, violently torn asunder with the great body of the treatise thrust in between them. Even on logical grounds it does seem anomalous to formally and in detail discuss, as is done here, the nature and extent of the Church's authority before the existence of the Church as a society had been directly established.

There are some particular questions the author's treatment of which we had intended to animadvert upon, *e.g.*, his countenancing of—for he does seem to countenance—the opinion that the Apostles were in doubt as to whether the end of the world was not imminent in their own day; but the author does not stand alone in the position he has taken upon this and other questions; and any further fault-finding on our part might have the appearance of unduly detracting from the merits of a book, which, when all is said, we acknowledge to be a good one. If it is faulty, it is faulty more in what it has not, than what it has.

THE POEMS OF RICHARD D'ALTON WILLIAMS. Edited with an Introduction, by the author of the *Life and Letters of John Martin; Life of John Mitchel*. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

THE author of this work has collected and arranged, in a handsome little volume, the scattered poems of Richard D'Alton Williams, and in a short introduction, of twenty-four small pages, he gives us a sketch of the life of the poet. The signature at the

end of this introduction, P. A. S., will be readily recognised. All lovers of genuine Irish literature will thank the compiler for his labour, and for the little banquet with which he thus conveniently supplies them. The poems of D'Alton Williams are not wonders of artistic excellence nor of poetic feeling. With the exception of one or two, they are not likely to secure a lasting place in the literary temple of fame which a nation so gratefully accords to the songs of her sweetest singers and most faithful interpreters. Though rigidly correct in metre, and faultless in their purity of language, though they possess the tuneful cadence, the deep note of pathos, and the rich fulness of harmony, they are not distinguished by anything very original in thought or unusually striking in expression. They have no very particular characteristic, as far as form or feature is concerned. They are, moreover, very uneven. At one time reserved and graceful, they are often at the next moment perfervid and common-place; nevertheless they deserve to be rescued from the oblivion to which they would undoubtedly have been consigned, were it not for the interest taken in their fortunes by the man who has given us this volume. For they breathe the genuine spirit of patriotism, and are highly characteristic of the period in which they were written, and of the turn of mind and quality of emotion that swayed the party of Irishmen to which their author belonged.

Whatever may be said of the fundamental ethical principles that guided the footsteps and actuated the conduct of these men, no doubt can be entertained as to the intensity, the sincerity, and the generosity of their patriotism, nor as to the depth and purity of the religious sentiments and convictions by which they were moved, and which stood many of them in good stead in the dark days of trouble and misfortune. It is in the poetry of the '48 movement that the religious feature chiefly manifested itself. It was the religious element in the history of the past that chiefly inspired one of the truest poets of the period—D'Arcy M'Gee. It was the same religious inspiration that gave strength and vitality to the poems of John O'Hagan. It was to it that Duffy, M'Carthy, and even Davis yielded in their happiest moments. Poor Clarence Mangan is at his best in rendering the "*Regina Misericordiæ*," of Karl Simrock; so is M. J. Barry in his imitation of Körner's "*Address to his Sword*," or of Immerman's "*Hymn of Freedom*," or of Ludwig Uhland's "*Forward March*." D'Alton Williams also frequently strikes the religious note, even in his professedly

secular songs, and his rendering, as we find it in this volume, of the "Adoro Te Devote," of the "Dies Iræ," of the "Stabat Mater," besides his poems entitled "Before the Blessed Sacrament," "To our Lady of Victory," "A Thought on Calvary," "A Hymn to St. Bridget," "In praise of St. Michael," prove him to have been, not only a gifted master of verse, but a highly accomplished and religious Catholic layman, such as we fear are all too rare in the public life of later times. We are sorry that a fuller and more adequate picture of the life of the poet has not been supplied us here. But we suppose it did not enter into the scope of the project which the author proposed to himself, and we have only to be thankful for all we have got, and to wish the handsome little volume the widest circulation.

J. F. H.

LATIN VERSE TRANSLATIONS FROM BYRON'S "CHILDE HAROLD." By the Rev. N. J. Brennan, C.S. Sp. B.A. Dublin: Gill & Son.

FATHER BRENNAN's *brochure* is as learned and interesting, as it is unique. "Good wine needs no bush;" Blackrock College needs no advertisement; if its long and well-sustained efficiency were questioned, it might well point to any and every part of the English-speaking world, quoting the hackneyed challenge; *Si monumentum quaeris circumspice*. True—and on these well-recognised grounds—it has ceased, wisely and considerately, for some years past, to pursue the natural and too common practice of trying to capture an abnormally large number of the highest distinctions, under the Intermediate Board, very properly preferring the all-round splendid record it invariably attains. While its many departments have been always manned and equipped, as hardly any other college can afford, two names are specially conspicuous, both for brilliancy and usefulness, on the roll of its classical professors. These are Father Reffè, who has passed over to the majority, to the intense and unfeigned regret of all his pupils and friends, and the author of the marvellously clever and neat translations under review.

To render any portion of *Childe Harold* into Latin verse, might occur to a dozen, at the very utmost, of the best prepared and most highly gifted of Intermediate candidates, should any examiner think it right to set so difficult and intricate selections; and with what

result? Rhythm, caesura—nothing, but a feeble attempt at securing the requisite number of feet.

“In clouded majesty here Dulness shone;
Four guardian virtues, surround, support her throne.
Fierce champion Fortitude, that knows no fears
Of hisses, blows, or want, or loss of ears:
Calm Temperance whose blessings those partake
Who hunger and who thirst for scribbling sake:
Prudence, whose glass presents th’ approaching jail:
Poetic Justice with her lifted scale.”

No want of such crude training, as is practicable in so few years, nor want of mental ability, is the cause; the time for preparation is quite incommensurate with the extravagant claims made upon it, the time allowed at examination short, and the marks fortunately not high.

But the master-hand, the genuine poetic vein, the varied pauses, and the pleasing cadences, so manifest themselves in almost every line of this most creditable little work, that one’s uppermost regret in closing it is, that more pressing demands on its author’s time and energies did not permit him to expand it far beyond its present modest dimensions. “Fresh fields and pastures new” are now opening up before him; and it is to be hoped that the present most attractive booklet is but a first and small instalment of his valuable contributions to classical literature.

A few verses, chosen at random, may not be without interest to many readers of the I. E. RECORD:—

“Far other scene is Thrasimene now;
Her lake a sheet of silver, and her plain
Rent by no ravage save the gentle plough;
Her aged trees rise thick as once the slain
Lay where their roots are.”

And Father Brennan’s lively reproduction runs:—

“Nunc alia longe radias, Trasimene, figura,
Argenti stagnum patuli nunc more renides,
Nulla strage lacer campus nisi mitis aratri,
Surgit et annosis arbor densissima truncis
Ut caesi quondam, radix ubi plexa, jacebant.”

E. M.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

DECEMBER, 1894

THE CIVIL MARRIAGE LAWS IN HUNGARY

THE events that have taken place in the kingdom of Hungary during the past twelve months, disastrous though they may seem to the interests of religion, are, nevertheless, not without their features of comfort and encouragement. In the land of the Magyars the Catholics had been for a long time dormant. They never dreamt that things would come to their present pass, or that there was any urgent need for a distinctive Catholic organization. They belong to a patriotic race, and had entered fully into the political and social life around them, exercising their influence in public and in private for the national welfare in its widest sense, but now and again allowing certain measures of an anti-Catholic nature to pass unnoticed, or to go by default, convinced that the peace and prosperity of their country outweighed many concessions, that Hungary was still Catholic to the core, and that all the power and machinations of their enemies could not make her otherwise. Their confidence has now received a rude shock and they seem thoroughly aroused. The eyes of the world are upon them, and will watch their doings with interest. They have learned a wholesome lesson from the intrigues and manœuvres of their enemies. They have been deceived and betrayed by the bland assurances of statesmen and the schemes of designing politicians. Their patriotism in not creating division, or complicating existing difficulties in

times of trial and political anxiety for their country, has been rewarded by the basest ingratitude, and by the worst form of tyranny and insult. The effect of the whole campaign will be, in all probability, a strong reaction against the anti-Christian laws which have now passed through both houses of Parliament, and only await the sanction of the King. There is always a certain analogy between the various modes of procedure adopted by the enemies of the Church in different countries; and we imagine that the history of the Hungarian "Kulturkampf" cannot but prove highly instructive to those who look on from a distance, and study the problems in dispute, the character of the combatants, and the methods employed by the parties engaged in the struggle.

In reality the "Civil Marriage Bill" is but one item in the whole programme of the so-called Liberal party in Hungary. A regular "Kulturkampf" has been organized and pursued against the old Christian organization of the kingdom. The object of this movement has been well described by an eminent Hungarian Protestant, Baron Ivor Kaas, in a recent number of the *Pesthi Naplo*, one of the principal Hungarian journals:—

"Obligatory civil marriage [he says] is but an instrument in the hands of the Government to crush the Churches. In the eyes of our ministers it is a matter of small importance to withdraw the individual from some particular influence of religion. What they desire is to suppress the influence of Christianity altogether. The state dreamt of by them is neither the denominational state, nor the Christian state; it is the pagan and atheistic state, the state of the Roman Cæsars and of the French Revolution. If the Minister, Szilagyi, triumphed, the victory would be gained against Christianity itself. The liberal state can be founded only on the ruins of Christian civilization. Hence the religious policy proclaimed by the Hungarian Government is a declaration of war on Christianity—a Kulturkampf which is directed not alone against the Catholic Church, but against all Christian Churches."

From this it will be seen that the Catholics are not the only opponents of the civil marriage code. They have faithful allies in the Saxon Protestants of Transylvania, and in the Roumanian and Servian schismatics. Indeed, the

most ardent supporters of the Catholic bishops in the debates in the Chamber of Magnates were the Servian Patriarch, the Roumanian Metropolitan, and Count Albert Zay, the representative of the Lutheran section of the population. When Weckerle, the Prime Minister, finally declared his policy, in 1892, he was abandoned by about twenty Liberal supporters of the Ministry, foremost amongst whom was a former president of the Chamber, M. De Pechy, a zealous Protestant, and curator of the Evangelical Church in Hungary.

On the other hand, the promoters of the anti-Christian movement belong either to the Freemasons, or the Jews, or the Calvinists. The Freemasons have their lodges well established in all the cities and towns of Hungary, and their ravages extend even into the remotest country districts. The Jews, who are scarcely five per cent. of the whole population, are said to possess at least half the soil of Hungary. They exercise an influence altogether out of proportion with their numbers on the Press, the universities, finance, commerce, industry, and government.¹ Like their kinsmen in France, they are actuated by the most intolerant hostility to Catholicism, and never miss an opportunity of dealing a blow at the Church.

But the ablest, and, at the same time, the most ardent of all the foes of Catholicism in Hungary, are undoubtedly the Calvinists. Faithful to their origin, these adventurers are bold and uncompromising. Unless they are kept rigidly under

¹ "Les Juifs qui forment à peine 5 pour 100 de la population totale de la Hongrie possèdent au moins la moitié du sol hongrois. Sur 3192 grand propriétaires terriens que révèle la statistique, il y a 1035 Juifs. L'Etat hongrois possède d'immenses biens qu'il afferme à des particuliers : 67 pour 100 de ces fermiers sont des Juifs. La plupart des petites propriétés appartiennent également au Juifs sous une forme ou sous une autre. La haute finance, le commerce, l'industrie sont entre les mains des Juifs ; de même la presse. La Hongrie est la terre promise d'Israël. En peu d'années le nombre des Juifs a plus que triplé. Dans le diocèse d'Erlau de 1842 à 1888 les Juifs se sont multipliés dans la proportion de 147 pour 100. Ils arrivent de toutes les régions du globe. Avec leur nombre s'est accru leur puissance et leur insolence. Un rescrit du ministre Czaky défend de les appeler par leur nom. In faut, de par la loi, les appeler *Israelites*."—(See article in the *Correspondant* of June 25th, by M. Kannengieser.)

check, they stop at no limits. They have acquired considerable prestige, because some of the most prominent of the Hungarian patriots belonged to their body; but their number is wretchedly small. The whole population of Hungary is about thirteen millions. Of these, over ten millions are Catholics in name, if not in reality. The Jews, Protestants, and Greeks make up the remaining three millions; and of the Protestant section, the Calvinists, or militant party, are only a fraction. If the Catholics could once be got to shake off the trammels of the lodges and the yoke of the synagogues, they might live in peace, as far as religion is concerned. Meanwhile everything seems to be going against them.

The marriage question in Hungary is as old as the Reformation. At an early period in the great revolt a small but determined band of Calvinists endeavoured to reverse the laws of the Church in cases of mixed marriages, and to exact that all the children of such marriages should be brought up as Protestants. In other words, they claimed what was called the right of "reversalia," the popular term employed to designate the solemn compact or promise entered into by the non-Catholic party, on condition of obtaining a dispensation from the Holy See, in virtue of which all the children should be brought up as Catholics. Calvinist bridegrooms often exacted a similar promise from their brides in favour of their own Church, and the abuse had reached such proportions in the days of Maria Theresa, that this illustrious queen had to institute a special commission to inquire into the truth of the complaints made against them. Finding that these Protestant "reversalia" were of frequent occurrence, and that they were absolutely contrary to the laws of the Holy Catholic Church, she decreed that in future mixed marriages should be authorized only on condition that the Protestant party should enter without equivocation or reserve into the engagements required, and thus solemnly bind themselves to bring up their children as Catholics.

Notwithstanding the protests and intrigues of the Calvinists, this ordinance remained in force until Joseph II. ascended the throne. The Sacristan-Emperor, as he is

appropriately called, set to work at once to undo all ecclesiastical legislation, and to substitute his own whims for the time-honoured regulations of the Canon Law. He abolished the "reversalia" as a civil obligation, and decreed, moreover, that, in the case of mixed marriages, where the Catholic party was the wife, only the daughters should be brought up as Catholics. But soon finding that this concession was outrageously abused, that its terms were extended to cases it was never meant to include, and that Protestant fathers made a vigorous attempt to bring up their daughters in hatred of Catholicism, he fulminated two other proclamations, in which he reproached the Protestants with their perfidious conduct, and threatened to withdraw the "Edict of Toleration" he had issued a few years before. This threat he partially carried out a short time afterwards.

The Church, in the meantime, took no notice of the Imperial regulations, as far as its own procedure was concerned. It continued to insist on the rights of the "reversalia." The blessing of the marriage and solemnities of the sacrament were consistently refused, unless the usual undertaking was given. When the notorious Louis Kossuth was getting married, in 1841, the principle was insisted upon. He was a Protestant, and his bride a Catholic. The priest refused to officiate unless Kossuth would bind himself in writing to bring up all his children as Catholics. This he declined to do, and the Church had no more to say to him.

In connection with the marriage of Kossuth a great agitation was raised in the country. Hitherto the law acknowledged as valid only those mixed marriages that were contracted before a Catholic priest; but now, through the intervention of Canon Lonovitch, afterwards Bishop of Czanad, who was sent to Rome for the purpose by Prince Metternich, Pope Gregory XVI. published his celebrated Decree, *Quas Vestro*, by which he acknowledged the *validity* of all mixed marriages in Hungary, even of those contracted in Protestant Churches; and, of course, the civil law was modified in the same sense.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the revolution of 1848

confirmed and extended all the conquests of the non-Catholic sections of the population. They distinguish in Hungary the denominations *received* or recognised by the State, and those that are *not received*, but are simply tolerated. Up to 1848 there were three Churches *received*: the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Greek Church, and the Protestant Church. At that time the United Greek Church and the Church of the Roumanian schismatics were added to the number, so that all the great Christian denominations were then *received*. Each denomination was allowed to make its own regulations and follow its own practices on the marriage question, the State holding aloof, merely acknowledging and giving civil effect to the arrangements agreed upon by individuals and sanctioned by their Church. Although the Catholics suffered somewhat by these civil regulations, still, for the sake of peace, and in order not to increase the difficulties of the Government at critical times, the clergy consented to let things be, and watched as best they could the interests of their flocks. Thus, for twenty years, the different denominations lived in perfect concord, and would have continued in that happy state, if the Freemasons had not intervened for their own nefarious purposes. The word accordingly went forth from the lodges in 1867 that a campaign should be started to revive the ancient quarrels regarding the baptism of the children of mixed marriages.

The result of this agitation was an act of the legislature passed in the following year to the effect:—"That in future, in order to regulate the religion of the children of mixed marriages, sex should follow sex, the male children to be brought up in the religious faith of their fathers, and the females to be educated in the Church of which their mother was a member." It was furthermore enacted: "That if a priest should, in the absence of a non-Catholic clergyman, baptize a child who, by the terms of the law, belongs to a Church other than the Catholic Church, and if he should make an entry in the registry, as he was bound to do, he should likewise send an extract from that registry to the clergyman to whose communion the child by law belonged, in order that he might superintend its religious education."

This the Catholic clergy absolutely refused to do, rightly contending that once they baptized a child they received it into the communion of the Catholic Church ; and that if they were to take any step calculated to remove the child from that communion, directly or indirectly, they would be betraying its interests, and playing the part not of shepherds but of wolves. Their "non possumus" was as firm as that of Pius IX. in the case of the little Jew Mortara. It was in order to punish them for this adhesion to principle, that the Calvinists then put forward for the first time their project of obligatory civil marriage.

Opinion was not yet ripe, however, for so radical an innovation. The lodges and the synagogues took upon themselves to ripen it. The unholy cause was pushed forward with such energy that it soon became a burning question. The most cautious and the ablest of the Liberal statesmen who took the matter in hands endeavoured to represent that there was nothing hostile or offensive to the Catholic Church in this new proposal. The "Sage of the Nation," as the people were accustomed to call Francis Deak, in the last speech of his life, delivered in the Chamber in 1870, declared :—"In my opinion, civil marriage is not at all a religious question. It is a purely civil question. Of the two methods proposed in reference to this matter, viz., voluntary civil marriage and obligatory civil marriage, the first, as it seems to me, is not only illogical and inadmissible, but far more offensive to the Church than obligatory civil marriage. For by it the State says to its citizens: 'If you wish to be joined in wedlock, have recourse to your priests; but if they will not join you, come to me, and I will join you in their stead.' Obligatory civil marriage is altogether different. By it the State proclaims that matrimony is not alone a religious contract, but also a social obligation of the highest importance, since it is the basis of legitimacy and succession. And that is the reason why it should be contracted before the State. Then, as to the religious part, that belongs to the priest. Let him see to that as he wishes. It does not concern us directly as citizens. There is nothing in this either offensive or absurd."

Notwithstanding the support of so distinguished a champion, the promoters of the new project were compelled to bide their time. There was no use in passing anti-Christian laws unless there were magistrates and judges to apply them, an executive to give them administrative effect, and a semblance of public opinion to back them up. The Jews accordingly subsidized the Press and fomented the strife as far as they could, whilst the Government took upon itself to rig the courts and indoctrinate the schools. The prophet of this new movement was Count Koloman Tisza, a man who will long be remembered in the land of the Magyars as the most cunning and relentless foe of Catholicity that had appeared upon the scene since the Reformation.

For fifteen years Tisza held the reins of power, as Prime Minister of Hungary, and beyond all doubt this was one of the darkest periods, from a religious point of view, that the kingdom ever passed through. Tisza's first proposal to the Chambers was a bill to legitimatize the marriages of Jews and Christians. The bill passed the lower chamber without much difficulty, the franchise having been previously allotted and the constituencies mapped out with a view to this result, but it was rejected by the Magnates. The old Christian aristocracy of Hungary were indignant at the idea of Jewish blood being introduced into their families, and all the pressure of the Government and the devices resorted to in order to ensure a majority were of no avail.

The result was hailed as a great relief by all classes of Catholics in the country. Their chief experience of Jews was one of grinding exaction and financial oppression, and now that there was question of family alliances with this hardened race, they felt the greatest anxiety for the future of their children and their country. They were willing that Jews should be allowed to live in their midst without let or hindrance, and enjoy all the civil liberties of citizens. But they drew the line at intermarriage with them. The Magyars were well versed in the history of the redemption; and the memory of the terrible cry, "*sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros*," had a vivid and disturbing echo in their hearts and consciences.

Tisza's cry now became either the *reformation* or the *abolition* of the upper house. It was intolerable that a body of irresponsible legislators should stand between the people and their will. Second chambers that refused to register the voice of the sovereign people, whether it be for good or ill, should be swept away. They were an anachronism and an absurdity. A proposal for the reform of the upper house was in due course submitted to Parliament. It was of a sweeping and alarming character. The number of Catholic bishops sitting amongst the Magnates was to be reduced from fifty-three to thirty. The number of representatives of the other Churches was to be considerably increased, and the Obergespaenn, or immovable prefects, were to be withdrawn and replaced by removables who should be willing to take their orders from the ministry. The consent of the Magnates themselves was required, however, for their self-destruction, and, as might be expected, they refused it. Tisza succeeded all the same in persuading them to accept a compromise, and thus attained the principal object he had in view. Having now practically a free hand, as far as the two chambers were concerned, he proceeded at once to his work of secularization. He secularized the Catholic university of Buda Pesth, and nominated free-thinkers to almost every chair in its halls. He passed a law which gave into the hands of the Freemasons the administration of ecclesiastical property. He filled public offices of every description with creatures of his propaganda; and now, when the time was ripe, he returned to the vexed question of the civil marriage.

The plan that he conceived for carrying his views into effect was so to harrass the Catholic clergy by petty persecution, that they would ultimately cry out for the civil code themselves and welcome it as a relief. The clergy were bound according to the law of 1868 when they baptized such a child of a mixed marriage as did not belong to the Catholic Church in the eyes of the law, which declared that sex should follow sex, to send an extract of the registry to the clergyman to whose denomination the child was by law apportioned. The clergy refused to carry out this law, and there was hitherto no means of compelling them to carry it

out. Tisza now had a supplementary bill passed through parliament which decreed that: "Whoever should receive into another communion or denomination a minor of less than eighteen years, contrary to the dispositions of the law of 1868, should be liable to a fine of three hundred florins and to two months' imprisonment." By this threat he thought he could crush the Catholic clergy and reduce them to absolute submission. He counted, however, without his host. The Catholic clergy would not allow themselves to be intimidated. They held meetings and conferences all over the country, and everywhere protested that they were willing to face poverty and prison rather than shirk their duty. They continued, as in the past, to follow the regulations of the Church and not those of the State in the matter in dispute. But now the Calvinist pastors, the lodges, and the Jews, were on the alert; and the spectacle was witnessed in a Catholic country of priests being dragged before civil tribunals, and accused of doing what their duty and their conscience alike directed them to do.

At this period the magistracy of Hungary and the Courts of justice had not been "purified," as they call it in France. Tisza, no doubt, had made a beginning; but these things take time, and a transformation cannot be effected as in the scenes of a drama. To their honour, therefore, be it said, both judges and magistrates declined to make themselves the tools of this vile campaign. After all, they belonged to the people, and had the old faith of the people in their hearts. Why should they lend themselves to an onslaught on their clergy and their faith? They regularly acquitted the Catholic priests, declaring that in the terms of the law of 1879 the case of baptism was not mentioned at all; that that law spoke of receiving a minor from one denomination into another; and that, in the case of baptism this did not take place, as before the baptism the child did not belong to any denomination.

After this check there was a lull in the storm for a short time. But Tisza was not to be outwitted. It was dangerous to have recourse to a new law; for the people were beginning to be tired of these interminable squabbles, and did not want to be paraded before the world as persecutors of the Church.

There was, however, another means of compassing his ends, if only he could get a man with sufficient energy of character, and sufficient hatred of the Church, to employ them. Such a man he found, in the year 1888, in the person of Count Albin Czaky, a worthy associate for such a task. Czaky was himself the fruit of a mixed marriage, and, although a Catholic in name, had imbibed from his Protestant mother a most extravagant hatred of the Church and its inflexible dogmas. On the 15th of September, 1889, he wrote to the illustrious Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, to say that as the magistrates refused to apply the law voted by Parliament in 1879, he was going to settle the matter by a ministerial rescript. The Cardinal replied that any such step would raise a great storm in the country, excite hatred and war between people who were satisfied, if allowed, to live in peace, and have as an undoubted effect that in future the bishops would refuse to grant any dispensations whatsoever in the case of mixed marriages. The minister replied in an offensive letter, full of dry cynicism and sarcasm; and on the 22nd of February, 1890, his famous rescript was issued to all the prefects of the kingdom and to all inspectors of police. A copy of it was also despatched to each of the bishops.

By this rescript the minister decreed: "That any priest who should refuse to give over to the Protestant pastor a copy of the baptismal register of a child of a mixed marriage baptized by him should be liable to a fine of three hundred florins, and that any contravention of this order should be tried and punished, not by the ordinary judges and magistrates, but by the removable stipendiaries of the Government, and by the inspectors and prefects of police." The latter were authorized to have recourse to distress in order to recover the fines, and any priest who refused to comply with their orders was to be liable to two months' imprisonment. To realize the full import of this decree, it must be borne in mind that the child thus handed over became officially a Protestant, and was obliged by law, no matter what the wish of the parents might be, to go to the Protestant school and receive Protestant religious instruction.

During all this agitation the bishops of Hungary played

a moderate and conciliating part ; indeed, far too moderate and far too conciliatory in the opinion of many. They, however, were the best judges; and although some of them were denounced on public platforms by the more ardent spirits among the clergy, who did not hesitate to accuse individuals amongst them of lukewarmness, avarice, and simony, and of truckling to Jews, and courts, and free-thinking ministers, with selfish aims and greedy purposes, still they held on the even tenor of their way, always counselling moderation and forbearance in spite of all provocation.

But now things were beginning to assume an alarming aspect. The law of 1868 which decreed that sex should follow sex, was opposed to the natural law, for it took away from the parents their natural God-given right to direct as they wished the education of their children. Owing to the resistance of the clergy and the common sense of officials, it had hitherto practically remained a dead letter. But now Czaky was determined to go to all extremes, and the bishops could hesitate no longer. Cardinal Simor accordingly summoned his colleagues to deliberate on a common plan of resistance, and a conference of all the bishops of Hungary took place in his primatial palace at Ofen on the 12th of April, 1890.

It has since transpired that the Cardinal Primate was in favour, at this meeting, of issuing a joint letter or manifesto to the Catholic people of Hungary, telling them that some of their most cherished rights and liberties were being menaced by the Government, and asking them to rally round their clergy at this grave crisis, and strike a blow for the faith of their forefathers and the ancient Church of St. Stephen. It is said that the people would have responded with alacrity to such a call. They only wanted the word of command, or even of permission. Until orders came from above their hands were tied. Notwithstanding this, other councils prevailed. An archbishop in the confidence of the Government recommended that an appeal should be made to the Holy See to sanction the laws and regulations of the Government, and that until an answer should be obtained ministers would undertake not to enforce the directions of the rescript. Cardinal Simor was willing to exhaust all the means of

securing peace on conditions of honour and respect for the usages of the Church, but he declined to petition the Holy See for a decision contrary to its teaching and well-known practice. He agreed, however, to put a question to the Holy Father in the ordinary form, knowing well that the answer could only be a confirmation of the usual practice, and hoping this might have some effect upon the Government.

The question was therefore forwarded to the Holy Father, on the 20th of May, 1890, by Cardinal Simor, Primate of Hungary, in the name of all the bishops, asking—1. Whether parish priests could comply with the orders of the Government to transfer an extract of the register to Protestant clergymen, under the conditions mentioned above? 2. In case the answer were in the affirmative, whether the Hungarian bishops could avail themselves of the faculties hitherto conferred on them by the Holy See to grant dispensations in the impediment "*mixta religionis*?" A special commission of cardinals was appointed by the Pope to examine these two questions, and all the circumstances pertaining to them. The reply of this commission was confirmed by the Pope, and despatched to Cardinal Simor, on the 7th of July of the same year. As might be expected, the answer to the first question is in the negative. With regard to the second, the answer is, that the bishops may continue to dispense in the case of mixed marriages, but under condition that the parties would bind themselves solemnly to bring up their children as Catholics. Cardinal Simor, foreseeing the possibility that these requirements might be regarded as mere formalities by contracting parties, asked for some further elucidations regarding the second answer. The whole question was examined anew at Rome, and the formal decision, given below,¹ was forwarded to the

¹ "In re tam gravi Summus Pontifex mandavit ut prædicta dubia iudicio subicerentur peculiaris Congregationis Emorum Cardinalium qui, considerate perpensa utraque quaestione, ad primum *negative* responderunt: quod ad alterum pertinet, item *negative* dederunt responsum nisi hae duae simul conditiones existant. Prima in eo est ut tam pars Catholica quam acatholica formaliter omnes præstat cautiones quae a naturali et divino jure in mixtis matrimoniis exiguntur. Altera est ut moraliter certi sint Episcopi de sponsonum sinceritate earumque implemento, non obstantibus litteris circularibus a gubernio datis. Has Patrum Emorum responsiones Summis Pontifex probavit et ratas habuit."

Cardinal Primate. This decision, as will be seen, insists not only that the bishops should require the solemn declaration, as heretofore, that the children be brought up as Catholics, but that they should also have some guarantee that this declaration was a *bona fide* one, and that the promise would be carried into effect, in spite of the Government circular.

Czaky got word at an early date of the Roman decision, and his action regarding it cannot but be considered both mean and treacherous. He had special reasons, at that particular time, for endeavouring to secure the favour of the Emperor-King; and, knowing that the clergy would take action against him, he feared the bishops might use all their power and influence with his Majesty to ensure his disfavour. But a short time before the astute old Tisza, with all his wiles and schemes, was hurled from power, owing to economic and administrative complications; and Czaky became the Freemason candidate for the premiership. The appointment, however, depended on the Emperor, who had his choice between several individuals. Czaky, to ingratiate himself with the bishops and the Emperor, sent word to his Majesty that he understood a decision adverse to the Government on the marriage question had reached the Cardinal Primate from Rome, and that, in the interests of a settlement of the whole affair, he hoped it would not be published. Meantime he himself would see what could be done. This looked as if the Minister were about to climb down; but it only looked it. In reality it was only one of the misleading devices to which he was so well accustomed. Cardinal Simor was summoned to Vienna, and asked to delay the publication of the Roman decision. The Cardinal was devotedly attached to the Crown, and to the Emperor personally, on account of his piety, his excellent example to all his court and people. He had the deepest sympathy with him in the midst of his many cares and difficulties. On his account he consented, although much against his will, to postpone the publication.

Czaky, however, did not succeed in his plan of self-advancement. The Emperor sent for Count Joseph Szapary

to form a cabinet, after the fall of Tisza. Szapary was personally a good man, a gentleman of pure Hungarian blood ; in his private life a fervent Catholic, but in politics a Liberal of the Liberals. He accepted office only in the hope of being able to stem the tide of anti-clerical prejudice and hatred ; but the real result was, that he was carried away by the current, till he scarcely recognised his principles or his surroundings. He was obliged, for the purposes of concentration, and in order to satisfy a large group of Liberals, to retain the services of Czaky in the Ministry of Worship. It is unnecessary to say that Czaky returned to the charge with a fresh supply of venom. To the Clericals he attributed the failure of his project to attain the premiership, and on the Clericals he determined to have his revenge. He had now, after the reconstruction of the Cabinet, a stronger majority than ever at his back. Szapary, if he were to remain in power at all, was obliged to leave him a free hand. One of his first acts was to get his majority to adopt a motion declaring that the law of 1868 should be firmly maintained, and that the rescript of February should be strictly enforced.

The Cardinal now called another meeting of the bishops, and was fully determined to publish the Papal decision and to exhort the people to stand by it and defend it. But before the bishops assembled, the influence of the Emperor and the court was again brought to bear upon him. This, however, was too much for the brave-hearted Cardinal. He had been devoted to the empire all his life. He had received almost innumerable marks of regard and affection from the Emperor and from almost every member of his family. Was he now to discard imperial advice in this matter? Would it be his duty to ignore it, and act as if it had never come? The Emperor had many enemies already: was he to side with them and strengthen their position? We live in democratic days, when the misdeeds of rulers are often magnified, and when a cry can be easily got up not only against their authority, but against their crowns. Francis Joseph was one of the only survivors of the old race of kings and emperors who had weathered all the storms of heresy and revolution,

and remained, personally at all events, still devoted to the See of Peter. After all, he deserved some consideration. On the other hand, there was the white banner of St. Stephen, that had been handed down to him without rent or stain: was he to bequeath it to his successors tarnished and dishonoured? There were behind him nine centuries of unbroken allegiance to the Catholic creed of St. Stephen and to the mother and mistress of all the Churches in the world: was it ever to be said that he had faltered for a moment regarding the slightest injunction from the one or from the other? Nobody who knew the Cardinal's past record could doubt for a moment what course he would take. It would be moderate, dignified, patient; but it would be firm, and it would be on the side of faith and of Rome. The necessity for such alternatives preyed, however, on the mind and on the health of the illustrious prince of the Church. Such unexpected troubles embittered his last days and hastened his death.

"On the 23rd of January, 1891," writes a distinguished Continental priest,¹ "the Primate breathed his last in his palace at Gran, and carried with him to the tomb the heartfelt affection and unspeakable regret of the whole Catholic nation. For the Church of Hungary his loss was irreparable. Simor had all through been the soul of Catholic resistance. In him were personified all the religious characteristics of the strong Magyar race. In the midst of many desertions he was always at his post, vigilant and firm. Whilst other guardians of the temple faltered or slept, Simor watched and struggled, and grouped around him men of good will. From the frail appearance of this prelate no one would mark him out as a leader of the people. There was nothing particularly striking in his presence, but his eyes were full of light and intelligence. He was deeply versed in every ecclesiastical branch of learning, and it was on account of his talents and his varied gifts, that he, the son of a poor shoemaker of Stuhlweisenburg, had reached the highest position that a man can occupy in Hungary. Starting from the lowest

¹ A. Kannengieser, in the *Corraspondant*, June 10, 1894.

rungs of the social ladder, he had become Archbishop of Gran, Primate of Hungary, Legate of the Holy See, and Prince of the Church. Such splendour and so many honours did not change in the least the character of the humble prelate. He was as modest, as affable, as genial, under the purple or the scarlet as he had been in the simple cassock of the student. In a country in which nepotism is not unknown he was beyond the breath of suspicion. Although he had immense revenues, he did not use them to enrich his relatives. He often returned to visit his humble parents; but, whilst seeing that they never wanted for anything, he required that they should not change in any respect their way of life. He consecrated his great wealth to works of charity and to undertakings of general public utility. "Ecclesiastical benefices," he used to say, "belong to God and the poor." Simor was a Maecenas, in the fullest and best acceptation of the word. He completed and decorated at his own expense the Cathedral of Gran, spending two million florins on the work. He built a primatial palace, and established in it a vast library and picture gallery. He erected schools and colleges all over his diocese. The number of orphanages that he established gained for him the title which he valued most, "The father of Hungarian orphans." It was in the midst of cares and works like these that he became involved in the troubles of public life, and that death came upon him. Catholic Hungary wept over his grave, and prayed for a successor worthy to take up the crozier he had laid aside for ever."

It is one of the anomalies to which the Church is obliged to submit in those days in certain countries of Europe, that Freemasons, Calvinists, atheistic cabinets and ministers should have a voice in choosing her own rulers; and in Hungary this anomaly prevails with every circumstance that can add to its unpleasantness. Cardinal Simor was scarcely laid in his final resting-place when the minister Czaky appointed a friend and favourite of his own, Monsignor Samassa, Archbishop of Erlau, to administer the diocese of Gran until a primate should be appointed. Great anxiety was felt in Hungary about the succession to Simor.

The names of many prominent bishops were canvassed by public rumour and the newspapers. But the Holy See and its advisers had their own counsels, and no small astonishment was created when it was one day authentically announced that the new Prince-Bishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary bore the unknown name of Nicholas Vasary. Monsignor Vasary, who had been prior of a Benedictine monastery, was duly installed in the primatial see, and took the word "Pax" as his motto. This was a programme in itself. He recommended moderation to all concerned, and told his followers that strength of character is manifested as much in patience as in action. In every movement, religious or otherwise, there are sure to be extremists, and amongst the Hungarian clergy the class was pretty largely represented. Carried away by their ardour in a good cause, they sometimes allowed themselves to be betrayed into ill-considered and fiery language, which, in the opinion of people of sounder judgment and greater experience, did not serve the interests they intended to promote. It was these alone that Monsignor Vasary wished to restrain. He was otherwise convinced of the necessity for firm as well as moderate action.

. By this time the ministerial rescript of Czaky was in full force. Several members of the clergy had been tried and condemned. The people were beginning to realize that clerical persecution was no mockery, and that something should be done. They got their first opportunity of doing it at the general elections of 1892.

These elections were held under circumstances never known before in Hungary. Hitherto the bishops and clergy had never taken up an open attitude of hostility at the elections to the Government candidates. But now all was changed. Several bishops wrote pastoral letters warning their people of the danger they incurred in voting for the supporters of the Government. The priests headed the campaign in nearly every electoral division in the country. They confined themselves, however, to the organization of societies and clubs, leaving for the most part to the Catholic laity, who were, if anything, more ardent than themselves, the task of platform speaking, canvassing, and bringing voters to the poll. In more than eighty districts the candidates were

required to sign a declaration that they would defend the interests of the Catholic Church, and vote against the anti-Christian laws suggested by the programme of Tisza, Czaky, and their friends. Through want of proper organization, and the people being unaccustomed to anything of the kind, not much impression was made on the strength of the ministerialists. There was a slight falling off, however, and the comparative success of the Catholics was attributed to Szapary, who declined to apply repressive measures, and insisted on the freedom of election. This was enough to settle Szapary's future. On the return of the Liberals to office they were determined that he should adopt the whole programme of anti-Christian legislation, or take the consequence. They issued to him the ultimatum of Gambetta, "*se soumettre ou se démettre*;" and, like MacMahon, he withdrew from the band, and left them to carry on their miserable freemason war against his Church and faith. With the new Prime Minister, Weckerle, the eternal question of obligatory civil marriage was brought to the front once more, and now entered the acute stage, where we must, unfortunately, leave it for the present.

We had hoped to condense into a single paper a full account of this whole question, but we were drawn along by the sequence, and what to us, at all events, appeared the absorbing interest of the events. Even as it is, we could only trace the outlines of the struggle. The picture could be filled in by innumerable details of minor importance, of local petty tyrants imitating the tactics of their chiefs, of aspiring politicians earning promotion by their anti-clerical zeal, of spirited action and patient endurance manifested by individual priests. But all that would fill a volume, and is not necessary for our purposes. In a future number we shall give a brief account of the last stages of the fight and of the hated provisions and details of the Civil Marriage Bill, such as it passed the Houses of Parliament. We are happy to say that it has not, so far, become the law of Hungary, as the Emperor, Francis Joseph, has not given it his sanction. It is supposed, however, that this will be only a matter of time.

J. F. HOGAN,

Editor I. E. R.

ADAM AND EVE BEFORE THE FALL

IN a previous paper,¹ treating of the question of the salvation of children who die without Baptism, it was laid down that a state of pure nature was possible ; and that, therefore, the original elevation of our first parents to a supernatural state, together with the glorious attributes with which they were equipped, was due entirely to an act of the Divine generosity to which as human beings they could never establish a title. Such a state was not only possible, but it was the very state in which, apart from the teaching of revelation, we should expect man to have been created. "*Nemo novit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius et cui vult Filius revelare,*" and deprived of the light of faith, man could never conceive that he was to be elevated to the dignity of sonship of God, and made a participator in the immediate vision of the Deity. God, indeed, when He decreed to create man, was bound, so far as it is lawful to speak of an obligation in connection with the Supreme Being, to satisfy the requirements of his nature, and to sustain him in a position in keeping with his dignity. Having given him an immortal soul capable of eliciting acts of intelligence and volition, He was called on to make such provision for him in a future state as would satisfy the various lawful desires implanted in his soul. All, however, would have been in the natural order. There would be no such thing as grace to elevate the powers of the soul and enable it to elicit acts worthy of a supernatural reward. There would be no such thing as the "*lumen gloriæ,*" whereby seeing God, the souls of the just become like unto Him. Man himself would have been a purely natural being struggling with the temptations which from time to time would assail him, guided as to what would be right and wrong by the "*lex scripta in corde suo,*" and aided, as, no doubt, he would be in its observance, by the liberal helps with which, as occasion required, the Creator would enrich his soul.

¹ I. E. RECORD, July, 1894.

These helps would have been all of the natural order, and just as man, by using them according to the designs of the Creator, would have been recompensed after death with a perpetual happiness in accordance with his state, so by abusing them, and standing out in opposition to God, he would be punished with suffering in proportion to his guilt. Since there would be no grace in this life, there would be no immediate vision of God in the next; and however ennobling the faculties with which the creature would have been endowed, however rich and varied the special helps he would receive, as long as the supernaturalizing influence of the "donum Dei" was absent, he could never aspire even to the lowest grade of a supernatural reward. "Nihil potest," writes St. Thomas, "ad altiore operationem elevari, nisi per hoc quod ejus virtus fortificatur . . . Virtus autem intellectus creatus non sufficit ad divinam substantiam videndam . . . operet igitur quod fiat augmentum virtutis intellectivae per alicujus novae dispositionis adeptionem."¹

While such a state of pure nature was possible, it is the teaching of Catholic theology that our first parents were raised to a supernatural state; that they received, body as well as soul, certain privileges which entirely transformed their natural faculties, and placed them on a pinnacle far above the possible state in which they might have been created. "Si quis," says the Council of Trent, "non confitetur primum hominem Adam, cum mandatum Dei in Paradiso fuerit transgressus statim *sanctitatem et justitiam* in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse . . . atque ideo *mortem* quam antea illi comminatus fuerat Deus et cum morte *captivitatem* sub ejus potestate, qui mortis deinde habuit imperium, hoc est, diaboli, totumque Adam per illam praevaricationis offensam, secundum corpus et animam in deterius commutatum fuisse; anathema sit."

It is, indeed, a question about which theologians are divided, whether our first parents received these various gifts as they issued from the hands of the Creator, or whether an interval of time elapsed between the fiat of

¹ *Contra Gentes*, i. 3, cap. 53.

creation and the particular moment at which they became so richly endowed. St. Bonaventure, Scotus, the *Magister Sententiarum*, &c., are quoted as holding that our first parents received indeed many privileges as they sprang into existence, but that a time elapsed before they obtained the special gift of sanctifying grace, whereby they acquired a right to a supernatural reward. "Habuerunt quidem a primo suae creationis instanti rectitudinem quamdam tum animae tum corporis . . . sed nonnisi post aliquod tempus obtinuerunt gratiam sanctificantem per quam recte disponebantur in ordine ad finem supernaturalem." St. Thomas, and theologians generally, hold the opposite opinion. According to these, the orders of nature and grace, though perfectly distinct, did, as a matter of fact, start together as the one act of creation; and until the fall there never was a moment during which the souls of our first parents were not under the supernaturalizing influence of grace. "Probabilius est," writes St. Thomas, "ut cum homo creatus fuit in naturalibus integris, quae otiosa esse non poterant, quod in primo instanti creationis ad Deum conversus gratiam consecutus sit."¹ This opinion harmonizes much better with the "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram;" and, although not formally defined by the Tridentine fathers, it is much more in keeping with the words of the definition: "Sanctitatem et justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat." It is quite certain, at all events, that at some time before the fall, if not immediately on the breathing of the breath of life, our first parents became possessed of the aggregate of gifts which go to make up the state of original justice. How long they continued in this exalted state is, for the most part, if not entirely, a matter of conjecture. There is a tradition—which, however, does not appear to have very much authority—according to which they were created on a Friday, and fell into sin on the following Friday, when forthwith they forfeited all the privileges of their state.

Now, amongst the gifts which our first parents received,

¹ 2 *Dist.* No. 29, q. 1, a. 2.

sanctifying grace must ever hold the first place. It was not merely the greatest of all the Creator's gifts, and the reason why the others were given, but it alone entirely transformed their natural faculties, and gave them a right to a supernatural reward, which only the ingress of sin to their souls could destroy. It is impossible, indeed, to fully understand the dignity they received by grace, or to realize the beauty of their souls whilst they retained possession of it. Grace is altogether a supernatural quality, to which no creature can lay claim, and which belongs only to God Himself. Nature bears a similar relation to grace to that which inanimate matter bears to life; and just as matter which is without life cannot infuse into itself the vital spark, but must receive it from another, neither can any mere rational creature, however richly endowed in the order of nature, acquire grace by his own labour and merit. It is altogether a gift of God; and even the angels do not by nature possess the dignity a soul receives by grace. So true is this, that theologians generally maintain that God cannot produce a created being that would already possess grace; and that to suppose such a thing in existence would be to suppose one differing in nothing from the Creator Himself. By sanctifying grace our first parents were not merely elevated above their own natural condition, but they were made, in a certain sense, participators in the divine nature. They assumed a position so peculiar to the divine nature, and became so similar to the Deity, that, in the language of the fathers and theologians, they might be said to be deified. Grace, while in no way destroying the natural faculties of the soul, penetrated them, and united itself so closely with them, that it communicated its own glorious prerogatives, and made them the most glorious work of the Creator. Grace raised our first parents from what would have been their natural condition of slaves to that of adopted children; and hence we find applied to souls in the state of grace those words of St. John: "Now we are sons of God, but it hath not yet appeared what we shall be;" and those other words of our Blessed Saviour: "I have said you are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High." In the possession of sanctifying

grace our first parents had the root of their future glorification in soul and body. The light of glory, by which the just see God face to face, is nothing more than the full development of grace ; and had our first parents preserved faithfully the privileges of their exalted state, they would, when their term of probation had ceased, have been transferred from the terrestrial to the celestial paradise ; and the “visio per speculum” would have been changed into the “visio facie ad faciem.”

Besides sanctifying grace, which was by far the greatest of all their gifts, our first parents received many others. Freedom from concupiscence, or the gift of integrity, as it is called, would perhaps hold the next place. “Quod autem ad animam pertinet,” writes the Roman Catechism, “eam Deus ad imaginem et similitudinem suam formavit, liberumque ei arbitrium tribuit : omnes præterea motus animi atque temperationes ita in eo temperavit, ut rationis imperio nunquam non resisteret.” “Non voluntatem,” writes St. Augustine, “cupiditas duxit, non præcessit voluntatem, non resistit voluntati.” Ever since the unhappy moment when original sin destroyed the beauty of the human soul, there has been a continued struggle between the various faculties of which it is composed, and a constant effort on the part of the inferior appetites to dethrone reason from the position of authority which God and nature had assigned to it. “Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum” tells the story, even of those most under the influence of grace, and none perhaps better than St. Paul has given expression to the lamentable struggle for superiority that ever rages within the breast of man : “I do not the good I would, but I do the evil I would not. I see in my members another law repugnant to the law of my mind which subjects me to the law of concupiscence which is in my members.”

This unhappy conflict is but one outcome of original sin. In the state of primeval justice in which our first parents were created, there was no disturbing element. No storm of passion swept across the soul to ruffle the calm that reigned within. The Creator so disposed the various faculties that each exercised its functions within its own sphere, and

manifested no tendency to dispute the authority of a superior. The senses rushed blindly to no forbidden objects, but like so many willing handmaids ministered to the superior faculties. Within the soul reason held queenly sway; it issued its commands, and they were freely obeyed. The will now so prone to anticipate, and even to thwart the intellect in its judgments, awaited its decisions and was guided by it in all its desires. These harmonious relations were, no doubt, largely due to the influence of grace and to the perfect equanimity established in the soul by the Creator; but it is reasonable to suppose that, just as in the present order of things God makes use of external objects to withdraw men from sin and its occasions, He would in the state of original justice have guarded the senses of our first parents from dangerous objects, and kept their minds free of distracting thoughts. "*Poterat Deus,*" writes Suarez, "*partim providendo ne objecta perturbantia hanc animi pacem et tranquillitatem occurrerent, partim applicando et excitando rationem et voluntatem atque etiam phantasiam, partim per alios occultos modos providentie suae hanc subordinationem illaesam conservare.*"

To the gift of integrity, or freedom from concupiscence, there was superadded the special gift of immortality. The soul of its own nature is immortal; it can never die, and even in the possible state of pure nature God would have made provision for it after its term of union with the body had come to an end. The body, on the other hand, is subject to death; it is composed of parts, and its downward tendency under the corroding influence of age must ever be to revert to the parts of which it is composed. When the Apostle, therefore, says that the wages of sin is death, and the Council of Trent defines that by sin Adam incurred death, the meaning is, that our parents, besides incurring by sin the eternal death of the soul, lost that special attribute of their exalted nature by which their bodies were to be preserved, for ever, from corruption and death.

The gift of immortality was, no doubt, a very extraordinary one, and, apparently at least, very much opposed to the nature of things. At the same time, to account for

its existence, it does not appear a necessity to assume a constantly-recurring miracle or any suspension of the laws of nature, or, indeed, to postulate the existence of any inherent life-preserving quality which, while warding off danger from without, would prevent the various members of the body from lapsing into a state of decay. "Ad praeservandum hominem," writes Mazzella, "a morte violenta, non erat necessaria in homine aliqua intrinseca qualitas, ut nonnullis placuit;" and a little further down the same author adds:—"Ad praeservandum vero primum hominem a morte naturali, uti fert communior Theologorum sententia, Patrum doctrinae conformior, nec ulla admittenda est intrinseca qualitas;"¹ for, as Suarez, quoted by the same author remarks, "Illa qualitas (intrinseca) nimis esset miraculosa et nullum habet fundamentum." Death, as now, might occur in one of two ways. It might be the result of some unforeseen accident, or the gradual outcome of such a wasting away of the powers of the body as would render it unfit to be the companion of an immortal soul. God could easily—humanly speaking—have preserved our first parents from a sudden death. The forces of nature and the irrational objects of creation were perfectly under their control, and it is only reasonable to suppose that, in their blissful state, those ministering spirits would exercise special vigilance over them, and guard them "in all their ways." In the present order God oftentimes protects men from danger, and in ways unknown withdraws them from unforeseen accidents. How much more easily could He have done so in the case of our first parents, whose minds were filled with a knowledge of everything that might imperil their safety, and fortified with a prudence in all their actions to which even the most highly-gifted of their posterity cannot aspire?

"Corpus," writes St. Thomas, "hominis poterat praeservari . . . partim quidem per propriam rationem, per quam poterat nociva vitare, partim etiam per divinam providentiam quae sic ipsum tuebatur ut nihil ei occurreret ex improvise a quo laederetur."²

¹ *De Deo Creante. Disp. iv., Art. v.*

² *Mazzella, Disp. iv., Art. v.*

The peculiar nature of their being, the happy circumstances in which they were placed, together with the ordinary helps at hand, would, it is believed, have the effect of warding off death arising from natural causes, and preserving unimpaired the members of their bodies. In the state of original justice, with all its glorious prerogatives, there would not have been that tendency to decay which is now so marked a characteristic of the human body. The Garden of Eden was an abode of peace and happiness within whose hallowed precincts sickness, disease, or those other ills of life which so depress the energy of man and so quickly weaken the robustness of his frame, had no existence. "Sicut in Paradiso," writes St. Augustine, "nulla aestas aut frigus sic in ejus habitatore nulla ex cupiditate vel timore accedebat bonae voluntatis offensio, nihil omnino triste . . . non lassitudo fatigabat otiosum, non somnus premebat invitum." "Nullus intrinsecus morbus, nullus ictus metuebatur extrinsecus, summa in carne sanitas."¹ The earth spontaneously yielded fruits of the most agreeable and nutritious kind, so that our first parents were not obliged to undergo the weariness of toil and labour to secure the means of subsistence. For, as St. Augustine says, "Cibus aderat ne esuriret, potus ne sitiret." They were strangers, furthermore, to that perpetual warfare that ever goes on between the two natures of man, and which, no doubt hastens on decay and death. Within their souls there reigned a glorious calm. There were no violent passions to subdue, no useless regrets for the past, no gloomy forebodings for the future, while the natural beauties of Paradise must have been a constant subject of admiration for their newly-created minds. Besides that perfect tranquillity of mind and body, and those harmonious relations between the various appetites—all of which must have contributed largely to prolong the lives of our first parents—there was placed in the midst of the garden the tree of life, the fruit of which was specially designed to secure the immortality of their bodies. "Quamdiu," writes St. Augustine, "in Creatoris

¹ *De Civ. Dei.*, i. 14, c. 20.

lege duravit, dignus fuit edere de arbore vitæ ut mori non posset.”¹ This fruit possessed a wondrous efficacy. It not merely supported our first parents in the ordinary way by satisfying the claims of nature, and becoming assimilated to their substance, but by special inherent properties of its own it had the effect of warding off the natural debility of old age and counteracting every tendency to decay. How long its efficacy would have lasted, whether for a time or “in perpetuum;” whether it would be necessary to partake of it only once or several times during the probationary period, these are questions which are open to controversy and about which there exists a diversity of opinion. This much, at all events, is certain, that had our first parents preserved faithfully the privileges of their state, they would never have been subjected to the violent pangs of death. They would have passed their days pleasantly in the garden of delights; their souls, under the influence of grace, would live in constant communion with God; their bodies, nurtured with the fruit of the tree of life, would preserve their pristine vigour to the last, and, when the term of probation had expired, they would have been transferred, body and soul, from earth to heaven.

Reference has been already made to the absence of the “*aerumnae vitæ*,” or the ills of life from the garden of delights. Our first parents were not subject to sickness or disease; they suffered neither from excessive heat nor intense cold; and, while as human beings they possessed animal natures, whose claims they should satisfy by the use of food and drink, they experienced none of the inconveniences arising from hunger and thirst. “*Cibus*,” writes St. Thomas, quoted by Mazzella,² “*sumebatur ad restaurationem deperditi et ad augmentum corporis in quantitate perfecta;*” and Suarez, quoted by the same author, adds:—“*Imo futura etiam erat in statu innocentiae fames et sitis non quidem quatenus important aliquam molestiam, sed prout important nudum appetitum edendi et bibendi.*” God placed Adam in a garden of pleasure, telling him that he was

¹ *Ibid.*² *Disp. iv., Art. 6.*

to dress and guard it (Gen. ii. 15). The labour imposed must have been of the mildest kind. It was labour unaccompanied with languor or fatigue, which, while affording gentle and pleasing exercise to the body, and dispelling every tendency to idleness, brought joy to his active mind.

As lord of creation, Adam possessed authority over all things created. The various inferior living organisms were called into existence to minister to his wants, and all gladly acknowledged his gentle sway. The beautiful harmony existing within himself—the result of the willing subjection of the inferior appetites to the superior—had its counterpart in the world outside, when the entire brute creation submitted without question to his rightful authority. “God created man of the earth, and made him after His own image. . . . He put the fear of him upon all flesh, and he had dominion over beasts and fowl” (Ecc. cxvii. 1-5). We can have no better idea of the complete authority possessed by Adam over all living things than that supplied by the facts narrated in the book of Genesis :—God called all the beasts of the earth and all the fowls of the air to Adam, that he might give them a name. All willingly obeyed the summons ; they crouched around the king of creation, who called all by their names, and “whatsoever Adam called any living thing the same is its name” (Gen. ii. 19, 20).

Not the least remarkable amongst the gifts bestowed on our first parents, was that of knowledge. As father and preceptor of the human family, it was fitting that the Creator should endow Adam with a perfect science, both of natural and supernatural things ; and such, there is reason to believe, he possessed. “*Primus homo*,” writes St. Thomas, quoted by Mazzella, “*ita etiam institutus est in statu perfecto quantum ad animam ut statim posset alios instruere et gubernare. . . . Et ideo primus homo sic institutus est a Deo ut haberet omnium scientiam in quibus homo natus est instrui.*”¹ The very duty assigned to him of naming the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and the fidelity

¹ *Disp. iv., Art 6.*

with which it was discharged, show how thoroughly he must have understood the various species of living organisms that go to make up the animal creation. "Quod magna sapientia," says St. John Chrysostom, "praeditus fuerit, disce ex-iis quae nunc fiunt." "Et adduxit illa."¹ The knowledge possessed by Adam was, no doubt, infused from the very beginning, and therefore the result of no mental exertion on his part; but even as a mere human inquirer his mind was peculiarly fitted to grapple with the intellectual problems that lay around him. No distracting thoughts arose within his mind to thwart it in its pursuit of knowledge. There were no rebellious appetites to subdue, no lassitude of spirit to combat; and hence, even as a natural philosopher viewing the wonders of creation from its very threshold, he was better fitted than any other mere human being ever created to solve the problems it presented, and to understand the laws that regulate matter in its varied forms.

His knowledge of supernatural truths was no less profound. "He created in them the science of the spirit, he filled their hearts with wisdom, and he showed them both good and evil" (Ecc. xvii. 6). There can be no doubt but from the beginning Adam understood the privileges of his exalted state, and the glorious end for which he was created. That he was conversant with the mysteries of faith, and had an extensive knowledge of the divine truths—such as was befitting one whose duty it would be to instruct those who came after him—is equally certain. As yet, indeed, he was not privileged to see God face to face, and to read in the Divine Essence itself the "species omnium veritatum;" nevertheless, his constant communing with God, together with the preternatural enlightenment of his soul, must have led him into a knowledge of God, and of his relations with man, to which even the most profound theologian could not aspire.

To knowledge of the intellect there was superadded rectitude of the will, and not only was the father of the human race free from every trace of sin, but his soul was,

¹ Mazzella, *Disp.* iv., Art. 6.

furthermore, fortified with all the moral virtues appropriate to his state. That he could sin, and cast aside the glorious prerogatives he received, subsequent events only too clearly proved. It is, however, a question about which theologians are divided, whether venial sin is consistent with the state of original justice. Some are inclined to think that there is nothing in it to exclude the possibility of venial sin; and that, therefore, our first parents might lapse into one of those venial faults without in any way forfeiting the attributes of their exalted state. Theologians generally hold the opposite opinion. "*Communiter ponitur*," writes St. Thomas, "*quod homo in statu innocentiae non potuit venialiter peccare.*"¹ "*In anima*," writes St. Augustine, "*tota tranquillitas*;" and nothing can give us a better idea of the bliss of our first parents, and of the perfect reign of concord in their souls, than that they enjoyed a perfect immunity from every, even venial, fault. So completely were their wills under the control of reason, and so intimate was their intercourse with God, that the slightest venial fault would not be permitted to mar their happiness, or to disturb the peaceful reign of the Holy Spirit within their souls.

As a fitting climax to all their happiness, our first parents were destined to a supernatural reward which was nothing less than the immediate vision of God in heaven. In the meantime there was assigned to them for an abode an earthly Paradise carefully embellished by the hands of the Creator, and supplying in its varied beauties and striking harmonies manifest proofs of His power and love. The days of the sojourn of our first parents in the earthly Paradise might have been few or many; but few or many, they would have been days of joy unmixed with sorrow, days spent in marvelling at the wonders of creation, and worshipping and praising the God who made them. Living under the influence of sanctifying grace, breathing the very air of sanctity, all their works would have been stamped with a supernatural character, and all the aspirations of their souls directed towards the supernatural end for which they were

¹ Mazzella, *Disp.* iv., Art. vi.

destined. The glories of the Beatific Vision have been made the subject of the most sublime discussions by our Catholic theologians. They tell us it is so far above the natural powers of man or anything of which he could be conceived capable, that it would exceed even the limits of Divine omnipotence to create a creature to whom it would be a natural reward. They tell us that seeing God face to face, all the longings of the human soul and all the yearnings of the human heart are fully satisfied. They raise, furthermore, many profound questions regarding the *lumen gloriæ*, that mysterious medium which deifies the soul and brings it into closest union with God. And when they have exhausted the riches of theological literature, and gone as far as, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the teaching of revelation can lead them, they must admit that they have but reached the brink of an abyss the depths of which can only be sounded by the saints in heaven. "Oculus," writes St. Paul, "non vidit, nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quæ præparavit Deus iis, qui diligunt illum" (1 Cor. ii. 9).

D. FLYNN, C.C.

PALESTRINA AND ORLANDO DI LASSO

THE year which is drawing to a close has witnessed the celebration, in a large part, at least, of the civilised world, of the tercentenary of the death of two of the greatest musicians that ever lived. Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso were called *Principes Musicae* during their lifetime; and, though it cannot be said that their names are familiar to every musician of the present day, still they are considered as musical stars of the first rank by those in a position to judge. But their principal importance lies not in this, that they, in their time, advanced musical art a considerable step, and that their works continue to be a worthy object of study and imitation for the earnest student of music, but in the

fact that, as *Church* musicians, they have created works which have never been surpassed, and which must still be regarded as the ideal and model of all Church music written in parts.

It needs no apology, then, that we should devote to them a few pages of the I. E. RECORD. It rather requires an explanation why we have withheld this paper until this last month of the tercentenary year. The reason is, that we had hoped to be able to avail ourselves, for this study, of Dr. Haberl's *Biography of Palestrina*, which was promised for this year. It now appears that we shall have to wait a little longer for this long-expected biography. The learned Ratisbon priest, we understand, is going once more to Rome, to try and clear up, by a last examination of the archives, some points that are still obscure in the life of Palestrina. In the meantime, the principal sources of information on the Roman composer, besides what, from Baini's famous biography, has found its way into all the ordinary text books, are those articles which Dr. Haberl has published, from time to time, in his *Caecilienkalender* and *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*.¹ To these we have to refer the student on all those points where our conclusions will diverge from the generally accepted opinions.

About Orlando di Lasso, the tercentenary year has produced three books, by Sandberger, Destouches, and Declève, of which the first named is the most important.²

¹ Both published by Pustet in Ratisbon. The principal articles referring to our subject are :—*Nach Palestrina wegen Palestrina*, *Caecilienkalender*, 1879 ; *Notizen über Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*. C. K., 1882 ; *Das Archiv der Gonzaga in Mantua*, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1886 ; *Die Cardinaalskommission von 1564, und Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli*, *Jahrbuch*, 1892 ; *Synchronistische Tabelle über den Lebensgang und die Werke von Gior. Pierluigi da Palestrina und Orlando di Lasso*, *Jahrbuch*, 1894.

² The titles are :—1. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayer. Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*. In 3 Büchern. 1. Buch mit drei Abbildungen. Von Dr. Adolf Sandberger. Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1894, 119 pp. Price 3m. 2. *Orlando di Lasso. Ein Lebensbild von Ernst von Destouches*. Mit 5 Abbildungen. München, Lentner'sche Buchhandlung, 1894. 76 pp. Price 1.50 m. 3. *Roland de Lasso. Sa vie et ses œuvres par Jules Declève*. Illustration de Louis Greuse. Mous, Typographie de Leop. Loret. 1894. 244 pp. Price 10 fr.

In addition to these, some articles in Haberl's *Jahrbuch* are of importance.¹

Short biographical sketches of the two composers have been given in abundance in various periodicals. One of unusual merit, by Th. Schmid, S.J., appeared in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, Nos. 7 and 8.

The great Roman composer, best known by the name of Palestrina, was born in 1526.² His father was called Sante Pierluigi, Sante being the Christian name, Pierluigi the family name. The distinguished composer received in baptism the name of Giovanni. From his native place, Palestrina, a little town at the foot of the Sabine mountains, the see of a Roman cardinal, he received the name by which he is generally known. Palestrina being identical with the old Preneste, the latinised form of his full name, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, is Joannes Petraloysius Prenestinus. But as people of that time were not over particular about names, the most fanciful combinations and alterations are to be found both in his own signatures and in printed books giving his name. Pierluigi's father was a well-to-do citizen, possessing houses and landed property both in Palestrina and in Rome. Hence the tales of the extreme poverty of young Giovanni must be received with a good amount of doubt, though it is possible, of course, that the cares of life may have made themselves felt, at some period of his early life, in Giovanni's family.

His early musical training Giovanni probably received in Rome, and, according to an account of Antino Liberati (1685), he had a Netherlander, called Gaudio Mell, as his teacher. The Netherlands, at this time, held supremacy in musical matters. Not only the best composers, but also the best singers, came from that country. Netherlanders held the posts of choirmasters at nearly all the courts of art-loving princes. Their compositions adorned the services of the Church, as well as gave splendour and grace to banquets and feasts. During the fifteenth and for the first half of

¹ "Aus der Correspondenz von Orlando di Lasso mit Wilhelm V., von Bayern," 1891; "Archival-Excerpte über Orlando de Lasso und seine Nachkommen," 1892; and the *Synchronistische Tabelle*, 1894, mentioned above.

² See *K. M. Jahrbuch*, 1886, pp. 42-44.

the sixteenth century, the Netherlands principally had developed musical art to a high degree of perfection. They had raised the technique of contrapuntal and imitative writing to such a degree that it excites the astonishment of our present-day musicians. That architectonic character which attaches to the fugal and canonical treatment of parts, that mastery in the combinations of melodies which enabled the mediæval composer to reduce his musical ideas to the strictest law and order, had been brought about mainly by the endeavours of the Netherlands. But it was not only mastery over the technique of musical composition, not only a perfect control over the forms of music that they possessed. Their works were not mere mathematical calculations that might be interesting to the reason, but leave the heart cold. Their compositions possessed also great æsthetic value, and were full of emotional life. How could we otherwise explain the fact, for instance, that the Italians of that period, who certainly were more fond of the enjoyments of life than of abstract speculations, preferred Netherlandish music and Netherlandish musicians to the music and the musicians of their own country? Nor is there wanting contemporary evidence that this æsthetic aspect of the compositions was appreciated at that time. Thus Glareanus, in his *Dodecachordon*, 1547, gives special praise to Josquin de Près, who died in 1521, because "no other one knew in the same measure to express the emotions;" and Johannes Otto, in the preface to his *Secundus tomus novi operis musici*, 1538, referring to a motet of the same master, asks: "Has ever a painter expressed so graphically the face of the suffering Saviour, as Josquin has done in tones?" That Palestrina received instructions from a master of this Netherlandish school, even apart from the quoted statement of Liberati, can be inferred from his earliest compositions, which show clearly the influence of that school.¹

¹ Bains, the famous choirmaster of the Sistine Chapel, and biographer of Palestrina, was the first to identify the above-named Gaudio Mell with the French composer Goudimel, who died in 1572, a victim of St. Bartholemew's Night. For this supposition there is no evidence, while there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. See *Jahrbuch*, 1891, page 89.

In the year 1544, at the age of eighteen, Palestrina was appointed organist of the cathedral of his native town. The interesting document of his appointment is preserved to us.¹ It shows the zeal of the canons of Palestrina for Church music. They not only gave their organist a salary equal to the income of one of themselves, but they were prepared to receive lessons in singing from him. Palestrina's duties were to play the organ on feast days; to assist daily at Mass, Vespers, and Compline; and to teach the canons or a corresponding number of boys, as the chapter might decide.

In 1547 he married Lucretia de Goris, who, on the 5th November of that year, received as her patrimony a house with a tannery, as well as several fields, meadows, and vineyards.²

During this time—from 1543 to 1550—the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina was Giovanni Maria del Monte, who, in 1550, ascended the Papal throne as Julius III. It was undoubtedly through his influence that Palestrina was called to Rome, in 1551, as Choirmaster of St. Peter's and teacher of the so-called *Capella Julia*.³ This *Capella Julia* was founded in 1480, by Pope Sixtus IV., who ordered the chapter of St. Peter's to pay ten singers as the choir of that basilica. Julius II., in 1513, gave larger revenues to the institution, and, in consequence, it was called after him. He arranged that it should contain twelve singers and twelve boys, in order that from it singers for the Papal choir might be taken, for which at that time singers from France and Spain had to be procured, because in Rome hardly any were educated so as to be fit for that institution. Under Paul III., in 1547, a special house, the *Gymnasium Capellæ Juliae*, was erected, in which the boys and their teachers, one for music and one for grammar, were to live. Although intended for twelve boys, this *Capella Julia*, at the time Palestrina was appointed to it, had only three boys, the revenues being insufficient. These boys sang the soprano part of the compositions, the alto being taken by men, just

¹ *Cæcilienkalender*, 1879, page 11.

² *Cæcilienkalender*, 1879, page 11-12.

³ *Cæcilienkalender*, 1882, page 84-86.

as is done, even at the present day, in the English Protestant cathedrals. In the month of October, 1551, he got a fourth boy under his tuition, and in 1584 he had as many as six, against four altos, four tenors, and four basses. This number appears very small, according to modern ideas of a choir. But when we learn that these sixteen or eighteen singers sometimes performed twelve-part compositions, we must infer that they were extremely well trained.

In 1554 Palestrina published his first work, a volume of Masses, which he dedicated to Pope Julius III., stating in the preface that he composed these Masses with "more exquisite rhythms." Palestrina, therefore, was twenty-eight years of age before he published any of his compositions. He did not bring before the world his first attempts at writing music, but those works which he considered of a higher standard. But when he appeared, he produced something of great value, and his "opus 1," which contains four Masses for four parts, two for five, and one for six parts, is such as any composer might be proud of.

Living in Rome at this period must have been of the greatest and most beneficial influence on a gifted musician who had devoted his life to the service of the Church. The work of reformation which was being carried on so successfully at the Council of Trent, occupied the minds of the best men, and in Rome a man like Palestrina had ample opportunity to come in contact with the most eminent promoters of the reform movement. Amongst the subjects that required reformation, Church music, too, was mentioned. There has hardly been any period in the Church's history when there were not complaints about the deplorable state of Church music. But in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century these complaints were particularly numerous. Looking at the compositions which have been transmitted to us from that period, we must say that they by no means deserve the strictures passed on them, and we are compelled to believe that these complaints were due partly either to the ignorance of the writers, who were incapable of appreciating polyphonic music, or to the rigorism of some who, on principle, were opposed to any music except Plain

Chant, partly to the incompetency or levity of the performers, who were not able, or did not care, to sing the compositions properly. Still we must admit that there was some room for improvement in Church music; and we may take it for granted that Palestrina was most anxious to listen to the advice of able men, and to try and carry out their ideas.

Amongst those who were practically engaged in the work of restoration, one of the most prominent was Cardinal Marcello Cervino. He was a friend of scholars and artists, and it is more than likely that he was a special friend of Palestrina. Probably on the suggestion of this cardinal, Palestrina, while choirmaster of St. Peter's, wrote that Mass which is so famous under the name of *Missa Papae Marcelli*,¹ and which appears to have evoked the approval of the Cardinal.

In 1555, Palestrina, by special order of Julius III., was appointed singer of the Papal Choir. This institution, in its first beginnings, dates back to the time before Gregory the Great. Of this Pope we know that he re-organized the *Scola Cantorum*, and ever since nearly all the Popes have shown their interest in this, their own private choir. Since the Popes returned from Avignon this choir is also called *capella pontificia*, or *palatina*, and when Sixtus IV., in 1473, had erected the chapel in the Vatican, called after him, the Papal Choir, too, received the name of *Capella Sixtina*. Before the *Capella Julia* was founded, the Papal Choir used to sing whenever the Pope was pontificating. Afterwards, however, whenever the Pope went to St. Peter's, the Papal Choir used to sing during the Mass only, while the chants during his solemn entrance were executed by the *capella Julia*. Since 1870 the Papal Choir has ceased singing altogether, and its few remaining members, as Dr. Haberl strongly expresses it, are barely vegetating. Originally the members of the Papal Choir were all clerics, or even priests. But under Paul III. this rule had been broken. So there

¹ The oldest MS. of this Mass is in S. Maria Maggiore, and was written about 1562. The title was given to the Mass first in the printed edition of 1567. See Jahrbuch, 1892, p. 82, *seqq.*

was no objection to Palestrina being appointed a Papal singer, although he was married. But, unfortunately for him, Julius III. died early in 1555, and Marcello Cervino, who succeeded him under the name of Marcellus II., reigned only a few days. Paul IV., then, reinstituting the former discipline, dismissed Palestrina and two other married singers, granting them, however, a good pension. Palestrina was so much grieved by this blow, that he fell sick. But in October of the same year he accepted the post of choirmaster in the Church of St. John Lateran, which he occupied till 1561. During this time he composed his celebrated *Improperia*, which, on account of their extreme simplicity of structure, create such a great impression on listeners of every class, and a book of *Lamentations*. In the year mentioned he left his post at St. John's, on account of the small salary, and became choirmaster of St. Mary Major, where he remained till 1571. This is the most interesting period of Palestrina's life, because during it occurred the closing of the Council of Trent, in 1563, and the appointment of the famous Commission of Cardinals of 1564.

At the Council of Trent, Church music received a fair share of attention. The most important law of the Council on this matter is probably that in which it commands that the boys in clerical seminaries should be taught music. Unfortunately this decree is not observed in many of our *seminaria parva* or the schools that occupy their place. As to the kind of music to be performed in the churches, there were not wanting some who advocated that all music should be excluded, except Gregorian Chant. But others objected to this; and Emperor Ferdinand I. deserved well of musical art, when he requested, through his legates, that no such decree should be passed. The Council, then, in its twenty-third session, merely decreed in general terms that the bishops should exclude from the churches all music which is in any way lascivious or impure.

After the conclusion of the Council of Trent, in August, 1564, Pius IV. appointed a commission of eight cardinals for the execution and observance of the Decrees of the Council in the various ecclesiastical bodies of the City of Rome, such

as the *Poenitentiaria*, *Camera Apostolica*, *Curia Capitolina*, &c. This commission appointed a sub-commission, consisting of the Cardinals Charles Borromeo and Vitellozi Vitellio; not, indeed, to reform Church music in general, but to reform the discipline of the Papal Choir. The two Cardinals accomplished their task by excluding, in August, 1565, fourteen singers from the Papal Choir. But during that time also the question of Church music generally seems to have turned up; for we know that, on the 28th April, 1565, the Papal singers were assembled, by order of Cardinal Vitellozi, in his house, to sing a few Masses in order that it might be seen whether the words could be understood as the cardinals desired it. What Masses were sung on this day we do not know.¹ But it may be taken for granted that Palestrina was among the masters from whose works selections were performed. Very likely his *Missa Papae Marcelli*, which already had won the approval of competent judges, was chosen for this trial. What the judgment of the cardinals was, has not been transmitted to us; but perhaps we may infer that it was favourable, from another fact which occurred shortly afterwards. On the 6th June, 1565, by order of His Holiness, the monthly pension which Palestrina drew from the Sistine Chapel was raised by 3 sc. 13 baj., so as to amount to 9 scudi, which was the salary of the real Papal singers. The reason given for the increase is: "On account of various compositions which he had edited and was to edit for the benefit of the chapel." The compositions that Palestrina had edited by that time were the first book of Masses, mentioned above, and the first book of four-part motets, published in 1563. A book of four-part madrigals, published in 1555, does not belong, of course, to the category of works alluded to. The expression, "Compositions that he was to edit," may have referred, in the first instance, to those works that were sung on the 28th April. It is remarkable that in the preface to his second book of Masses, which appeared in 1567, and which contains the

¹ Baini's assertion, that Palestrina composed three Masses for the occasion, is void of all foundation and untenable. See Jahrbuch, 1892, I. c.

Missa Papae Marcelli, Palestrina says that, "following the advice of eminent and religious men, he had tried to adorn the holy Sacrifice of Mass with a new kind of music." What this "new kind of music" was, we may, perhaps, infer from the preface of *Animuccia* to a volume of Masses which was brought out the same year by the same publisher. He says that "influenced by the judgment of the Canons of St. Peter (to whom the work was dedicated), he had sought to adorn the praises of God with such music as would not disturb the hearing of the words." *Animuccia* adds, however, that in doing so he tried also to satisfy the requirements of art and to give pleasure to the ears of the listeners.

In the year 1571, Giovanni Animuccia, who had occupied the post of choirmaster of St. Peter's since Palestrina resigned, died, and Palestrina was appointed a second time to this position, which he held till his death. I may remark here that Palestrina was not organist at St. Peter's, as he had been in his native town. But there were special organists, who, having nothing to do but to play before and after the singing, got only a miserable salary. In 1580, Palestrina's wife, Lucretia, died, and in the following year he married a rich widow, Virginia Dormuli, who owned a flourishing fur business. Afterwards his compositions appeared in quick succession, this marriage having enabled him to defray the expenses of publishing, which composers of that time had themselves to bear. Still, in the preface to the first book of four-part *Lamentations*, which appeared in 1588, he complains of the bitterness of poverty. The various references which I have made to his pecuniary circumstances, and which might easily be multiplied, sufficiently indicate that he was by no means a poor man. The key, then, to his complaint must be found in the fact that the enormous expenses of publication prevented him from editing all the compositions he had written. Thus he says, in the preface referred to: "Much have I composed and edited; much more have I with me; and from editing it I am constrained by my poverty." Probably, too, he was envying his Spanish contemporary, Vittoria, whose compositions were published, at the expense of the Spanish Government, in splendid folio

editions; while Palestrina had to be content with small notes and unpretentious-looking volumes.

About the year 1576, Palestrina got a commission of a very honourable character. The zeal of the Popes, after the Council of Trent, for a reform of all branches of ecclesiastical life, extended itself also to a matter which always had been of great concern to the Church, namely, to Gregorian Chant. It is a disputed question whether Gregorian Chant had really degenerated during the course of the Middle Ages, or whether the complaints about this principal form of Church music were due mainly to the fact that the proper method of rendering it had been lost. However this may be, a reform of the Plain Chant melodies, especially of the Gradual, was thought necessary in the sixteenth century; and it was Gregory XIII. who first set about getting this task accomplished. It was a very high tribute to the eminence of Palestrina as a musician, that he was selected by the Pope to perform a work of such importance. Palestrina undertook the work with great eagerness; but it appears that at the time of his death he had not finished the revision of the whole Gradual, but only the first part of it—the *Proprium de Tempore*. About his manuscript a dispute afterwards arose between his son, Hyginus, and the publisher to whom Hyginus had tried to sell it. Only about the year 1611 the manuscript was taken up again, and got a final revision from two pupils of Palestrina, Felice Anerio and Franc. Suriano. Finally, in 1614 and 1615, the work was published by the *stamperia medicea*. It is known that this *Editio Medicea* is the foundation of the present authentic edition of the *Roman Gradual*. How far the changes introduced in this edition are to be attributed to Palestrina, and how far to his disciples, it is impossible to determine.¹

Another branch of Palestrina's activity we have to mention yet, namely, his connection with the Confraternity of St. Cecilia, and the music school founded by Giovanni Maria Nanino. It appears that in 1583 a society of

¹ "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und das officiële Graduale Romanum der editio Medicea von 1614."—(Supplement to No. 2 of *Musica Sacra*, 1894. Ratisbon, Pustet.)

musicians was founded in Rome, in order to carry out the decisions of the Council of Trent on Church music, to establish a school for the proper teaching of young musicians, and to see that nobody be appointed choirmaster or singer at any of the Roman churches unless he had proved his fitness by an examination before a commission appointed for the purpose. Gregory XIII. approved of the Society, and gave it a cardinal as protector. The Papal Choir first were opposed to this Society, and forbade their members to join it. But in 1589 we find Palestrina and Nanino, and two other members of the Papal Choir, as members of this Society. In connection with this Society, Nanino established a school, at which, we are told, Palestrina frequently visited; and, being recognised as a superior master, often had to decide differences of opinion that arose between the numerous professors and students of the establishment.¹

In 1594, on the 2nd February, Palestrina died in the arms of St. Philip Neri, his friend and spiritual adviser. He was buried in the old Basilica of St. Peter's, at the altar of SS. Simon and Jude, and on his tombstone the words were engraved, "*Princeps Musicae*."

"Prince of music": these words expressed the general feeling of the sixteenth century. As a musician of the highest merits, he was honoured by Popes and princes; as a superior master, he was revered by his younger colleagues. The Spaniards had their Vittoria; the Germans, their Orlando di Lasso; but in Italy there was nobody to contest his full supremacy. A prince of music we have to call him now, in the nineteenth century, when we look at the number and excellence of his compositions. Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel's splendid edition of his works, which is now complete, comprises thirty-two folio volumes. The number of those that contain Masses, namely, fifteen, at once shows in what direction Palestrina's predilection lay. The number of his Masses is ninety-five—forty for four parts, twenty-nine for five, twenty-two for six, and four for eight parts—certainly a great proof of his inventive power, that could

¹ *Jahrbuch*, 1891, page 86 and foll.

clothe the same words in ever-new and interesting harmonies.

Palestrina is generally known only by his *Improperia*, his *Missa Papae Marcelli*, and his eight-part *Stabat Mater*. These are very fine compositions, no doubt ; but it would be very wrong to form one's opinion of Palestrina on these alone. The *Improperia* and the *Stabat Mater* cannot even give an idea of his proper style, because in them the life elements of the music of the sixteenth century—polyphony and imitation—are almost totally absent. The *Missa Papae Marcelli* can be regarded as a fair specimen of the general type of Palestrina's composition. But it must not be forgotten that there are several other five or six-part compositions of equal, if not higher value. Neither must we overlook that the majority of his Masses are in four parts. The beauty and elegance of his melodies, the freedom and natural flow of all the parts, the facility and variety of the combinations of voices, the ease and ingenious simplicity with which the finest gradations are brought about—all these characteristics of Palestrina's style can best be studied and enjoyed in such Masses as *Missa Brevis*, *Iste Confessor*, *Aeterna Christi munera*. Then we have his motets, filling seven volumes, and representing a different side of his style, in as far as in them each phrase of the text is clothed in a different melody, and consequently the expression of the varying moods receives great attention ; while in the Mass the varying expressions of the different sentences of the text are rather like light undulations on the surface of the general sentiment. Space forbids us to go into details, and we must content ourselves with barely mentioning his five-part Offertories, and his four books of *Lamentations*, as some of the sublimest productions that musical art ever has achieved.

Palestrina's secular compositions are very few in number, though by no means contemptible in quality. We have mentioned one book of Madrigals. He edited another one in 1586, which he justly describes as "matured fruits ;" and Dr. Haberl has gathered a third book from various collections to which Palestrina contributed. All three are

in the twenty-eighth volume of the complete edition. The next volume contains two books of *Spiritual Madrigals*, a sort of religious songs in the Italian language, composed probably on the suggestion of St. Philip Neri and for his oratory; therefore the germ of the modern musical form of oratorio.

Viewing Palestrina's moral character, we cannot help noticing the piety of the man. This we can infer even from his compositions. It is quite possible, indeed, that a man of little piety, in a fit of religious ardour, provided he be a good musician, might produce a real piece of good Church music. But to spend a whole life composing works expressive of profound piety without possessing this virtue, is a thing we find it impossible to imagine. But we have ample evidence besides that Palestrina was a practical Christian. A proof of his tenderness of conscience is to be found in the preface to the fourth book of his five-part motets, where he says that he is ashamed and pained at having composed, at some earlier period of his life, poems that are foreign to the Christian profession and name. In reality there is nothing really bad in his Madrigals. They are sentimental, indeed, but not obscene, as, unfortunately, many of the madrigals of the sixteenth century are. We may take it for granted that Palestrina was quite justified when, in the preface to the first book of five-part motets, he assures us that even as a youth he had abhorred the custom of setting to music words which could incite people to lust and wickedness, and had taken great care that nothing should proceed from him, by which anyone could become worse and more impious. We have to consider, therefore, the self-accusation, quoted above, as the outcome of a great piety to which even a slight levity appeared as a serious fault.

Palestrina was also a sober and prudent man. In documents preserved for us, we see him managing his pecuniary affairs and providing for his children, selling farms and houses when a favourable opportunity arose, but soon investing his money again, like a good business man, in that security which is safest at all times, in landed property. From the esteem in which he was held by his

contemporaries, we may also infer that he was a humble, unpretending man; and thus the whole picture we get of him is of a very sympathetic character, and we may easily overlook the slight stain which the bitter complaint of poverty in the first book of four-part *Lamentations* throws on him.

Palestrina's whole life was confined to his native town and the City of Rome. The quiet, contemplative character of his compositions is well in accordance with this outward quietness and peacefulness of his life. Quite different is the aspect of the life and the works of his great contemporary, Orlando di Lasso. In accordance with the multiformity of the events of his life, his mind was lively and mobile, and his works bold in expression and cosmopolitan in character. Proske writes of him, in his preface to the *Musica Divina*: "Lassus had received into himself the national in all European music of his time in such a manner that it was expressed in him as a characteristic whole, and that the specially Italian, Flemish, German, or French, could not any longer be pointed out."

Orlando was born in Mons in Belgium. His family name appears to have been Lassus, or, as some say, Lattre. Later on, probably during his travels in Italy, he assumed the Italian form, Lasso. The year of his birth cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty. Haberl decides in favour of 1532, on account of the inscription of a picture of Orlando, "*Aetatis suae LXII. A° 1594*;" and his epitaph which says, "*post lustra ac hiemes sena bis acta duas*," according to which Orlando lived sixty-two years; and, as he died in 1594, was born in 1532. Sandberger, however, thinks that there is so much evidence for 1530 as to justify the supposition that Lasso, towards the end of his life, when his mind became obscured, forgot the exact date of his birth, and thought himself two years younger than he really was.

The early history of Lasso is surrounded with myths, and we must hope for future investigations to clear up the time of his youth. He is said to have been choir boy at St. Nicolaus in Mons, and, on account of his beautiful voice, to have been stolen as many as three times, a thing not unheard-of in those ages. According to another version,

his father was sentenced to carry a chain of false coin round his neck, and thus to walk three times around the gallows, on account of his being a coiner; and Orlando in consequence changed his name and left his country.

In 1544, we find him with Ferdinand I. Gonzaga, the General of Charles I. and Vice-King of Sicily, who was then besieging the town of St. Didier. With this Ferdinand, then, Orlando travelled about a good deal. They first visited the court of Franz I., King of France, where Orlando had a first opportunity of acquiring that facility and ease in his intercourse with persons of high position which he displayed in his after life. Ferdinand then returned to Sicily, but soon afterwards left again for Milan. On this journey, his fleet, consisting of ten ships, was attacked by a band of pirates, having about thirty ships. Orlando, therefore, had ample opportunities to witness all sides of human life. In Milan, Orlando remained a few years; and, perhaps, continued his musical studies under Mathias Hermann Wercorensis, the Cathedral choirmaster, a musician who occupies a high place amongst his contemporaries. In Milan Orlando is said to have left Ferdinand, and to have gone to Naples with Constantin Castrioto, a Neapolitan nobleman. There he came in contact with all the festivities and enjoyments of Neapolitan life. Being himself of a genial character, he became a universal favourite, and we can easily imagine how heartily he enjoyed the amusements of the merry Neapolitans.

It is historically certain that he was in Rome before the year 1555, although Baini's statement that he was, in 1541, choirmaster of St. John Lateran, is no longer tenable.¹ Whether he was so at a later date is, at least, very doubtful.

In 1555 Orlando was in Antwerp, where he finished a book of four-part Madrigals, and got it published. In the same year a book of five-part Madrigals appeared in Venice, where he seems to have left the manuscript on his way to the Netherlands. The reason of this journey, we are told, was the news of sickness of his parents, whom, however, he

¹ *Jahrbuch*, 1894, page 87.

did not find living on his arrival. In Antwerp Orlando remained about two years, enjoying again the intercourse with, and the intimate friendship of, eminent and famous men, especially that of the Bishop of Arras, who afterwards became prominent in history as Cardinal Granvella. To the latter he dedicated his first book of five-part motets, published in Antwerp in 1556. With the three works mentioned, Orlando had shown himself to the world as a master of the first rank, and with all the characteristics of his own style. Of one of the motets contained in the publication referred to, an entertaining story is told, which proves at once the esteem in which his compositions were held, and the popularity which they enjoyed.

It was in 1584, on the feast of *Corpus Christi*. The procession with the Blessed Sacrament was to be held with special solemnity in Munich on account of the Bishop of Eichstätt, who happened to be present, taking part in it. But early in the morning a great thunderstorm arose, and the rain fell in torrents, so that great doubts were entertained whether the procession could take place. The Duke of Bavaria sent a messenger to the wardens of the tower to inquire what was the prospect of the weather, but they gave very little hope. Still the Duke was not satisfied, and he called the master of ceremonies to his seat in the church, and inquired from him what was to be done. The master of ceremonies answered that the rain would do great damage, indeed; but, inasmuch as the Lord of the weather Himself was to be carried in the procession, and to Him, as the Almighty God, this honour was to be done, they might well trust that He would stop the rain, if that devotion was pleasing to Him. The Duke agreed to this view, and the procession was consequently formed, although to all appearance a violent shower of rain was on the point of breaking down. But behold, when the Blessed Sacrament was being carried over the threshold of the cathedral, and "Master Orlando began the chant, *Gustate et videte*," suddenly the sun burst through the clouds; and the master of ceremonies, in great delight, walked up to the Duke, and pointed out to him how beautifully the verse of Holy Scripture had been

verified: "Taste and see how sweet the Lord is to them that fear and trust Him." The nobility, too, who were present, remarking that the sun grew brighter and brighter whenever the *Gustate et videte* was sung by the choir, during the procession, sent to the master of ceremonies to call his attention to that wondrous fact. As soon, however, as the procession was over, the rain that had been threatening came down in terrible floods. In consequence of this fact, Orlando's composition came to be sung afterwards at all processions held for the purpose of obtaining good weather.

With this story we have anticipated the last stage of Orlando's life, namely, his stay in Munich. Towards the end of 1556, or early in 1557, he came there, invited by Duke Albert II., who was influenced in his choice, no doubt, by the name Lasso had made for himself by his publications; but, perhaps, also by the fame of his witty and humorous disposition. How much he very soon felt at home in the art-loving city on the Isar, we may infer from the fact, that in 1558 he married one of the ladies at court, "the honourable and virtuous" Regina Weckinger, with whom he lived in happy marriage for thirty-six years. In the following year he began, by order of the Duke, the composition of the seven penitential psalms—a work which secured him the greatest fame. In 1562 he became head master of the ducal "Kapelle." As such he enjoyed as agreeable a position as he possibly could desire for himself. He had under his direction the best choir and orchestra existing in Europe. The choir consisted of sixteen boy sopranos, thirteen altos, fourteen tenors, and twelve basses; the orchestra of about thirty instrumentalists, all perfect musicians. The choir sang daily at High Mass, on Saturdays and feast-days also at Vespers. On Sundays and feast-days, at Mass and Vespers, also the wind instruments were employed; while the stringed instruments were used, it appears, only for profane festivities. Whenever, at the ducal banquets, the fruit was served, Orlando, with his musicians, had to perform his new compositions, "which he wrote daily."

Orlando was on the best of terms with Duke Albert, as

may be inferred from the fact that most of his compositions were printed, in splendid folio editions, at the expense of the Duke. Still more familiar was he with Prince William, who succeeded Albert, in 1579, as William V. His letters to this prince, of which Haberl published extracts in his *Jahrbuch*, 1891, prove an intimate friendship between the two men. They also show his ready wit and humour, and a certain carelessness, allowable in a man of great genius, in the way in which he mixes up four languages—Latin, Italian, French, and German. Lasso was also on very good terms with his colleagues—a thing not easily to be accomplished. They were irresistibly attracted by his genial nature and superior gifts. He was honoured beyond measure by the people, and was fond of the life in Munich, which he calls “*Minichen la jolie*.” We cannot wonder, then, that he remained there permanently till his death, although he got several tempting offers to accept other positions. He left Munich only a few times for some journeys, for which he freely got permission, and even pecuniary subsidy, from the Duke. Thus, in 1571, he travelled to Paris, on an invitation from the musician and publisher, Adrian le Roy. He was introduced on this occasion to King Charles IX., who honoured him highly, and gave him rich presents. Orlando, in return, dedicated to the King a book of five-part *Chansons*. In 1574 he travelled to Rome, and presented to Pope Gregory XIII. a copy of the second volume of his *Patrocinium Musicae*, which had been published and dedicated to the Pope in January of that year. Gregory made him Knight of the Golden Spur. A similar distinction he had received, in 1570, from the German Emperor, Maximilian I., who raised him to the nobility of the empire, granting him an escutcheon representative of his mastery in music.

In 1585 he went to Loretto, to satisfy his pious desire of seeing the Holy House, as he long had wished to do. Soon after, in consequence of his incessant labours in composing music, Orlando became subject to a nervous disease. The Duke sent him his own court physician, who restored his health after a few days; but his mind remained weak and gloomy. He even asked for his dismissal, which, however,

on the interference of his wife, the Duke refused to give. It appears that the privations of his early youth were conjured up again before his mind, and heavy cares about his livelihood and the fate of his children tortured his soul. Towards the end of his life, however, he seems to have recovered his former vigour; for his last work, the *Lagryme di S. Pietro*, which he dedicated to Pope Clement VIII., on 24th May, 1594, is considered as one of his finest productions. He died on the 14th June, 1594, and was interred in the churchyard of the Franciscan monastery in Munich.

"*Hic est ille Lassus, lassum qui recreat orbem*," are the words written under a picture of the year 1593, and in a magnificent edition of his *Magnificat* of 1581 it is said:—" *Qui noverit artem, novit et nomen simul tuum*." These statements hardly hold at the present time. The tercentenary of his death was celebrated this year by a concert in the town where he spent most of his life, but the "recreation" of the audience took place only when the first part of the concert, containing works of his, was over—we dare say because of the character of the performance. In his native town, too, a celebration was held in his honour; but it is said to have been a farce. But there is hope that a time is coming again, when not only his name, but also his compositions, will be known by a considerable fraction of the musical world. The best possible monument is being erected to his memory by the complete edition of his works, which has been begun by that enterprising firm of Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. It is anticipated that this edition will comprise about sixty volumes, about forty of which will be devoted to his sacred, twenty to his secular compositions. From this we see at once the enormous extent of his productivity and industry, and also the relatively large number of his secular works. We may believe him, indeed, when he says, in a letter of 1573, "*tant travaillé mon pauvre et debil esprit nuit et jour*." His secular works are some of the best of that period. In all forms of compositions of that class which were used in his time he excelled. Particular praise is given to his drinking songs, which are full of humour and merriment. Whether these compositions

will ever again have more than historical interest, is a matter of great doubt. Unfortunately, we must state that many of his texts are very reproachable on moral grounds.

This is all the more surprising, as we know that Orlando was a really religious man. We mentioned already his pious desire to visit the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin at Loretto. This love for Mary he also expressed by his frequent composition of the *Magnificat*. No less than one hundred and eighty settings of this canticle by him have been published. In the preface to an edition of the "*Iubilus B. Mariæ Virginis*," his son Rudolf says:—"I am convinced that my father composed these songs in order to incite, by their lovely and pious harmonies, as many people as possible to veneration and love of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

If we compare Orlando and Palestrina, one thing strikes us at the outset: the difference in the number of their Mass compositions. Orlando, although his sacred works on the whole are more numerous than those of his great contemporary, has only fifty-one Masses against ninety-five of the Roman master. A close examination of their respective characteristics of musical writing shows that this is not by accident, or from some outward cause, but rather is founded on the diversity of their gifts. I shall try to explain this somewhat, though the matter is one that rather withdraws itself from description in words. First of all, Orlando had not so much of that contemplative spirit which seems to be necessary for the composition of a Mass. He was of a very lively disposition, and ever desirous to be occupied with something new. This may be the reason, too, that he sometimes is led away to use rhythmical formations which must be called bizarre. Then the Mass is the more perfect *form* of Church composition, and it is the perfection of the formal, the full and consistent development of the musical idea that is characteristic of Palestrina's style. Orlando's strength, on the other hand, lay principally in the power of direct and vigorous expression, in the invention of striking and characteristic musical ideas. And for this he had more scope in the form of the motet, in which, as I explained already, each phrase of the text was to receive a new musical

formation suitable to express the peculiar mood suggested by the words. In a word, Orlando possessed what we now call dramatic power, and he would have been greatest at the musical drama had that form existed in his time.

Haberl compares Palestrina with Raphael, Orlando with Albrecht Dürer. I should feel inclined to compare their relation to that of Bach and Handel. Lasso and Handel are both masters of the polyphonic style; they are able to move in the contrapuntal forms with the greatest ease; but they use them with a sort of liberty, they employ them to gain the most telling effects, but they do not care so much for logical development, and are always prone to follow the unrestricted flight of their imagination, rather than by long reflection to deepen their work. Like giants they proceed, and, in a few bold outlines, draw a picture overpowering us by the grandeur of its conception and the strikingness of its expression; but they do not stay to work out the details or minutely to balance the shadings of colours. Palestrina and Bach, on the other hand, no less fertile in invention or powerful in expression, constantly, like Gothic architects, try to give their conception a strictly logical form; they glory in carrying out a musical idea to its extreme consequences; they strive to explain the full meaning of their thoughts by following them out into their most profound depth; and, by carefully balanced gradations, to raise the expression to the most sublime heights, and widen it to the utmost capacity of human comprehension. The difference between the two is, that the Italian has more sunshine in his compositions, and that the lines of his design resemble more the round and gentle features of the olive tree, than the characteristic, but severe, forms of the German oak.

If we wish to ask the question whether Palestrina or Orlando is greater, we find a serious difficulty in the fact that Orlando's works are not all easily accessible. Judging from those which have been published recently in various collections, Father Nekes, choirmaster of Aix-la-Chapelle minster, pronounces his opinion in this way.¹ In the Mass,

¹ In a paper read at a meeting of the Cologne Diocesan Society of St. Cecilia in August, 1894.

he says, Palestrina is unquestionably superior. In the motet, many of Orlando's compositions are quite equal to the very best of Palestrina's; but, on the whole, also here Palestrina carries the palm. There is one branch of musical representation, however, where Orlando is unequalled. That is, in the expression of the affects of repentance and compunction. It is a very remarkable fact that the gay Orlando should have expressed these sentiments, in his *Penitential Psalms*, in such a way as no other composer, before or after him, has done.

Let us look, in conclusion, a little more closely at the question: Of what importance are Palestrina's and Lasso's works for the present day? Are they worth resuscitating, and can we promise ourselves any advantage from their being performed again? A large number of musicians will answer, No. There are some that maintain the ground pillars of our modern music are Bach and Handel, while all that lies before them belongs merely to the domain of history. Others may be found to say that real music was composed only in the nineteenth century. I stated already, and repeat emphatically, that their sacred compositions, at least, are not only worthy of being performed again, but are, if we abstract from the Gregorian Chant, the very best Church music extant, models that we must imitate if Church music is to recover that excellence of style which it ought to possess. No doubt music has progressed during the last three hundred years. The laws of harmonic relations, of tonality, as it is called now, have come to be much more clearly understood than they were in the sixteenth century. Our rhythmical sense, too, has been developed; while, three centuries ago, the semibreve note, as the unit of three or four pulses, was, theoretically at least, the largest measure of the rhythm, we now take the eight-bar period as the standard of our rhythmical judgment. Nor do I close my eyes to the fact that in the modern *forms* of music, in niceties of expression, in the development of the orchestra, we have factors which enhance the effect of music very considerably. But I hold that the harmony of the sixteenth century is sufficiently clear to satisfy even modern ears;

the fundamental principles of harmonic relation that hold even at the present day, were fully understood by those masters, if not theoretically, at least practically. And where their compositions deviate from the accepted ways of modern tonality, they produce peculiar aesthetic effects of great value. Take, for instance, the Mixolydian mode (the seventh and eighth Church modes), the peculiarity of which, according to modern ideas, is the resting on the Dominant. It is expressive of the feeling that we have no perfect rest in this world, of a longing for a future life. Palestrina often produces the most beautiful effects by the cadence Tonic-Dominant; it is like lifting one's eyes to heaven. The rhythm, too, of those masters, though free, shows great evenness and balance, like the cadences of a good prose writer. In addition to this, the best composers of that period, foremost amongst them being the two we are treating of, have æsthetic merits which render them unsurpassed models of Church music. I shall say a few words on these, barely pointing out the leading considerations, under three headings: their polyphony, their vocal character, and their religious spirit.

Polyphony, the melodic treatment of all the parts, has its fundamental justification in the essence of harmonic progression itself. Chord successions are produced by, and understood as, the simultaneous progression of several parts. Clearly, then, it is a higher form of art when all these parts are imbued with melodic interest, than when one part absorbs it all, and leaves the rest devoid of it. It is a necessary consequence, for the highest forms of art, that all the real parts should be treated equally, that all should participate in the rendering of the principal melody. This is particularly true of vocal composition. A part that is sung by a human voice, that appears as the direct expression of an intelligent being, ought to possess independence, and, to some extent, equality with the other parts. Moreover, by contrapuntal devices, such as imitation and *stretto*, effects are achieved, the absence of which cannot be compensated for by any other means. Space forbids me to develop this very important idea at greater length. I must confine myself to

stating that Palestrina and Lasso are supreme masters of this art, that have not been surpassed even by Bach and Handel.

The second reason why we should revive and imitate the works of the sixteenth century, is their vocal character. The development of music during the last three centuries has been influenced to an enormous extent by the practice of instrumental music. Composers formed their style by writing for instruments, and then subjected the voices to almost the same treatment as the instruments. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that pure vocal music is the highest form of musical art, and the best suited for the services of the Church. Richard Wagner, who certainly cannot be accused of any prejudice against the orchestra, says:—"If Church music is to regain its former purity, it must become purely vocal again." The proper method of writing for voices, then, we must acquire from the masters of the sixteenth century. From them we can learn how to write melodies suitable for voices and adapted to the proper declamation of the words. From them we can learn, too, how to produce purely vocal effects by a manifold combination of the different parts, and by efficient gradations.

Lastly, I mention the sublimity of thought and the religious unction that permeates the works of these masters. It is an undeniable fact that the music of the last three centuries was mainly used for the expression of profane sentiments, of secular enjoyments, and worldly passions. Composers poured out in tones all the manifold feelings of their heart, or illustrated dramatically the sentiments of imaginary personages. Sexual love is the subject of a great deal of our music, and dance music not only increased to a large amount, but also influenced considerably the development of musical forms. Far be it from us to blame music for the course it has taken. As a pure art it has achieved great things, which we most gladly enjoy. But we cannot overlook the fact that the expression of religious sentiments has been lost to a considerable extent; and to recover it, therefore, we must go back to a time when it was known; we must study the masters who wrote before it was lost.

The main difficulty in the way of reviving the old masters, however, does not arise from any doubts as to their real value and suitability for our time, but from the sad deficiency of our choirs. Were it not for that circumstance, we could have far better performances than those which delighted the listeners of the sixteenth century. With our splendidly printed parts marked with all kinds of indications as to expression; with the modern scores, unknown to choirmasters three centuries ago; and with the equally modern art of conducting, we have great advantages over Palestrina and Lasso. Our principal aim, then, if we wish to honour them, must be to educate our choirs. Let us train them so as to enable them to sing the works of these immortal composers, and they will live again, more gloriously than they ever lived.

H. BEWERUNGE.

THE FRENCH BISHOPS BEFORE THE REVOLUTION¹

THE Apostle lays it down that no one should take upon himself the episcopal office but he that is called of God, as Aaron was. This was hardly the view of the aspirants to that dignity under the old *régime*; or, perhaps, they would have maintained that noble birth was ordained by God as a sign of vocation, and that courtly influence was only a secondary cause, working under divine agency. However, it is a fact that not one of the hundred and thirty bishops at the opening of the Revolution was a plebeian. It needed no Voltaire to point out the scandal of a Church professing to have been founded by a Carpenter and a few poor fishermen, and yet admitting none but nobles to her most sacred offices. The great question, what to do with our sons, was not a difficult one in those old days, if only a man happened to be of good family. The eldest usually followed his father's profession, whether in arms or administration; the navy was

¹ 1. *L'Ancien Clergé de France : Les Evêques avant la Révolution*, par l'Abbé Sicard. 2. *Les Origines de la France Contemporaine : L'Ancien Régime*, par H. Taine. 3. *L'An 1789*, par H. Gautier.

open to the second son; but it was often the youngest who became the wealthiest and most distinguished member of the family, for at his disposal were the dignities and riches of the Church. True, this last career was not of so dashing a character as the others, and it involved more outward decency and self-restraint; but there was the chance of obtaining some brilliant position at court or some high administrative office; and, on the other hand, the difference between the life of a bishop and that of a lay nobleman need not be great.

Thus the future prelate's career was marked out for him from his very birth. His only education, such as it was, was much the same as that of his brothers. Book-learning had little to do with it. His mother's maid taught him to spell his way through his Catechism and prayer-book. It was in the drawing-room that he picked up most of what he knew. There he learnt to enter a room with distinction, to make his bow, to converse with ease and correctness. No amount of learning, still less of piety, could atone for *gaucherie*. St. Simon tells of one young levite, the son of the Duke of Beauvillier, who was brought up away from home, "like a perfect seminarist. Never was anyone so clumsy, so slow, so sanctimonious. I suggested to the Duke to get him a dancing-master, to teach him at least how to make his bow and enter a drawing-room." We read how the Abbé de St. Paulet used to give his nephew lessons in politeness while the child was in bed. He used to walk up and down the room, repeating the compliments usual among persons of good society; he took care to put him on his guard against blunders sometimes committed, and he showed him how to come into a room, what place he should take, how he should begin and continue a conversation. These accomplishments gave the young aspirant an air of distinction, which remained with him through life, and contributed in no small degree to his success. About the age of twelve or thirteen, if not earlier, the youthful nobleman must be tonsured, and a benefice must be procured for him. This was not a difficult matter, when we remember the number of abbeys, and priories, and canonries, and the influence

possessed by the family. Thus provided with a pension of some thousands of livres, the little cleric entered on his classical studies, and, it must be owned, pursued them with considerable ardour. The college of Louis-le-Grand and that of Plessis were favourite resorts of the scions of nobility.

In due course he would proceed to St. Sulpice for philosophy and theology. Here, one might think, he would certainly receive some training for his sacred office. But the St. Sulpice of those days, though containing and producing many excellent priests, was by no means famed for the austere discipline which is now insisted on. A De Broglie or a Rohan, a Loménie de Brienne or a Talleyrand, could hardly be expected to submit to drudgeries and restraints. The superiors easily overlooked any little irregularities on the part of such distinguished seminarists. Once again it should be noted that these young nobles were often hard-working and brilliant students. While at the seminary, indeed, they were not seldom surpassed by their humbler competitors; but they were careful to go on to a higher course at the college of the Sorbonne, whereas their former victors usually had to betake themselves at once to parochial duties. Without a doctor's cap the young abbé's chance of promotion would be small. But theology by no means occupied the whole of his attention. Mindful of the important secular offices attached to the sacred dignities to which he aspired, he devoted much of his time to the study of philosophy, law, political economy, and even medicine. Locke and Bayle, Voltaire and Buffon, Leibnitz and Spinoza relieved Tournéy and St. Augustine. It was at St. Sulpice and the Sorbonne that the great Turgot, then known as the Abbé de Launé, acquired those profound and benign principles of government with which he long ruled the generality of Limousin, and which he endeavoured, in vain, to extend to the whole of France. There, too, he had as companions of his studies Loménie de Brienne, his rival and successor; while Louis de Rohan, the dupe of the necklace scandal, Maury, the champion of the royalist cause, Talleyrand, financier and diplomat, Siéyès, the pamphleteer and constitution-maker, Vergniaud, the fervent orator of the Gironde, were all more

renowned for their knowledge of politics than for their ecclesiastical acquirements.

When the critical hour of ordination arrived there was little hesitation on the part of the aristocratic young abbés to take upon themselves the tremendous responsibilities of the priesthood. Destined from birth to the ecclesiastical state, knowing that their prospects entirely depended on their entering it, seeing all around them without any scruples, they did not trouble themselves on the subject. It is difficult, indeed, to believe that free-thinkers like Morellet and Siéyès, dissolute worldlings like Loménie de Brienne, Rohan, and Talleyrand, could have been called of God as Aaron was. When Turgot, finding his faith gone, decided to refuse orders so as not to wear a mask all his life, his clerical friends gravely remonstrated with him for his folly. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the young abbé, Des Cars, could persuade his family to allow him to refuse to enter a calling for which he never had the smallest inclination.¹

After having finished his studies and received the priesthood the newly-ordained nobleman had no thought of wasting his time in the drudgeries of a parish. Such conduct would infallibly wreck all his worldly prospects. Arrangements had probably already been made with some relative or friend on the episcopal bench to secure for him an appointment as Vicar-General. This was much easier than we might now think. Each of the hundred and thirty bishops had a considerable number of these functionaries. No less than twenty of them were at Cambrai, eighteen at Chalons, eighteen at Bourges. The usual number was nine or ten. The chief meaning of this large number was the presence of a brilliant staff around the person of the bishop, to relieve the monotony of provincial life, and to console him for his enforced absence from the court and the capital. Their duties were not very arduous. They assisted the bishop, indeed, in the government of the diocese; but the prelate usually took care to nominate one or two able plebeian clerics, to whom the largest share of the labour was

¹ On the seminary life of fashionable young abbés, see the Memoirs of Talleyrand, Morellet, and the Duke Des Cars.

allotted. It was in this way that the Abbés Maury, Boulogne, and even Siéyès, were raised to the office. The worthy parochial clergy had much to suffer from the haughty manners of the aristocratic officials. We have only to turn over the list of grievances submitted to the National Assembly by the lower clergy, to see how deeply this insolence was resented.

It is but fair to quote here Edmund Burke's experiences:—

“ I spent a few days in a provincial town [Auxerre] where, in the absence of the Bishop [Mgr. de Cicé], I passed my evenings with three clergymen, his vicars-general, persons who would have done honour to any church. They were all well-informed, two of them of deep, general, and extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental and western, particularly in their own profession. They had a more extensive knowledge of our English divines than I expected; and they entered into the genius of those writers with a critical accuracy. One of these gentlemen is since dead, the Abbé Morangis. I pay this tribute, without reluctance, to the memory of that noble, reverend, learned, and excellent person, and I should do the same, with equal cheerfulness, to the merits of the others who, I believe are still living, if I did not fear to hurt those whom I am unable to serve.”¹

Family influence and the young vicar-general's own ability and energy would soon procure him a rich abbey, a canonry, and perhaps a court chaplaincy. Then after some eight or nine years the great promotion must be obtained. Some of the great sees had come to be almost an appanage of certain families. For more than a century none but a Rohan had occupied the see of Strasburg. The usual course, however, was to receive a nomination to some petty diocese away down in Dauphiné or Brittany, and then to be translated to one richer or more accessible. Thus, Mgr. de la Ferronnays passed from St. Brienne to Bayonne, and thence to Lisieux; Montmorency from Condom to Metz; his successor at Condom, Loménie de Brienne, soon passed on to Toulouse, and afterwards to Sens. One bishop, De la Roche-Aymon, was appointed to Sarept in 1725, Tarbes in

¹ *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Works, vol. ii., p. 417. (Bohn's edition.)

1739, Toulouse in 1740, Narbonne in 1752, and finally to Rheims in 1763!

Since the reign of Louis XIV. Paris and Versailles had absorbed the whole of the life of the nation. As the King was the state, so was Paris France. To make a figure at court a nobleman would sell his lands, let his ancestral chateau, squander his revenues, and load himself with debts. Ordination and consecration, while imprinting a sacred character and imposing new duties, by no means changed the disposition or destroyed the inclinations of the new prelate. A nomination to the see of Riez, or Acqs, or Lombez, or St. Papoul, was not a source of unmixed pleasure. However, there need be no hurry in taking possession. The Council of Trent, indeed, had decreed that the delay should not be longer than three months, or six months at the most. But that was all ancient history. Christophe de Beaumont, in many respects a model bishop, waited for more than a year before betaking himself to his good city of Bayonne. His predecessor also allowed a year to pass, and one of his successors more than two years. The chances were, that if the newly-appointed bishop stayed at court and managed to curry fresh favour, he might be translated, and so save himself a weary journey to the extremities of the kingdom. Then, again, even if the prelate so far did violence to himself as to tear himself away from the attractions of the court, he would take the earliest opportunity of making his way back; and once there, how could he resist the blandishments of his relatives and the numberless gaieties of the capital? As to loyalty towards the person and authority of the King, none could surpass the bishops. "The life of the King," Bossuet had written, "is the joy and the greatest good of the state. A good subject loves his prince as the commonweal, as the air that he breathes, as the light of his eyes, as his life, and even more than his life." On the occasion of the coronation of Louis XVI., Mgr. de la Luzerne's *mandement* says:—"We hold that our kings receive their authority immediately from God, and not from the Church, and that the sacred unction adds nothing to the power handed down to them by their

august ancestors." According to Cardinal Bernis, "The king is the master not only of the goods and the lives of his subjects, but also of their very thoughts." When the Duke of Normandy (afterwards the unhappy Louis XVII.) was born, one bishop made the announcement to his flock in the words of Holy Writ:—"I bring you good tidings of great joy. . . . Let us venerate the august infant, the child of our fatherland, in this new Bethlehem. . . . Already has his star summoned to his side the Wise Men of the East, that is to say, the members of the court; the incense has been burnt, the hand of renowned artists has woven the gold of his garments." The swaddling clothes and the manger are mentioned in due course, and finally the faithful are exhorted to cry out:—"Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck!" This sort of king-worship was difficult when the king was a monster like Louis XV.; yet the bishops were equal to the task. "I have two masters," said Cardinal Bernis; "one is God, the other is the King. I acknowledge no one else." Bourdeille calls Louis "the best of princes." Conzié goes so far as to speak of him as "this good king, this magnanimous monarch, whom the Lord in His mercy gave us. . . . A prince so much according to the heart of men must have been according to God's own heart!" When Walpole visited the royal chapel in 1769, Madame du Barri was present at the Mass. "An odd appearance," he writes, "as she was so conspicuous, close to the altar, and amidst both court and people. In the tribune above, *surrounded by prelates*, was the amorous and still handsome king. One could not help smiling at the mixture of piety, pomp, and carnality."

But it is time for us now, at last, to go down into the provinces, and to see what sort of life the bishop led there. And first we must be present at his solemn entry into his cathedral city. As late as the seventeenth century this event was accompanied with feudal mummeries that would have delighted the worthy Baron of Bradwardine. Although most of these had fallen into disuse, there was still much pomp left. The great bell of the cathedral tolled to the accompaniment of joyous peals from the belfries of the churches and

convents, the booming of the cannon, and the music of numberless bands. Through streets lined with immense crowds of the populace, through long files of soldiers, amidst flags and banners and rich hangings, the Prelate, escorted by the clergy, the nobility, and the consuls, all in their gayest attire, made his way into the cathedral to take possession, with the usual ceremonies. Not seldom the official account relates that the new bishop, still young and of high birth, charmed everyone by his graceful person, his distinguished manners, and his amiable language. The townspeople had, indeed, good reason to feel an interest in their bishop. For many centuries he was the leading personage in the city and surrounding country. His wealth and his domains, his feudal and political rights, made him truly a high and mighty *seigneur*. The see of Strasburg had a revenue of 400,000 livres, Cambrai 200,000, Narbonne 160,000, Auch, Albi, and Metz 120,000 each, Rouen 100,000. Paris (including the duchy annexed to the see) was worth 600,000 livres a year. Besides the large sums derived from his bishopric, the prelate usually drew a further revenue from the abbeys which he held *in commendam*. Thus Bernis received an additional 100,000 livres, De Brienne 106,000, Dillon 120,000, Rochefoucauld 130,000. The Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Lâon, Langres, Beauvais, Chalons, and Noyau, were ecclesiastical peers, *pares*, of the King, taking part in his coronation. The Bishop of Autun presided over the States of Burgundy, the Archbishop of Aix over those of Provence, the Archbishop of Narbonne over those of Languedoc. The Archbishops of Besançon and Cambrai, the Bishops of Strasburg, Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Belley, were princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Many pages might be filled with the list of the titles and dignities of the hundred and thirty bishops.

Nothing is so striking in the clergy of France at the present day as their total abstention from public life. Very different was the conduct of their predecessors in the last century. The clergy, being the most enlightened body in the kingdom, were naturally at the head of the administration of affairs. Many of the bishops, indeed, became so absorbed

in secular business as to have no time or inclination for the sacred duties of their calling. These were popularly styled "administrators of provinces," in contradistinction to their brethren who were "administrators of the sacraments." No doubt it must ever be a matter of regret that an ecclesiastic should become a mere state official; but surely it is a great gain for the Church to be on the side of progress, and for men to look upon her as having a care for their welfare in this world as well as in the next. Surely, it was better for France, as well as for the Church, that, for example, the fiery inhabitants of Provence should deliberate at Lombesc under the wise and skilful presidency of Mgr. de Boisgelin, than be left to the mercy of ignorant and irresponsible demagogues. When there were no States General the States of Languedoc admirably managed that province. The nobles, the clergy, and the *tiers état* sat together in one chamber and voted by head, while the representatives of the people were equal in number to those of the other two orders. The assembly thus embodied the great reforms claimed in 1789. Its fame was celebrated throughout Europe. For well-nigh thirty years it was presided over by Dillon, Archbishop of Narbonne. Writers of every party vie with each other in praising his profound knowledge of affairs, his breadth of view, his eloquence, his firm and dignified bearing in the chair. The great roads and bridges constructed at his instigation, the joining of the Mediterranean and Atlantic Canal with the Robine, the numberless encouragements given to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, bear witness to his able and enlightened rule. In honour of him Toulouse has given the name, "Cours Dillon," to the finest of her promenades; and his successor's memory is still preserved by the "Canal de Brienne." The "Canal Boisgelin" and the magnificent roads which traverse Provence were the work of the famous Archbishop of Aix. Bayonne owes to Mgr. de la Ferronays the "Avenue de Mousserole," and the noble trees with which it is still adorned. Mgr. Mongin constructed the bridge of St. Martin at Bazas, and Mgr. Maupéou a bridge and a splendid avenue at Lombez. Want of space alone prevents

me from enumerating the long list of temporal benefits conferred upon the various provinces by the lofty public spirit and noble liberality of their bishops.¹

Though the bishops spent so much of their time in secular affairs and delegated the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction to their numerous vicars-general, yet there remained ample scope for their energy in watching over the regulation of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, the education of the clergy, the management of religious orders of men and women, the control of public instruction, the defence of the faith, and the superintendence of works of charity. One may well wonder how a young aristocrat, brought up in the lap of luxury, with little or no real ecclesiastical training, would perform these arduous and solemn duties. What sort of an example could he be to the clergy and flock committed to his charge? Even if he wished it, how could he stoop to understand the position of a poor *congruiste*, whose tattered soutane and rustic manners would excite his ridicule and disgust? And, on the other hand, how could a country curé feel at home with a high and mighty nobleman visiting him in a gorgeous carriage, accompanied by scarcely less distinguished ecclesiastics, and followed by a train of lackeys in rich liveries? It was by no means rare for a bishop to allow none of the priests to sit at his table. Christophe de Beaumont, whose virtues are so universally acknowledged, refrained from making pastoral visits for fear of being obliged to associate with the curés. The audiences granted to the clergy were few and brief, and were marked by the haughty and overbearing manner of the bishops.² We must, of course, be careful to guard against the impression that such conduct was universal. Mgr. d'Uzès,

¹ For further information see Abbé Sicard, liv. 1^{er}, chaps. viii.-xi.

² It is related that Mgr. Camus, Bishop of Belley, one day met his match. He had summoned a curé, who was reported to be too ignorant for his position. When ordered by the Bishop to sit down, the poor priest begged to be excused as his lordship was still standing. "Oh, don't mind me," said Camus, "I am at home, and can do as I please. But tell me, where was God before the creation of the world?" "He existed in Himself," was the reply. "Yes, but what did He do?" The curé answered: "As he existed in Himself, He was at home, and so could do as He pleased."

Mgr. Vauréal, Mgr. Dulau, and especially Mgr. Juigné, were all renowned for their cordial and even affectionate relations with their clergy. But the real grievance was the fact that the parochial clergy were entirely debarred from the episcopate. No amount of affability on the part of the bishops could bridge over the hateful class-distinction between themselves and their priests. The *cahiers* of 1789 are filled with bitter complaints against the whole system. When the States General met, it was at once observed that, while the *noblesse* and the *tiers état* were each in their own way practically unanimous, there was hopeless division among the clergy. The bishops and dignitaries naturally sided with the aristocratic class from which they sprang; while, on the other hand, the parish priests looked for redress to their brethren among the *tiers état*. Had the clergy held together against the fusion of the three orders that eventful measure could hardly have been brought about. It is not too much to say that the action of the hundred and forty-nine ecclesiastics who joined the *tiers état* on June 22nd, was the turning-point of the Revolution.

In the momentous struggle against infidelity, the bishops utterly failed to beat off the attacks of the philosophers. A century earlier Bossuet had routed the sectaries with his pitiless logic, and had lighted up many a field of literature by the splendour of his genius; Bourdaloue had set forth the great truths of religion with equal reason and passion; Fénelon, appealing to the heart more than to the head, had won many by his gentle and persuasive writings and engaging manners. After them Massillon's brilliant rhetoric had been received with unbounded admiration. The great tragedies of Corneille and Racine, too, were eminently religious. And even Boileau's satires and Molière's comedies, while justly denouncing ecclesiastical abuses, carefully refrained from attacks on religion itself. The court and the people under Louis XIV. believed in the mysteries of the faith, and fulfilled the precepts of the Church. But at the dawn of the Revolution all this was changed. For well-nigh seventy years everything that was sacred had been exposed to the withering sarcasms of Voltaire. Rousseau's

influence had been even more baneful, for he had led astray many into the religion of "nature," and the practice of the sickly sentimentalism which he called "virtue." Besides these two giants there were a whole host of assailants, whose attacks were concentrated in the famous *Encyclopædia*. On the side of the Church no champion was found fit to cope with such foes. The truth was, that while the enemy was thundering at her gates all was confusion within. The number of downright infidels among the clergy was probably small. Of the bishops, only some five or six openly favoured Voltaire. But the influence of the infidel philosophy was certainly very widespread. If the clergy had not entirely lost the faith, they had, at any rate, lost its spirit. To make the sign of the cross, to quote Scripture, to mention even the name of God, were all considered out of place. At the most, some allusion might be made to "*le ciel*," or "*la providence*," or "*l'être suprême*." A simple curé, it was said, must believe a little, or he would be thought a hypocrite; a vicar-general might smile at a smart saying against religion; a bishop might laugh outright; but a cardinal might join in the joke. For more than a century Gallicans and Ultramontanes had turned against each other the weapons which should have been directed against their common assailants. Though the bishops were all nominated by the king, yet a large number of them were strenuous defenders of the rights of the Holy See. The parochial clergy were claiming a divine right to jurisdiction, and hence the bishops had to fall back upon the authority of the Pope to condemn these usurpations. But it was also during this period that the Gallican liturgy was substituted for the Roman in nearly all the dioceses; and the prelates used to address the Supreme Pontiffs in language which would not be tolerated at the present day. These disputes, however, were as nothing compared with the deadly feuds between the Company of Jesus and the partisans of Jansenius. Amidst the scornful derision of the unbelievers, the Jansenists were condemned by the Pope, and the Jesuits expelled by the King. Thus deprived of the services of their most able defenders, and at variance among themselves, the bishops

made a poor show in the conflict. When the most distinguished of their number, Christophe de Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, attempted to refute the arguments of a poor copier of music, he was ignominiously defeated; when the Church was attacked in the Assembly, the bishops were obliged to crouch behind plain Abbé Maury, the son of a Provençal shoemaker.

There was, however, another field in which the bishops' labours were far more successful. It was once the fashion to accuse the old French church of standing in the way of the education of the people. But recent researches have triumphantly refuted this charge. In those days there was no budget or minister of public instruction; the whole work of superintending education was thrown on the bishops. The decrees of provincial councils, the diocesan statutes, and pastoral letters abundantly prove with what energy they discharged this duty. "Elementary schools" (*petites écoles*), says M. Taine, "were innumerable in Normandy, Picardy, Artois, French Flanders, Alsace and Lorraine, the Island of France, Burgundy, Franche-Comte, Doubs, Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Comtat, Cevennes, and Bearn; that is to say, in the best half of France. There were almost as many of them as there were parishes. Out of thirty-seven thousand parishes in France twenty-five thousand possessed well-attended and efficient schools." As regards secondary schools and colleges, it is well known that M. Villemain's report showed that the number of students was relatively greater in 1789 than in 1843; and it has lately been proved that his statement fell short of the truth, for at the earlier date the number of colleges was nine hundred, and the students nearly one hundred thousand. The activity of the bishops was especially displayed after the expulsion of the Jesuits. By that unjust decree more than a hundred of the largest colleges in the kingdom were deprived of teachers. The bishops at once stepped in, and by their wise and generous measures provided for the resumption of the excellent work which had been interrupted. To give a list of the benefactions of each bishop would weary the reader, and would take up more space than is allotted to

me. Let these instances suffice:—Mgr. de la Marche, the last Bishop of St.-Pol-de-Léon, spent 400,000 francs on his college; the college of Auch endowed and supported by the archbishops, had a revenue of 33,000 francs; 54,000 francs were given by Mgr. de Caulet, Bishop of Belley, to found a college and a seminary; his successor completed the buildings and provided ample funds for the maintenance. The teaching-staffs, even after the departure of the Jesuits, almost entirely consisted of ecclesiastics. We can easily understand that when these also were driven out by the iniquitous laws against the clergy, the cause of education suffered enormous injury. And we must remember, too, that the Revolution robbed the colleges of revenues to the value of 30,000,000 francs.

Another charge which lay upon the episcopate was fulfilled with even greater zeal. For fourteen hundred years the French Church had been building hospitals and other charitable institutions of all sorts, and had assured the gratuitous administration of them. In these good works the bishops had ever been foremost. No doubt there were some among the hundred and thirty who were deservedly reproached with avarice. But the great majority gave with a lavish hand out of the vast sums at their disposal. The revenue of the Archbishop of Paris was, as we have seen, enormous. So, too, were his charities. Out of his 600,000 francs a-year, 500,000 went to the poor; and in his last year, having gained a great lawsuit, he actually gave away 1,100,000 francs. During the winter of 1766 Cardinal de Bernis, Archbishop of Albi, devoted the whole of his property and incurred a debt of 150,000 francs for the succour of the poor. These are by no means solitary examples. Long lists of similar acts of benevolence may be found in Abbé Sicard's book. Even bishops who were not famed for generosity during their life-time made ample amends by their wills. Brancas, Archbishop of Aix, and Langle, Bishop of St. Papoul, were reproached for their wealth; but when they came to die it was found that the former had left everything to his seminary, and the latter had left everything to the hospital of his city. Such testamentary dispositions was

quite common during the eighteenth century. Thus Menou de Charnisary bequeathed his all to the hospitals at La Rochelle; so did Fumel at Lodève, Beauteville at Alais, Massillon at Clermont, Pérouse at Gap, Rochebonne at Carcassonne. Tilladet left them 800,000 francs; La Garlaye, Massillon's successor, 200,000 francs. Let the wills of the Protestant bishops of England be compared with these. But the old French prelates did not confine themselves to giving money. They maintained an admirable system of insurance against loss by fire, and provided gratuitous loans to those in temporary want. To check the evils occasioned by the indiscriminate suppression of begging, *bureaux de charité* were established everywhere at the instigation of the bishops. Here is the programme of one of these:—

“To succour those who are really poor, to support the aged and the sick in comfort according to their station by providing them with food, clothing, and lodging; to take care of the sick who cannot be admitted into the hospitals; to dry the tears of desolate widows, by procuring for them the means of keeping their children and of gaining their own livelihood; to put an end to laziness and idleness, by accustoming children to labour from an early age . . . to reward those who distinguish themselves by their industry and good conduct; . . . to continue privately to the poor of a better class, ashamed to beg, the assistance lately given by the parish priests; to forbid, once for all, begging of every kind, whether by those who are able-bodied or not, and to lock up without mercy all who infringe the orders of the police and the regulations made on the subject, but at the same time to provide for their urgent wants, and to afford them no pretext for opposing this necessary severity; and to extend charity to prisoners and travellers in need.”

What charity-society in the present enlightened age has a wiser or kinder programme than this?

The prolonged winter of 1788-89 brought intense misery on the poor. In the preceding autumn the crops had been destroyed by hailstorms. Bread was sold at famine prices; work was at a standstill; tens of thousands of families were perishing of hunger and cold. Nobly did the bishops come to the aid of their unhappy flocks. Pius VI. sent 261,000 decalitres of corn to his starving subjects at

Avignon. Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, gave all that he had, and further incurred a debt of 400,000 livres. At Arles, at Béziers, at Evreux, at Rheims, at Nevers, at Riez, and at countless other places, the bishops headed the subscriptions and devoted their energies to the judicious distribution of the funds. Here again it is only by perusing a long list that the extent of their benevolence can be realized. One instance alone will here be given and with it this already lengthy account of the old bishops shall be brought to a close. Owing to the influence of Monsignor Boisgelin, free trade in corn had been established at Aix some years before 1789, and had immediately relieved distress. But on the eve of the Revolution Mirabeau had stirred up the citizens to open revolt. The public granaries were plundered, the municipal authorities insulted, and the archbishop's palace was threatened. Then it was that the Archbishop's powerful and beneficent influence was felt. Summoning the terrified magistrates and merchants he revived their courage, reminded them of their duties, and undertook himself to provide 100,000 francs towards making good the loss. Next he called together the clergy, and bade them use their influence with the rioters to restore the plundered corn. Wonderful to relate, this restoration was actually made in a few hours. As the populace were bringing back their ill-gotten booty, the Archbishop happened to pass through their ranks. Amidst enthusiastic acclamation he was conducted in triumph to his palace, the crowd demanding that the event of the day should be celebrated by a solemn religious service. The request was immediately granted. A vast crowd assembled in the cathedral to express their repentance, and to return thanks to God for the restoration of order. When the great prelate ascended the pulpit, and referred in touching language to the magnitude of their crime, the whole multitude was transported with grief, and broke out with loud sobs.

Here, then, on the eve of their downfall let us take leave of the bishops of the old *régime*. Many faults they had which we may well deplore. But they did their duty to the poor and the suffering; and charity covereth a multitude of sins.

T. B. SCANNELL.

Liturgical Notes

A NEW FEAST OF OUR BLESSED LADY

FORTY years ago, on the 8th of December, Pius IX., to the joy of the entire Catholic world—*universo plaudente orbe*—proclaimed it a doctrine revealed by God, that by a singular privilege the Blessed Virgin Mary was preserved from the stain of original sin from the first moment of her conception. This definition of faith, “the first,” to quote the words of Monseignor Dupanloup, “which was preceded by no dissensions, and followed by no heresies; which crowned the expectation of past ages, blessed the present century, called for the gratitude of future generations, and left behind it an imperishable memory,” has been the source of countless blessings. Ah, who can say what special graces the Church, the faithful, and the whole world have received in return for the solemn recognition of this singular prerogative of the Queen of Heaven! The intelligence of mere mortals is too weak and too circumscribed to know their extent, or to understand their effect; nay, perhaps, even the blessed spirits who see God face to face, and by the light of the Beatific Vision behold the mysterious workings of His love for man, cannot fathom the source of grace which this definition has opened up for the children of Adam. But though we can neither reckon the number nor measure the efficacy of these blessings, there is one which stands out so prominently, that we can, at least, contemplate its nature, and realize, to some extent, the effect of its operation on the human heart. This blessing consists in the wonderful revival of devotion to our Blessed Lady which has taken place during the past forty years, and which is so evident and, at the same time, so astonishing, that it cannot have escaped the notice of anyone who takes even a passing interest in the internal development of the Church, or in the devotional practices of the faithful. This revival of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, though its rapid development dates from the definition of the Immaculate

Conception, can be traced to a time nearly a quarter of a century more remote than that event; and if, going back to that more remote period, we seek to discover the means which God employed to give form and life to this revival, we shall find them in inseparable connection with this same doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and inaugurating, as it were, the immediate preparation for its reception as a dogma of Catholic faith.

The beginning of this revival was announced by the Blessed Virgin herself, when she appeared to Sister Catharine Labouré, on the 27th November, 1830, and told her to have a medal struck according to the pattern which she showed her; and this medal was the means by which both devotion to our Blessed Lady was propagated, and the time matured for the solemn definition of the Immaculate Conception. For, like the apparition of our Blessed Lady to little Bernadette Soubirous at Lourdes, in 1858, this apparition to Sister Catharine seems to us to be intimately connected with the solemn act which took place within the walls of the Vatican Basilica on the 8th December, 1854. The former, in which the Blessed Virgin, in reply to the thrice-repeated request of the favoured Bernadette to tell her "who she was, and what was her name," said, "*I am the Immaculate Conception*," was at once a miraculous confirmation of the definition, a gracious return for the universal applause with which it had been hailed, and a guerdon of countless favours to all who invoke the aid of the Virgin conceived without sin. The latter awakened faith in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; and this faith, strengthened and intensified by the wonders which everywhere attended the distribution of the miraculous medal, not only prepared the way for the solemn definition of the doctrine, but also convinced the Holy Pontiff, Pius IX., that the time had arrived when this solemn definition should no longer be deferred. And as the apparition to Bernadette Soubirous has received the solemn recognition of the Church by the institution of a feast in honour of our Lady of Lourdes, and by the granting of a special office and Mass for this feast, so has the apparition to Sister Catharine

Labouré received a similar recognition and similar favours, as is testified by the decree which has called forth these remarks, and which is printed further on. We will now give a brief sketch of the history of this solemnly-authenticated apparition, and of the miraculous medal, which was its fruit.

Zoé Labouré was born in the year 1806, in the Department of Côte d'Or, and though from her earliest years she had an ardent desire to become a Sister of Charity, various circumstances interfered to prevent the fulfilment of her desire until her twenty-fourth year. At length, in the spring of 1830, having overcome all obstacles, she was received into the Mother House in the Rue du Bac, Paris, and was henceforth known as Sister Catharine. While yet in the world Sister Catharine had been favoured with supernatural visions, and she had not long donned the humble habit of a Sister of Charity when these visions were renewed. Always tenderly devoted to the Blessed Virgin—whom, on the death of her mother, when she was scarcely eight years of age, she had requested to be a mother to her—she had an intense longing to be permitted to behold her heavenly beauty; and, in the confiding innocence of her heart, she was accustomed to frequently beseech her angel guardian to obtain this favour for her. Her prayer was at length heard, her ardent longing gratified; on the night preceding the feast of St. Vincent, in 1830, she was awakened from sleep by a voice softly calling her name, and on opening her eyes she beheld a child—her angel guardian she always believed—of more than mortal beauty, who told her that the Blessed Virgin awaited her in the chapel. Sister Catharine followed her heavenly guide to the chapel, knelt at the rails of the sanctuary, and after a few moments was favoured with the sight of her on whom she had so long and so ardently desired to gaze. The Blessed Virgin seated herself in a chair,¹ and Catharine kneeling by her side heard in an ecstasy of joy and love the prophetic words

¹ This chair is still preserved with religious veneration in the chapel of the Rue du Bac.

which her heavenly Mother vouchsafed to speak to her.¹ In this interview, however, no mention was made by the Blessed Virgin of the miraculous medal, or of the commission with which she intended to honour Sister Catharine. The object our Blessed Lady had in view in this visit would seem to have been to satisfy Sister Catharine's desire, to win her confidence, and to prepare her for the work for which she was destined.

The second apparition of the Blessed Virgin to this chosen soul took place on the evening of the 27th November in the same year (1830). This is the apparition commemorated by the new feast, which is to be celebrated each year on the 27th November, the anniversary of its occurrence.

On the evening of that day, which was Saturday, and the eve of the first Sunday of Advent, at half-past five o'clock, she was, as usual, making her meditation in the chapel when she heard on the right side of the sanctuary a noise like the rustling of silk . . . and looking up she saw the Blessed Virgin, standing near the picture of St. Joseph. Her height was about the middle size, and her face indescribably beautiful . . . The feet of the Apparition rested on a globe; and the hands which were on a level with the waist, held another and smaller globe . . . Suddenly the fingers became covered with brilliant rings in which were set most beautiful precious stones. From these stones darted rays of dazzling light, which enveloped the whole figure with such radiance that the feet and the dress were no longer visible. "It is beyond my power," said Sister Catharine in describing this vision, "to give an idea of the splendour and loveliness of those rays." The Blessed Virgin said: "They are a symbol of the graces I will bestow on those who ask for them." . . . After a while an oval frame seemed to surround the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and on it were written these words: '*O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee.*' This prayer was in the form of a semi-circle

¹ For a full account of this apparition, and of subsequent apparitions, as well as of everything connected with the apparitions and with the miraculous medal, see *The Miraculous Medal*, compiled by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and published in 1880 by Burns and Oates.

beginning on a level with the right hand of our Lady, and ending on a level with the left hand. Then it seemed as if the oval frame turned round, and I could see on the back the letter M surmounted by a cross, with a cross-bar beneath it; and under this monogram were the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the one surrounded by a crown of thorns, the other transpierced with a sword. As I beheld these things I heard a voice saying to me: "*Have a medal struck according to this pattern; those who shall wear it round their necks when it is indulgenced will receive great graces. Graces shall abound to those who have confidence.*"¹

Sister Catharine recounted this vision, as she had previous ones, to her director, M. Aladel, of the Congregation of the Mission, and told him of the commission she had received regarding the medal. But though, as M. Aladel himself afterwards testified, the vision was several times renewed during the following months, and the commission to have a medal struck each time repeated, it was not until nearly two years had elapsed that this prudent priest, after consulting Mgr. de Quelen, Archbishop of Paris, resolved to fulfil the commission entrusted to him by the Blessed Virgin through Sister Catharine. At length, in June, 1832, the first medals were struck, and their distribution committed to the Sisters of Charity, and to the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission.

These devoted children of St. Vincent were from the first aware of the miraculous origin of this medal, though neither then, nor until a short time before her death, were they, or anyone except her director alone, aware that Sister Catharine was the one so much favoured by our Lady. But, notwithstanding their knowledge of the origin of the medal, they were not prepared to behold the wonders which everywhere accompanied its distribution. Diseases that had baffled the skill of the most renowned physicians were instantly healed by the application of this little sign of our Lady's power, and pledge of her love. The blind, the deaf, and the dumb who received it in the spirit of faith, had their

¹ Adapted from *The Miraculous Medal*, and from the original French work, *La Médaille Miraculeuse*, Paris, 1878.

organs of sight, hearing, and speech perfectly restored; and the most obstinate sinners, who could not speak of religion unless to blaspheme it, were converted by having it secretly placed under their pillows, or attached to the clothes they wore. But even the briefest account of the authentic miracles wrought through the agency of the miraculous medal, as it soon came to be called, would fill a large volume. Hence we shall here confine ourselves to a brief notice of the wonderful conversion of Alphonse Ratisbonne, which has been thought worthy of special mention in the new office, referring our readers for interesting accounts of innumerable other miracles to the works already mentioned.

Alphonse Ratisbonne belonged to a wealthy Jewish family of Strasbourg, and while still a youth was, like St. Paul, "abundantly zealous for the traditions of his fathers." His hatred for the Catholic Church, which grew with his growth, was intensified by the conversion of his brother, Theodore, who became a priest. In the year 1841, Alphonse was engaged to a young and beautiful Jewess; but before settling down in life he determined to visit the East, and on his way thither to see the chief cities of Italy. While in Rome he made the acquaintance of M. de Bussière, a fervent convert from Protestantism, who induced him, much against his will, to wear one of the miraculous medals, and to prolong his stay in the Eternal City a few days longer than he had intended. But, though M. de Bussière contrived to meet him every day, and to press upon his attention arguments in favour of the divine origin of the Catholic Church, no other effect was produced on his mind but to harden him in his error. At length, on the 20th of January, 1842, the two friends went together to the Church of St. Andrea delle Fratte, where M. de Bussière had to make arrangements for the funeral of a deceased friend. Having occasion to speak to the Rector of the church, M. de Bussière stepped into the presbytery, leaving his friend standing in one of the aisles, gazing idly about him. But judge of his astonishment and joy when, on returning to the church, about ten or twelve minutes afterwards, he saw him on his knees in one of the side chapels, tears streaming from his eyes, and his

whole expression and attitude betokening the most intense devotion. The account of what had happened in the meantime to produce this extraordinary change is best given in the words of Alphonse Ratisbonne himself :—

“ I had been but a short time in the church when I felt myself suddenly seized with an extraordinary emotion. I looked up ; the whole building seemed to have disappeared, and the light was concentrated in one chapel. In the midst of this radiance, standing on the altar, appeared the Blessed Virgin, tall, bright, majestic, full of sweetness, exactly as on my medal. An irresistible force drew me towards her. She made a sign that I was to kneel down. It seemed to me that she said, ‘ *C’est bien.*’ She did not speak to me, but I understood it all.”

This striking miracle was forthwith subjected to a most rigid and searching canonical examination ; and on the 3rd June, 1842, Cardinal Patrizzi formally declared that it had been duly proved and established.

These remarks, which were mainly intended as an introduction to the decree establishing the new feast, have run to a much greater length than was foreseen. It is hoped, however, that they may contribute something to re-awaken interest in the miraculous medal. The following is the decree :—

“ CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS.

“ Rñus D. Antonius Fiat, Superior Generalis Congregationis Missionariorum a S. Vincentio a Paulo Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem Papam XIII. supplex exoravit ut, benigne reputans mirabilem inter Christifideles propogationem Sacri Numismatis, quod ab Immaculata Deiparae Conceptione nuncupatur, nec non filialis pietatis augmenta et uberrimos sive temporales, sive spiritualis salutis fructus omnibus perspectissimos, qui in Christianam Rempublicam exinde dimanarunt, dignaretur rem totam Sacra Rituum Congregationis examini concedere, ut, legitimis, quae supernaturalem tanti eventus originem apprimè comprobant, documentis data opera perspectis, solemne festum cum Officio et Missa propriis sub ritu duplici secundae classis in honorem Beatae Mariae Virginis Immaculatae a *Sacro Numismate* ab universae Congregatione sibi commissa, de ipsius cultu et propagatione praecipue merita, celebrari posset. Quum vero ejusmodi preces, cum schemate Officii et Missae, a me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto et Causae Ponente in Ordinariis Sacra ipsius Congregationis Comitibus subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis relatae fuerint, Eñi et Rñi Patres Sacris

tuendis Ritibus Praepositi, omnibus maturo examine perpensis, atque audito R.P.D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt. Pro gratia, et quoad Officium et Missam, ad Eñum Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei, Die 10 Julii, 1894.

“Quae ejusmodi Officii et Missae a me ipso Subscripto Cardinali una cum eodem Promotore Fidei novo schemate confecto, prouti heic praejacet Decreto, Sanctitas Sua, ad relationem mei ipsius Cardinalis Praefecti, illud approbavit, simulque Festum sub titulo Manifestationis Immaculatae Virginis Mariae *a Sacro Numismate* quotannis, die 27 Novembris, ab Alumnis Congregationis Missionis sub ritu duplici secundae classis, et ab expetentibus locorum Ordinariis Religiosorumque Familiis sub ritu duplici majori celebrandum indulsit Die 23 iisdem mense et anno.

“✠ CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

“ALOISI TRIPEPI, *Secretarius*.”

This decree, as it will be seen, confirms the reality of the apparition, gives the sanction of the Church to the title “miraculous,” which popular devotion has for so many years applied to the medal, institutes a new feast, with the title of *The Feast of the Manifestation of the Immaculate Virgin Mary of the Miraculous Medal*, to be celebrated each year on the 27th November; and, finally, grants a special Office and Mass for the feast. This feast has been granted primarily to the two congregations founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and by these is to be celebrated as a double of the second class. But the same feast, with proper Office and Mass, will also be granted to any diocese, at the request of the bishop, and to any religious order or congregation, at the request of the superior. By these, however, it is to be celebrated as a double major, the usual rite of the secondary feasts of the Blessed Virgin. We hope soon to see it in the Irish Calendar, where it will displace the feast of St. Virgil, for which, however, the 5th December will serve as a *dies fixa*.

Since the publication of the above decree, various other decrees concerning the new feast have been issued by the Congregation of Rites. These supplementary decrees, together with the translation of the *Invito Sacro*, which we publish along with them, have been kindly forwarded to us by one of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission

The first decree grants a plenary indulgence, applicable to the souls in purgatory, to all who, having confessed and received Holy Communion, shall, on the 27th of November (from first Vespers of the feast—that is, from the afternoon of the 26th—until sunset on the 27th), visit any church, chapel, or oratory annexed to or connected with any house of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, or of the Sisters of Charity, and shall therein offer prayers for the usual intentions. This concession to hold for seven years.

The second decree permits all priests celebrating Mass on the 27th November in any church, chapel or oratory of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, or of the Sisters of Charity, to say the special Mass of this new feast, provided that in the diocesan calendar of the place there be not a feast of the rite of a double of the second class, when there is question of celebrating a low Mass; or of the rite of a double of the first class, when there is a question of celebrating a solemn Mass.

The third decree permits priests of the Congregation of the Mission, when at a distance from one of their own houses or churches on the 27th November, to celebrate the feast in any church, with the consent of the parish priest or rector of the church, and authorizes all priests celebrating in such church on that day, to say the Mass of this feast. In a word, every such church is granted for that day the privileges, regarding the celebration of Mass, granted to the churches, chapels, and oratories of the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission, and of the Sisters of Charity.

“INVITO SACRO.

“L.M. Cardinal Parocchi, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Albano, Vicar of His Holiness, &c.

“Romans! the feast which we announce to you is new; but through its object it is old, and is already known and very dear to you. It is the feast of the Manifestation of the Immaculate Mary, called of the Miraculous Medal; it has become celebrated amongst you, by the prodigy of the conversion of Alphonsus Ratisbonne, which took place, in 1842, in the church of Saint Andrew *delle Fratte*, in which the memory of that event is annually solemnized.

“This consoling and admirable manifestation of Mary Immaculate, which Our Holy Father Leo XIII. has kindly allowed to be celebrated this year, for the first time, was surrounded by all

the marks attaching to supernatural events: to the Church it presaged an era of glory and blessings corresponding to the trials which were to assail her without cessation.

"The manifestation with which the humble novice of the Mother House of the Daughters of Charity, at Paris, was favoured in 1830, is connected by the closest bonds with the dogmatic definition which occupies such an important place in the history of our age, viz., the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, which was proclaimed, twenty-four years later, on the 8th of December, 1854.

"The attitude of the Virgin, as she appeared to the happy child of St. Vincent de Paul, trampling under her feet the serpent's head, the beautiful prayer taught by the Virgin herself, and engraved by her order upon the Miraculous Medal: 'O Mary conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to you,' expressed a doctrine in harmony with the aspirations of all generations of Catholics, and was the solemn affirmation of a truth divinely revealed, and which was to become a dogma of faith later on; viz., the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

"The manifestation we are about to celebrate contributed in a marvellous manner to the definition of the dogma. This definition had, in truth, a character peculiarly its own; for, while in the history of dogmas no other definition can be found which has not been called forth by heresy, schism, or unbelief, the dogmatic bull relative to the Immaculate Conception of Mary has been called forth by the faith, piety, and ardent sighs of all true believers.

"With the Miraculous Medal, which bears the representation of the Immaculate, and upon which may be read the beautiful invocation, an expression of the dogma, 'O Mary,' &c., the pious belief spread so widely, that, at the time of the dogmatic definition, there was scarcely a place on earth in which recourse was not had with the liveliest faith and most ardent devotion to Mary conceived without sin. With an ineffable sweetness, she had turned all minds towards herself, destined to be the salvation of our age, which may well be called the age of the Immaculate.

"All these things show clearly the importance of this manifestation which the children of St. Vincent are preparing to celebrate with the liveliest transports of piety and joy; they redound also to the praise of the glorious saint, and the two congregations founded by him, viz., the Priests of the Mission, and the Daughters of Charity, and give them a place amongst those religious families which Pius IX., of holy memory, in the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, declares to have deserved well by their worship of and devotion to the Immaculate Conception.

"The very special part which the Priests of the Mission and the Daughters of Charity have taken by the diffusion of the medal of the Immaculate Virgin, called the miraculous medal, a part entrusted by the Holy Virgin herself to Sister Catherine Labouré,

is a true mission from heaven, of which the children of St. Vincent may justly be proud, and which they may regard as one of their brightest glories, just as formerly their blessed Father looked upon the propagation of the worship of the Holy Virgin conceived without sin, as a very special honour, and a special object of his zeal.

“The confirmation of this sublime mission, which has been confided to them by God and the Virgin Mary, for the very noble end afore-mentioned, is found in the numberless prodigies of every order and kind, which, for the space of sixty-four years, have been wrought through the instrumentality of the miraculous medal, according to the promise of the Immaculate Virgin, our tender Mother Mary.

“In order, therefore, to render the thanks which are due both to God, whose glory shines in the Immaculate Virgin, and to Mary, who by the worship rendered to her most beautiful privilege, attracts to herself all hearts, and scatters the infinite treasure of graces, of which she is the merciful mother, our Holy Father Leo XIII. has granted the solemnity I announce to you.

✠ “L. M. CARDINAL VICAR.
“P. CANON CECCHI, *Secretary.*”

I.

LEO PAPA XIII.

Universis Christifidelibus præsentis Litteras inspecturis salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem procurandam cœlestibus Ecclesiæ thesauris pia charitate intenti omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere pœnitentibus et confessis ac sacra Communione refectis, qui die festo Manifestationis Immaculatæ Mariæ Virginis a Sacro Numismate, videlicet die vigesima septima mensis Novembris, quamlibet Ecclesiam sive Oratorium piis domibus adnexum Presbyterorum Congregationis Missionis, sive Filiarum Charitatis, ubique terrarum existentibus, a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis diei hujusmodi singulis annis devote visitaverint et ibi pro Christianorum Principum concordia, hæresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiæ exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint; Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem, quam etiam animabus Christifidelium quæ Deo in charitate conjunctæ ab hac luce migraverint per modum suffragii applicari possint, misericorditer in Deo concedimus atque elargimur. Præsentibus ad Septennium tantum valituris. Volumus autem ut præsentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personæ in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quæ adhiberetur ipsis præsentibus si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Datum Romæ apud

S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XXIV Augusti MDCCCXCIV.
Pontificatus Nostri Anno decimoseptimo.

Pro Dno Card. de Ruggerio,

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus.*

II.

CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS.

7 Septemb. 1894.

Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis et Filiarum a Charitate S. Vincentii a Paulo, a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone XIII, humillimis datis precibus, efflagitavit, ut in omnibus ecclesiis sive oratoriis earundem Filiarum a Charitate quotannis die XXVII Novembris, a quovis Sacerdote in eis Sacrum facturo celebrari valeat Missa nuper ab Apostolica Sede approbata et Alumnis suæ Congregationis concessa pro festo Manifestationis Immaculatæ Virginis Mariæ a Sacro Numismate vulgo *della Medaglia miracolosa*. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributis, annuit juxta preces dummodo tamen in respectivis Kalendariis Diœcesium, in quibus præfatæ Filiæ a Charitate degunt, non occurrat quoad Missam solemnem duplex primæ classis, et quoad lectas duplex etiam secundæ classis : quo in causa Sacra eadem Congregatio idem privilegium ad aliam subsequentem diem liberam amandari concessit : servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 7 Septembris, 1894.

Pro Ilmo. et Rmo. D. Card. C. Aloisi-Masella Præfecto.

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

A. TRIPEPI, *Secretarius.*

III.

CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS ET FILIARUM CHARITATIS.

12 Novemb. 1894.

Ex Apostolico Indulto diei 23 Julii hoc anno Congregationis Missionis Alumnis concessum est, ut ab ipsis festum Manifestationis Immaculatæ Virginis Mariæ a Sacro Numismate vulgo *della Medaglia miracolosa* quotannis die vigesima septima Novembris sub ritu duplici secundæ classis recolatur, cum Officio ac Missa propriis, rite approbatis. Quum vere contigat, ut aliquibus locis memorati Alumni vel Filiæ Charitatis Ecclesia suæ domui contigua haud satis ampla utantur, vel careant omnino, Rmus Dnus Antonius Fiat, Moderator Generalis Congregationis Missionis et Filiarum Charitatis, Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Leonem Papam XIII iteratis precibus rogavit, ut ab iisdem enuntiatum festum in aliena Ecclesia, de consensu respectivi Parochi vel Rectoris, recoli valeat ; facta scilicet potestate singulis Sacerdotibus inibi Sacrum facturis, Missam propriam celebrandi nuper Alumnis suæ Congregationis concessam. Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, utendo facultatibus ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro sibi specialiter tributis, benigne annuit

pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces : servatis Rubricis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 12 Novembris 1894.

Pro Emo et Rmo Dno Card. C. Aloisi-Masella Præfecto.

L. M. Card. PAROCCHI.

L. ✕ S.

Pro R. P. D. ALOISIO TRIPEPI, *Secretario*.
Antonius SARDI, *Substitutus*.

D. O'LOAN.

Document

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LEDOCHOWSKI,
PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA, TO THE MOST REV. DR. NULTY,
BISHOP OF MEATH.

[THE Most Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, felt it his painful duty, in February last, to warn the members of his flock against the reading of a newspaper which is published in the town of Mullingar, and which is called *The Westmeath Examiner*. In virtue of his authority as a Bishop and of the powers delegated to Bishops by the Holy See, he declared the reading of the newspaper in question to be sinful, and that all who should persist in reading it after his condemnation were not fit subjects for the reception of the Sacraments of the Church. Against this decision of the Bishop the editor and proprietor of the newspaper appealed to the Holy See. A statement of the case was, therefore, laid before the Congregation of Propaganda both by the Editor and the Bishop. The following letter was received by the Bishop from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, approving his action.]

"ROMA, 24 Septembris, 1894.

"ILLME. ET REME. DOMINE,—

"Redditæ mihi sunt litteræ Amplitudinis Tuæ, datæ die 21 superioris Augusti, circa appellationem Directoris ephemeridis, cui titulus *Westmeath Examiner*, contra prohibitionem latam ab amplitudine Tua, in eandem ephemeridem. Amplitudinis Tuæ agendi ratio mihi quidem probatur; ac spero ut provisio contra diarium nominatum a Te facta, ab ejusdem periculosa lectione fideles arceat.

"Ego vero Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

"Amplitudinis Tuæ,

"Addictissimus Servus,

"M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

"A., ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secretarius*.

"Dno. THOMAE NULTY, Epo. Miden."

Notices of Books

THE AUTOMATIC PAROCHIAL CIRCULATING LIBRARY. By
"An Irish Priest." Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

THE author of this little work expounds an ingenious plan for promoting the use of good books amongst the people. We have no hesitation in saying that the suggestions he puts forward ought to prove most useful to any priest who is working a "school" or "church" library in his parish. We cannot say whether the principle of action is an original invention of the author, or whether he has borrowed it from some of the enterprising agencies of England or America. It is plain, at all events, that he is a man of observation, as his introductory chapter proves. He seems thoroughly acquainted with all kinds of automatic machines, from those by which you may have yourself weighed at the railway station, by putting a penny in the slot, to those by which, having again satisfied the slot, and placing your handkerchief under the nozzle of a diminutive reservoir, you receive a copious supply of perfume upon it. The great advantage of the system seems to be that it is self-supporting, and, to a considerable extent what the author calls it, "automatic" or self-working. It saves the manager the troublesome work of keeping accounts of pence and half-pence paid by readers. It does away with the entries of borrower, book, and date of loan. It keeps the book in motion, going from one family to another in regular rotation, a great advantage in our opinion, as we have known cases where books of the kind remained in the same house for the greater part of the year. It secures a useful variety in the quality of the books lent. Each member of the society or circle in which this system works, has only to pay *one shilling* for the whole year, and receives in return the loan of one book each month, and at the end of the year gets for ever a book, value for one shilling or possibly more.

How all this is done is the secret of the author, and it would not be fair for us to divulge it. For a full exposition of the system, we refer our readers to the little work published by Messrs. Browne & Nolan, in which the author presents a complete exposition of his system. If this little book be extensively availed of, we feel confident that it will amply repay those who invest in it.

J. F. H.

ONTOLOGIA SIVE METAPHYSICA GENERALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J., cum approbatione Rev^{mi}. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi : Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder.¹

WE have great pleasure in introducing to our readers two more volumes of the *Cursus Philosophicus*. Like the two that have already appeared, these are admirably suited for their intended purpose, namely, to serve as class-books.

Father Frick's *Ontology*, like his *Logic*, is much superior to the ordinary scholastic hand-books. There is no striking originality or novelty of subject-matter, but there is a very agreeable freshness of treatment. The same fixed and unalterable principles are explained, proved, and defended in this, as in the other hand-books of philosophy; but here they are presented in a manner that is more attractive—perhaps we should say less repellent—to the student. The definitions are adequate and lucid; the divisions clear and distinct. The explanation of false as well as true doctrine is so full, that there can be no mistake about the point at issue. The arguments are always succinct and easily intelligible, and, in most instances, convincing.

In the controversies that have so long continued to divide orthodox philosophers, Father Frick always takes the view adopted by the majority, at least, of the members of his Society. The question as to the kind of distinction between nature and personality is abandoned to theologians; the controversy about the distinction between essence and existence is examined at considerable length. The author's defence of his view is much better than his proof; but, perhaps, in the case, defence is the best proof. Numerous objections are answered, while weak arguments are advanced in favour of his thesis. It is a pity that Father Frick ignored replies made by more than one previous writer to those same arguments. He draws conclusions from some sentences of St. Thomas that appear quite opposed to the views of the Angelic Doctor. If one were so disposed, there would be very little difficulty in collecting extracts from Father Frick's *Ontology* which would prove just as well that real essence and real existence are really distinct.

M. B.

¹ The work *Praelectiones Theologicae* of Fr. Pesch, S.J., reviewed in our last number, is also published by Herder. The publisher's name was accidentally omitted.

PHILOSOPHIA NATURALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Henrico Haan, S.J., cum approbatione Rev^{mi}. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi: Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder.

FATHER HAAN'S *Philosophia Naturalis* includes the ordinary treatise of cosmology, and that portion of psychology treating of life in general, of vegetative life, and of sensitive life. By this arrangement the human soul will be the exclusive object of the treatise on psychology.

The *Philosophia Naturalis* has for its object natural bodies. It consists of two parts—the first part devoted to the properties of bodies; the second to their nature or physical essence. The first part contains such interesting doctrines as the separability of quantity from substance, the nature of space and time, the metaphysical possibility of definitive, and even of circumscriptive multilocation, the possibility of miracles, the divisibility of the vital principle in plants and animals—not merely the imperfect, but even the more perfect animals. In the second part the scholastic or peripatetic theory of the constitution of bodies is proved, and defended against the rival theories of dynamism and atomism. We have seen it stated that Father Haan makes the concession to the Atomists, that what we regard as substantial change may, after all, be only a different collocation of atoms; but we could discover no evidence to warrant such a statement, except one obscure parenthesis—what Professor Huxley would call a quaquaversal proposition—which may be read backwards, forwards, or upside down, with about the same amount of signification.

In this, as in the *Ontology*, the definitions and divisions are clear and distinct, the arguments solid, and the supply of objections copious; but some of the paragraphs are so long and ponderous, that they would severely tax the courage and persevering energy of the student. On the whole, Father Haan's book is well qualified to take its place beside the others of this excellent series.

There is one deliberate omission, however, of which we cannot approve. We are told in the preface that the creation of this world will be explained and proved in natural theology. It seems that it should be done in the present treatise. If philosophy is the science of things in their ultimate causes, surely a philosophical treatise on natural bodies should not exclude an inquiry into their first efficient cause.

M. B.

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